

MENT

PUBLIC LIBRARY
FORT WAYNE & ALLEN CO., IND.

REFERENCE

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

BOARD OF EDITORS

CARL BECKER

ARCHIBALD C. COOLIDGE

GUY S. FORD

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

CLAUDE H. VAN TYNE

WILLISTON WALKER

MANAGING EDITOR

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

VOLUME XXVI
OCTOBER 1920 TO JULY 1921

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

1921

PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXVI

NUMBER 1. OCTOBER, 1920

ARTICLES

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON	The American Historical Review, 1895-1920 . . .	1
ROBERT L. SCHUYLER	The Recall of the Legions: a Phase of the Decentralization of the British Empire . . .	18
SIDNEY B. FAY	New Light on the Origins of the World War, II. . .	37
FREDERIC L. PAXSON	The American War Government, 1917-1918 . . .	54
REVIEWS OF BOOKS		77
HISTORICAL NEWS		154

NUMBER 2. JANUARY, 1921

ARTICLES

EDWARD CHANNING	An Historical Retrospect . . .	191
MIKHAIL ROSTOVTSSEV	South Russia in the Prehistoric and Classical Period . . .	203
SIDNEY B. FAY	New Light on the Origins of the World War, III. . .	225
L. M. SEARS	A Confederate Diplomat at the Court of Napoleon III. . .	255
NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS		
THEODORE C. PEASE	A Caution regarding Military Documents . . .	282
DOCUMENTS—Gen. M. C. Meigs on the Conduct of the Civil War . . .		285
REVIEWS OF BOOKS		304
HISTORICAL NEWS		374

NUMBER 3. APRIL, 1921

ARTICLES

	The Meeting of the American Historical Association at Washington . . .	413
FREDERIC DUNCALF	The Peasants' Crusade . . .	440
FRANK A. GOLDER	The American Civil War through the Eyes of a Russian Diplomat . . .	454
ROSS H. McLEAN	Troop Movements on the American Railroads during the Great War . . .	464
NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS		
CARL R. FISH	The German Indemnity and the South . . .	489
REVIEWS OF BOOKS		491
HISTORICAL NEWS		600

NUMBER 4. JULY, 1921


ARTICLES

CARL BECKER	Mr. Wells and the New History	641
JOHN R. KNIPPING	German Historians and Macedonian Imperialism . . .	657
VISCOUNT BRYCE	The Life of Disraeli, V., VI.	672
PERCY W. BIDWELL	The Agricultural Revolution in New England	683
KENNETH S. LATOURETTE	Chinese Historical Studies during the Past Seven Years	703
WALTER T. SWINGLE	Chinese Historical Sources . .	717
DOCUMENT—Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765,	part I.	726
REVIEWS OF BOOKS		748
HISTORICAL NEWS		846
INDEX		883

INDEX

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXVI

 *The names of contributors are printed in small capitals. (R) indicates that the contribution is a review.*

- ABBOTT, F. F., (R) Jolliffe's "Corruption in Roman Administration in the Last Half-Century of the Roman Republic", 125; (R) Frank's "Economic History of Rome", 309.
- ABBOTT, W. C., (R) Martineau's "Dupleix et l'Inde Française", I., 509; (R) Theal's "History of South Africa from 1873 to 1884", 795.
- Adams, G: B., 4-6.
- Adams, Henry, 9.
- "Adams Letters, Cycle of", ed. W. C. Ford, reviewed, 546.
- "Adventurers of Oregon", by C. L. Skinner, reviewed, 117.
- Aeronautics, National Advisory Com. for, 57.
- "Affaire de la Compagnie des Indes", by Albert Mathiez, reviewed, 830.
- Africa, "Cory's Rise of South Africa", III., reviewed, 357; Theal's "History of South Africa from 1873 to 1884", reviewed, 795.
- "Africa and the Discovery of America", I., by Leo Wiener, reviewed, 102.
- "Age of the Reformation", by Preserved Smith, reviewed, 765.
- "Agrarian Crusade", by S. J. Buck, reviewed, 147.
- Agricultural Revolution in New England*, by P. W. Bidwell, 683-702; conditions about 1810, 683-684; growth of market causes increased production, 685-689; transportation and competition check certain lines, 689-692; disappearance of self-sufficient farming, 693-696; minor farm industries in transition period, 697-699; difficulties of readjustment increased by emigration, 700-702.
- Air Craft Board, 67.
- "Air Service, An Explorer in the", by Hiram Bingham, reviewed, 596.
- "Alençon, Origines de la Normandie et du Duché d'", by le Vicomte du Motey, reviewed, 566.
- Alexius I., Comnenus, 446, 449, 451.
- ALLIN, C. D., (R) Skelton's "Canadian Dominion", 350.
- ALVORD, C. W., (R) Henderson's "Conquest of the Old Southwest", 116; "Illinois Country", reviewed, 341.
- "America, Africa and the Discovery of", I., by Leo Wiener, reviewed, 102.
- "America, Colonization of North", by H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, reviewed, 540.
- "America, My Three Years in", by Count Bernstorff, reviewed, 98.
- American Civil War through the Eyes of a Russian Diplomat*, by F. A. GOLDER, 454-463; natural obstacles to foreign understanding of America, 454; economic consequences too grave to permit war, 455-456; estimate of leaders, 457-458; duration and end of war, 459-461; failure to grasp spirit of the nation, 462-463.

- American Federation of Labor, 74, 75.
- "American Foreign Policy, based upon Statements of Presidents and Secretaries of State", introd. N. M. Butler, reviewed, 141.
- American Historical Association, "Annual Report", 1917, reviewed, 561.
- American Historical Association, Meeting at Washington*, 413-439; previous Washington meetings, 413; the subscription dinner and other joint sessions, 414-415; luncheon conferences, 416-417; conference of historical societies, 418; committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools, 419; papers on history of science, 420-421; on ancient history, 422; on medieval history, 423; on modern history, 424-425; on American history, 426-430; on Pan-American relations, 430; business meeting, 431; reports of committees, 431-433; treasurer's report, 431, 435-436; proposed amendments to constitution, 426; officers and committees, 437-439.
- American Historical Review*, by J. F. JAMESON, 1-17; various plans for a historical journal, 1-5; beginnings of the *Review*, 5-8; early numbers, 9-11; policy of the editors, 12-14; relations with the American Historical Association, 14-16; Carnegie Institution and the *Review*, 15; analysis of contents of first twenty-five volumes, 16-17.
- "American History, Harper's Atlas of", ed. D. R. Fox, reviewed, 584.
- "American History, The Frontier in", by F. J. Turner, reviewed, 542.
- American Jewish Historical Society, "Publications", no. 27, reviewed, 372.
- "American Literature, Cambridge History of", III., IV., reviewed, 812.
- "American Political Ideas", by C. E. Merriam, reviewed, 551.
- American Railway Association, 464-466, 469, 470, 477.
- American Revolution, effect on British colonial policy, SCHUYLER's *Recall of the Legions*, 21-22; O'Brien's "A Hidden Phase of American History: Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty", reviewed, 797; Egerton's "Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783-1785", reviewed, 804; Gipson's "Jared Ingersoll", reviewed, 807; Conrotte's "Intervención de España en la Independencia de los Estados Unidos", reviewed, 837.
- American War Government, 1917-1918*, by F. L. PAXSON, 54-76; lack of preparation before April 6, 1917, 54-57; the Council of National Defense, its advisory committee, and emergency legislation, 58-68; darkest period, 69-70; the Overman Bill, gradual development of an organized war government, 70-76.
- AMES, H. V., (R) McLaughlin's "Development of American Democracy", 344.
- Ancient history, Glotz's "Travail dans la Grèce Ancienne", reviewed, 493; KNIPFING's *German Historians and Macedonian Imperialism*, 657-671; Cagnat and Chapot's "Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine", II., reviewed, 752.
- "Ancillon, Johann Peter Friedrich, und Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm IV. von Preussen", by Paul Haake, reviewed, 358.
- ANDERSON, D. R., (R) Corwin's "John Marshall and the Constitution", 110; (R) Paine's "Fight for a Free Sea", 112; (R) Skinner's "Pioneers of the Old Southwest", 112; (R) Ogg's "Old Northwest", 114; (R) Ogg's "Reign of Andrew Jackson", 115.
- ANDERSON, F. M., (R) Cahen's "Lois Françaises de 1815 à nos

- Jours", 133; (R) Schefer's "D'Une Guerre à l'Autre", 329; (R) Fleury's "Memoirs of the Empress Eugénie", 360.
- "Answer to John Robinson of Leyden by a Puritan Friend", ed. Champlin Burrage, reviewed, 339.
- "Anteil der Schweizer an dem Italienischen Kriegen, 1494-1516", I., by E. Gagliardi, reviewed, 127.
- Archaeology, Cagnat and Chapot's "Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine", II., reviewed, 752.
- "Archaic England: an Essay in Deciphering Prehistory from Megalithic Monuments, Earthworks, etc.", by Harold Bayley, reviewed, 353.
- Arizona, "Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta", ed. H. E. Bolton, reviewed, 340.
- "Armies of Labor", by S. P. Orth, reviewed, 122.
- Art, Loumyer's "Traditions Techniques de la Peinture Médiévale", reviewed, 564.
- "Asquith, Margot, an Autobiography", reviewed, 525.
- "Atlantic Coast Line Railroad", by H. D. Dozier, reviewed, 148.
- Aulard, Alphonse, "Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française", reviewed, 830.
- Aurner, C. R., "History of Education in Iowa", V., reviewed, 842.
- "Aus Meinem Leben", by Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, reviewed, 96.
- "Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie", reviewed, 368.
- Ayusawa, I. F., "International Labor Legislation", reviewed, 361.
- BABCOCK, K. C., (R) Aurner's "History of Education in Iowa", V., 842.
- Bach, C. A., "The Fourth Division", reviewed, 593.
- Bagdad Railway plan, Bethmann-Hollweg's, 48.
- Baker, Lt.-Col. C. B., 465, 466.
- Baker, N. D., sec. of war, 464-466, 470; address by, 414.
- Baker, R. P., "History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation", reviewed, 844.
- BALDWIN, J. F., (R) Tout's "Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England", I., II., 78.
- Balkans, BRYCE's *Life of Disraeli*, V., VI., 672-682.
- Ballard, Adolphus, "Eleventh-Century Inquisition of St. Augustine's, Canterbury", reviewed, 319.
- Bangs, Mary R., "Old Cape Cod: the Land, the Men, the Sea", reviewed, 588.
- BARBOUR, VIOLET, (R) Elias's "Voorspel van den Eersten Engelschen Oorlog", 356.
- BARKER, ERNEST, and Wells's *Outline of History*, 646, 648; (R) Dunning's "Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer", 772.
- Baruch, B. M., 57, 58, 68, 69, 70, 73.
- Bayley, Harold, "Archaic England", reviewed, 353.
- Beaconsfield, B.: Disraeli, earl of, attitude toward Confederacy, 258, 261; BRYCE's *Life of Disraeli*, V., VI., 672-682.
- BEARD, MARY, (R) Carlton's "Organized Labor in American History", 369; "Short History of the American Labor Movement", reviewed, 591.
- BECKER, CARL, (R) Bury's "Idea of Progress", 77; "United States: an Experiment in Democracy", reviewed, 337; (R) Lockett's "Relations of French and English Society, 1763-1793", 575; *Mr. Wells and the New History*, 641-656.
- Beer, G. L., prize, establishment of, 432.
- Belaunde, V. A., paper by, 425.
- Belgium, pre-arranged German excuse for advance through, in 1914, 48-49; position in July, 1914, 252; Kurth's "Guet-apens Prussien en Belgique", reviewed, 363.
- "Belgium: the Making of a Na-

- tion", by H. Vander Linden, reviewed, 355.
- "Belgrano, Manuel, *Personalidad de*", by Emilio Ravignani, reviewed, 845.
- Belote, Theodore, address by, 417.
- "Benedictine Monachism: Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule", by Cuthbert Butler, reviewed, 754.
- Berchtold, Leopold, count, Austrian foreign minister, 39, 43-48, 50, 52, 228, 230, 238, 239, 244, 252.
- Berlin, Congress of, BRYCE'S *Life of Disraeli*, V., VI., 672-682.
- Bernstorff, J. H., count, "My Three Years in America", reviewed, 98.
- Bethmann-Hollweg, German chancellor, 37, 39, 41-52, 239, 241, 245, 251, 252, 254.
- "Bibliografia della Storia della Riforma Religiosa in Italia", by Piero Chiminelli, reviewed, 827.
- BIDWELL, P. W., paper by, 428; *Agricultural Revolution in New England*, 683-702.
- BIGELOW, JOHN, (R) Hindenburg's "Aus Meinem Leben", 96.
- Bingham, Hiram, "An Explorer in the Air Service", reviewed, 596.
- Bishop, J. B., "Theodore Roosevelt and his Time", reviewed, 552.
- Bismarck, Otto von, prince, comment on Disraeli, 676.
- "Bismarck's Auswärtige Politik nach der Reichsgründung", by Hans Plehn, reviewed, 516.
- "Blacman, John, *Memoir: Henry the Sixth*", reviewed, 126.
- Blakeslee, G. H., (ed.) "Mexico and the Caribbean", reviewed, 817.
- Bland, A. E., (ed.) "English Economic History: Select Documents", reviewed, 314.
- "Bligh's, Captain, *Second Voyage to the South Seas*", by Ida Lee, reviewed, 829.
- BLISS, F. J., (R) Scheltema's "Lebanon in Turmoil", 326.
- Bloch, Marc, "Rois et Serfs", reviewed, 758.
- BOAK, A. E. R., (R) Bach and Hall's "Fourth Division", 593; (R) Taylor's "History of the Twenty-sixth Division", 594.
- Boardman, Mabel, welcome by, 414.
- Boer War, 34-35.
- BOGART, E. L., (R) Hulbert's "Paths of Inland Commerce", 145; "Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War", reviewed, 362; "The Industrial State, 1870-1893", reviewed, 548.
- Bohemians, Čapek's "Čechs in America", reviewed, 142.
- BOLTON, H. E., (ed.) "Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta", reviewed, 340; (R) Maas's "Órdenes Religiosas de España y la Colonización de América en la Segunda Parte del Siglo XVIII.", 366; "Colonization of North America", reviewed, 540.
- Bond, B. W., jr., "Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies", reviewed, 802.
- Boroughs, Sir John, "Sovereignty of the British Seas", reviewed, 128.
- Boundaries, Burrage's "Maine in the N. E. Boundary Controversy", reviewed, 367.
- Bourchier, J. D., and Balkan War of 1912, 677.
- BOURNE, H. E., (R) Fling's "Writing of History", 305; (R) Carré's "La Noblesse de France et l'Opinion Publique au XVIIIe Siècle", 573; (R) Mathiez's "L'Affaire de la Compagnie des Indes", 830.
- BOYD, W. K., (R) Thompson's "New South", 146.
- BRECK, EDWARD, (R) Paine's "Corsair in the War Zone", 371; (R) Fayle's "Seaborne Trade", I., "Cruiser Period", 531; (R) Kraftt and Norris's "Sea Power in American History", 589; (R) Gleaves's "History of the Transport Service", 813.
- Brett, G. P., 7.
- "Brief History of the Great War", by C. J. H. Hayes, reviewed, 91.
- Brigham, A. P., "Cape Cod and the Old Colony", reviewed, 587.

- "Britain and Greater Britain in the Nineteenth Century". by E: A. Hughes, reviewed, 133.
- "British Army, History of the", IX., X., by J: W. Fortescue, reviewed, 781.
- BROXSON, W. C., (R) Thorndike's "Literature in a Changing Age", 362; (R) Wright's "Literary Culture in Early New England", 543; (R) "Cambridge History of American Literature", III., IV., 812.
- BROWN, E. S., "Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase", reviewed, 143; (R) Hayden's "Senate and Treaties, 1789-1817", 591.
- BROWN, LOUISE F., (R) Boroughs's "Sovereignty of the British Seas", 128.
- Brown, P. A., (ed.) "English Economic History: Select Documents", reviewed, 314.
- Bruce, P. A., "History of the University of Virginia", I., II., reviewed, 808.
- BYRCE, JAMES, VISCOUNT, *Life of Disraeli, V., VI.*, 672-682.
- Buchanan, Sir George, British ambassador to Russia, 230, 231, 239, 244, 245, 254.
- Buck, S. J., "Agrarian Crusade", reviewed, 147.
- "Budget and Responsible Government", by F: A. Cleveland, reviewed, 148.
- Bunsen, Sir Maurice de, British ambassador to Austria, 46.
- "Burford Records: a Study in Minor Town Government", by R. H. Gretton, reviewed, 824.
- Burgess, W. S., "John Robinson", reviewed, 338.
- Burgoyne, Gen. J. F., 33.
- BURR, G: L., 3; (R) Turberville's "Mediaeval Heresy and the Inquisition", 318; (R) Villiers's "Storm van 's Gravesande, zijn Werk en zijn Leven", 574.
- BURRAGE, CHAMPLIN, (R) Colonial Society of Massachusetts, "Publications", XXII., pt. I., 837.
- Burrage, H: S., "Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy", reviewed, 367.
- Bury, J: B., "Idea of Progress", reviewed, 77.
- Busolt, Georg, deceased, 601.
- Butler, Cuthbert, "Benedictine Monachism", reviewed, 754.
- Butler, N. M., (introd.), "American Foreign Policy, based upon Statements of Presidents and Secretaries of State", reviewed, 141.
- Cagnat, R., "Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine", reviewed, 752.
- Cahen, L., "Lois Françaises de 1815 à nos Jours", reviewed, 133.
- California, "Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta", ed. H. E. Bolton, reviewed, 340; Canfield's "Diary of a Forty-Niner", reviewed, 592.
- "Cambridge History of American Literature", III., IV., ed. W: P. Trent, J: Erskine, S. P. Stuart, Carl Van Doren, reviewed, 812.
- "Cambridgeshire, Feudal", by W: Farrer, reviewed, 354.
- "Campbell, John Archibald", by H: G. Connor, reviewed, 119.
- Canada, 23, 24, 28, 29, 34; Kennedy's "Documents of the Canadian Constitution", reviewed, 597; Skelton's "Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt", reviewed, 815; Vaughan's "Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne", reviewed, 843; Baker's "History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation", reviewed, 844.
- "Canada, Histoire du", II., by F-X. Garneau, reviewed, 556.
- "Canadian Dominion: a Chronicle of our Northern Neighbor", by O. D. Skelton, reviewed, 350.
- Canfield, C. L., (ed.) "Diary of a Forty-Niner", reviewed, 592.
- "Cape Cod, Old: the Land, the Men, the Sea", by Mary R. Bangs, reviewed, 588.

- "Cape Cod and the Old Colony", by A. P. Brigham, reviewed, 587.
- Cape Colony, 23, 24, 34.
- Čapek, T.: "Čechs (Bohemians) in America", reviewed, 142.
- "Capital, Masters of", by J. Moody, reviewed, 121.
- "Captain Bligh's Second Voyage to the South Seas", by Ida Lee, reviewed, 829.
- "Cardinal Nicholas de Cues: l'Action, la Pensée", by Edmond Vansteenberghe, reviewed, 763.
- "Caribbean, Mexico and the", ed. G. H. Blakeslee, reviewed, 817.
- Carlton, F. T., "Organized Labor in American History", reviewed, 369; paper by, 417.
- "Carnegie, Andrew, Autobiography of", reviewed, 368.
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, publications, *see* J. B. Scott.
- Carré, Henri, "La Noblesse de France et l'Opinion Publique au XVIIIe Siècle", reviewed, 573.
- "Castellidosrius, Marqués de, Veladas Literarias del", by José Revello de Torre, reviewed, 153.
- "Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri", by G. J. Garaghan, reviewed, 144.
- Caution regarding Military Documents*, by T. C. PEASE, 282-284.
- "Čechs (Bohemians) in America", by T. Čapek, reviewed, 142.
- "Centennial History of Illinois", I, IV., reviewed, 341, 548.
- Chafee, Zechariah, jr., "Freedom of Speech", reviewed, 819.
- "Chalcidic League, History of the", by A. B. West, reviewed, 562.
- Chamberlain, G. E., senator, 69.
- CHANNING, EDWARD, *An Historical Retrospect*, 191-202; paper by, 415.
- CHAPIN, F. S., (R) McDougall's "The Group Mind", 748.
- Chapot, V., "Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine", reviewed, 752.
- "Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England", I., II., by T. F. Tout, reviewed, 78.
- Charbonnel, J.-R., "La Pensée Italienne au XVIe Siècle et le Courant Libertain", reviewed, 504.
- "Chartist Movement, History of the", by Julius West, reviewed, 513.
- "Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester", pt. I., ed. James Tait, reviewed, 567.
- Cheyney, E. P., "Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England", reviewed, 568.
- Chiminelli, Piero, "Bibliografia della Storia della Riforma Religiosa in Italia", reviewed, 827.
- "China, Foreign Rights and Interests in", by W. W. Willoughby, reviewed, 138.
- Chinese Historical Sources*, by W. T. SWINGLE, 717-725; remarkable Chinese records and interest in history, 717-721; book collections in U. S. relating to China, 722; importance of Chinese history, 722-723; list of new books appended, 723-725.
- Chinese Historical Studies during the Past Seven Years*, by K. S. LATOURETTE, 703-716; necrology, 703-704; periodicals, 704-706; book collections in U. S. relating to China, 706-707; publications since beginning of Great War, 708-716.
- "Christianity, Transformation of Early", by L. P. Edwards, reviewed, 126.
- CHRISTIE, F. A., (R) Maxson's "Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies", 105.
- "Chronicles of America", XVI.-XX.; XXXVIII.-XL.; XLII., XLV., reviewed, 109-110; 120; 146, 147.
- CHURCH, F. C., (R) Rodocanachi's "La Réforme en Italie", 769; (R) Chiminelli's "Bibliografia della Storia della Riforma Religiosa in Italia", 827.
- Civil War, *GOLDER'S American Civil*

- War through the Eyes of a Russian Diplomat*, 454-463.
- Civil War, General M. C. Meigs on the Conduct of the*, (doc.), 285-303.
- "Civilization, French, from its Origins to the Close of the Middle Ages", by A. L. Guérard, reviewed, 755.
- CLARK, C: U., (R) Page's "Italy and the World War", 834.
- CLARK, V. S., (R) Moody's "Railroad Builders", 120; (R) Moody's "Masters of Capital", 121; (R) Orth's "Armies of Labor", 122; (R) Stuart's "Secrets of Crewe House", 533.
- Clemen, R. A., paper by, 429.
- Cleveland, F: A., "Budget and Responsible Government", reviewed, 148.
- "Cluny, Early History of the Monastery of", by L. M. Smith, reviewed, 821.
- "Coal, Iron, and War: a Study in Industrialism", by E. C. Eckel, reviewed, 307.
- Cobden, John, 26-27.
- "Codice Diplomatico dei Re Aragonesi di Sicilia", I., by Giuseppi La Mantia, reviewed, 81.
- "Coen, Jan Pietersz", ed. H. T. Colenbrander, reviewed, 130.
- Coke Papers, "Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783 to 1785", notes of D. P. Coke, reviewed, 804.
- Colenbrander, H. T., (ed.) "Jan Pietersz Coen", reviewed, 130.
- COLLIER, THEODORE, (R) Mathorez's "Étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime", I., 82; (R) Lhéritier's "Intendant Tourny", 321.
- COLLINS, R. W., (R) McCulloch's "Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D.", 598.
- Coloman, king of Hungary, and the Crusaders, 443, 445, 448.
- Colonial Society of Massachusetts, "Publications", XX., XXI., XXII., pt. I., reviewed, 585, 837.
- Colonies, English, SCHUYLER's *Recall of the Legions: Decentralization of the British Empire*, 18-36; Cory's "Rise of South Africa", III., reviewed, 357; Theal's "History of South Africa from 1783 to 1884", reviewed, 795.
- Colonies, English-American, "Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1715-1717", I., reviewed, 140; Lord's "Plymouth and the Pilgrims", reviewed, 586; Bond's "Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies", 802.
- Colonies, French, Martineau's "Dupleix et l'Inde Française", reviewed, 509; Mathiez's "L'Affaire de la Compagnie des Indes", reviewed, 830.
- "Colonies, Middle, Great Awakening in the", by C: H. Maxson, reviewed, 105.
- Colonization, American, Maas's "Órdenes Religiosas", reviewed, 366.
- "Colonization of North America", by H. E. Bolton and T: M. Marshall, reviewed, 540.
- "Columbian Tradition on the Discovery of America", by H: Vignaud, reviewed, 139.
- Commerce, Chamber of, U. S., 68.
- "Commerce, Paths of Inland", by A. B. Hulbert, reviewed, 145.
- COMSTOCK, ALZADA, (R) Bogart's "Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War", 362.
- Confederate Diplomat at the Court of Napoleon III.*, by L: M. SEARS, 255-281; negotiations for intervention and recognition, 255-264; the cotton loan, 265-269; falling hopes, 272-276; after Appomattox, 276-281.
- "Confidential Correspondence of Gustavus V. Fox", I., II., ed. R. M. Thompson and Richard Wainwright, reviewed, 841.
- Connecticut, "Fitch Papers", II., reviewed, 366; Gipson's "Jared Ingersoll", reviewed, 807.
- Connecticut Historical Society, "Collections", XVIII., reviewed, 366.
- Connor, H: G., "John Archibald Campbell", reviewed, 119.

- "Conquest of the Old Southwest", by Archibald Henderson, reviewed, 116.
- Conrotte, Manuel, "Intervención de España en la Independencia de los Estados Unidos", reviewed, 837.
- Constantinople, Russian desire for, 225, 233, 254.
- "Constitution, John Marshall and the", by E. S. Corwin, reviewed, 109.
- "Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase, 1803-1812", by E. S. Brown, reviewed, 143.
- COOLIDGE, A. C., paper by, 424; (R) Eckhardstein's "Lebenserinnerungen und Politische Denkwürdigkeiten", 516; (R) "Memoirs of Count Witte", 790.
- Corbett, J. S., "History of the Great War, Naval", I., reviewed, 94.
- Cordier, Henri, "Ser Marco Polo", reviewed, 499.
- "Corruption in Roman Administration in the Last Half-Century of the Roman Republic", by R. O. Jolliffe, reviewed, 125.
- "*Corsair* in the War Zone", by R. D. Paine, reviewed, 371.
- Corwin, E. S., "John Marshall and the Constitution", reviewed, 109.
- Cory, G. E., "Rise of South Africa", III., reviewed, 357.
- Cotton, Daniels's "Early English Cotton Industry", reviewed, 510.
- Council of National Defense, 56, 57, 59, 63, 66, 67, 70, 74, 466, 467; advisory commission, 56, 57-59, 466, 467.
- CRANE, T. F., (R) Charbonnel's "La Pensée Italienne au XVIIe Siècle", 504.
- CRANE, V. W., (R) Bolton and Marshall's "Colonization of North America", 540.
- Creighton, Dr. Mandell, 2.
- "Crewe House, Secrets of", by Campbell Stuart, reviewed, 533.
- CROSS, A. L., (R) Morgan's "English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne", 132; (R) Cory's "Rise of South Africa", III., 357.
- CRUIKSHANK, E. A., (R) Fortescue's "History of the British Army", IX., X., 781.
- "Cruiser Period", I., "Seaborne Trade", by C. E. Fayle, reviewed, 531.
- Crusades, DUNCALF's *Peasant's Crusade*, 440-453; Hellmann's "Das Mittelalter bis zum Ausgange der Kreuzzüge", reviewed, 495.
- Cumming, C. K., (ed.) "Russian-American Relations, March, 1917-March, 1920", reviewed, 371.
- Curnock, N., (ed.) "Journal of the Rev. John Wesley", VII., VIII., reviewed, 322.
- "Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865", ed. W. C. Ford, reviewed, 546.
- "Dalmatia and the Yugoslav Movement", by Louis Voinovitch, reviewed, 521.
- Daniels, G. W., "Early English Cotton Industry", reviewed, 510.
- DAVID, C. W., "Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy", reviewed, 498; (R) Bloch's "Rois et Serfs", 758.
- DAVIS, W. S., (R) Hayes's "Brief History of the Great War", 91; "History of France", reviewed, 313.
- DAY, CLIVE, (R) Colenbrander's "Jan Pietersz Coen", 130; (R) Haskins and Lord's "Problems of the Peace Conference", 334; address by, 416; paper by, 425.
- "Day of the Crescent: Glimpses of Old Turkey", by G. E. Hubbard, reviewed, 129.
- Democracy, Emerson's "New Frontier: a Study of the American Liberal Spirit", reviewed, 370; impressions of American, GOLDER's *American Civil War through the Eyes of a Russian Diplomat*, 454-463; Turner's "Frontier in American History", reviewed, 542; Mer-

- riam's "American Political Ideas", reviewed, 551.
- "Democracy, Steps in the Development of American", by A. C. McLaughlin, reviewed, 344.
- "Democracy, United States: an Experiment in", by Carl Becker, reviewed, 337.
- Denis, Ernest, deceased, 601.
- Denison, Sir William, 33, 34, 35.
- Denman, William, 60.
- "Deutschland und Amerika", by Count Bernstorff, reviewed, 98.
- De Villiers, J. A. J., "Storm van 's Gravesande, zijn Werk en zijn Leven", reviewed, 574.
- Dexter, Franklin B., deceased, 154.
- "Diary of a Forty-Niner", ed. C. L. Canfield, reviewed, 592.
- Dillon, E. J., "Inside Story of the Peace Conference", reviewed, 101.
- Diplomatic history, FAY's *New Light on the Origins of the World War*, II., III., 37-52; 225-254; La Mantia's "Codice Diplomatico dei Re Aragonesi di Sicilia", I., reviewed, 81; Bernstorff's "My Three Years in America", reviewed, 88; Dillon's "Inside Story of the Peace Conference", reviewed, 101; Scott's "Introduction to the Peace Treaties", reviewed, 137; Willoughby's "Foreign Rights and Interests in China", reviewed, 138; "American Foreign Policy, based upon Statements of Presidents and Secretaries of State", reviewed, 141; Hall's "Monroe Doctrine and the Great War", reviewed, 150; SEARS'S *A Confederate Diplomat at the Court of Napoleon III.*, 255-281; Latané's "United States and Latin America", reviewed, 329; Schefer's "D'Une Guerre à l'Autre", reviewed, 329; Haskins and Lord's "Some Problems of the Peace Conference", reviewed, 334; Burrage's "Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy", reviewed, 367; Cumming and Pettit's "Russian-American Relations, March, 1917-March, 1920", reviewed, 371; Plehn's "Bismarck's Auswärtige Politik nach der Reichsgründung", reviewed, 516; Temperley's "History of the Peace Conference", reviewed, 535; Lockey's "Pan-Americanism", reviewed, 559; Hayden's "Senate and Treaties", reviewed, 591; Bryce's *Life of Disraeli*, V., VI., 672-682; Stern's "Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871", VIII., reviewed, 784; Yarmolinsky's "Memoirs of Count Witte", reviewed, 790; Conrotte's "Intervención de España en la Independencia de los Estados Unidos", reviewed, 837.
- "Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War", by E. L. Bogart, reviewed, 362.
- Disraeli, Life of*, V., VI., by Viscount Bryce, 672-682.
- "Documents of the Canadian Constitution", ed. W. P. M. Kennedy, reviewed, 597.
- Dodd, W. E.; (R) Hamilton's "Papers of Thomas Ruffin", III., 810.
- Dodds, Madeleine H., (introd.) "Extracts from the Newcastle upon Tyne Council Minute Book", Records Com. Publications, I., reviewed, 571.
- Donnan, Elizabeth, 15; paper by, 426.
- Dozier, H. D., "Atlantic Coast Line Railroad", reviewed, 148.
- Draco River, battle at, 451.
- Drouyn de Lhuys, Édouard, French foreign minister, attitude toward Confederacy, 266-268, 274, 276.
- Drumm, Stella M., (ed.) Luttig's "Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri", reviewed, 839.
- Dubnow, S. M., "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland", III., reviewed, 833.
- "Due dell'Estrema, il Guerrazzi e il Brofferio", by Ferdinando Martini, reviewed, 831.
- Duggan, S. P., paper by, 425.

- Du Motey, H: R., vicomte, "Origines de la Normandie et du Duché d'Alençon de l'An 580 à l'An 1085", reviewed, 566.
- DUNCALF, FREDERIC, *The Peasants' Crusade*, 440-453.
- "D'Une Guerre à l'Autre: la Politique Extérieure de la Troisième République", by Christian Schefer, reviewed, 329.
- Dunning, W: A., "Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer", reviewed, 772.
- "Dupleix et l'Inde Française, 1722-1741", by Alfred Martineau, reviewed, 509.
- Dutcher, G: M., paper by, 423.
- "Early English Cotton Industry", by G: W. Daniels, reviewed, 510.
- "Early History of the Monastery of Cluny", by L. M. Smith, reviewed, 821.
- "Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania", by Thomas Woody, reviewed, 838.
- "East by West, Essay in Transportation", by A. J. Morrison, reviewed, 138.
- Eckardstein, Hermann, "Lebenserinnerungen und Politische Denkwürdigkeiten", reviewed, 517.
- Eckel, E. C., "Coal, Iron, and War", reviewed, 307.
- Economic conditions, one cause for failure of Peasants' Crusade, 450-453.
- Economic history, Moody's "Railroad Builders" and "Masters of Capital", reviewed, 120; Orth's "Armies of Labor", reviewed, 120; Morrison's "East by West, Essays in Transportation", reviewed, 138; Hulbert's "Paths of Inland Commerce", reviewed, 145; Thompson's "New South", reviewed, 146; Dozier's "Atlantic Coast Line Railroad", reviewed, 148; Eckel's "Coal, Iron, and War", reviewed, 307; "Social and Economic History of England and Wales", IV., reviewed, 319; Hammond's "Skilled Labourer", reviewed, 324; Elias's "Voorspel von den Eersten Engelschen Oorlog", reviewed, 356; Bogart's "Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great War", reviewed, 362; Carlton's "Organized Labor in American History", reviewed, 369; luncheon-conference on, 416-417; Glotz's "Travail dans la Grèce Ancienne", reviewed, 493; Daniels's "Early English Cotton Industry", reviewed, 510; BIDWELL's *Agricultural Revolution in New England*, 683-702; Melvin's "Napoleon's Navigation System", reviewed, 773.
- "Economic History, English: Select Documents", ed. A. E. Bland, P. A. Brown, and R. H. Tawney, reviewed, 314.
- "Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic", by Tenney Frank, reviewed, 309.
- EDGELL, G: H., (R) Loumyer's "Les Traditions Techniques de la Peinture Médiévale", 564.
- Education, Mumford's "Manchester Grammar School", reviewed, 127; Haarhoff's "Schools of Gaul", reviewed, 563; Woody's "Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania", reviewed, 838.
- Edwards, L. P., "Transformation of Early Christianity", reviewed, 126.
- EDWARDS, M. L., (R) O'Daniel's "Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick", 347.
- Egerton, H. E.; (ed.) "Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783-1785", reviewed, 804.
- Eggeling, German mil. attaché at Petrograd, 239, 249.
- "Eighty-Second Division American Expeditionary Forces, Official History of", reviewed, 151.
- "Eleventh-Century Inquisition of St. Augustine's, Canterbury", by Augustus Ballard, reviewed, 319.

- Elias, J: E., "Voorspel van den Eersten Engelschen Oorlog", reviewed, 356.
- Elliot, Sir T. F., 30, 33.
- Emergency Fleet Corporation, 60, 62, 63.
- Emerson, Guy, "New Frontier", reviewed, 370.
- EMERTON, EPHRAIM, 4, 5; (R) Van-steenbergh's "Cardinal Nicholas de Cues", 763.
- Emicho, leader in Peasants' Crusade, 440, 448.
- "Employment of the Plebiscite in the Determination of Sovereignty", by Johannes Mattern, reviewed, 578.
- England, Tout's "Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England", I., II., reviewed, 78; Trevelyan's "Lord Grey of the Reform Bill", reviewed, 90; "Social and Economic History", IV., reviewed, 319; Farrer's "Feudal Cambridgeshire", reviewed, 354; Lockitt's "Relations of French and English Society, 1793", reviewed, 575; BRYCE'S *Life of Disraeli*, V., VI., 672-682.
- "England, Archaic", by Harold Bayley, reviewed, 353.
- "England, Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of", by E. P. Cheyney, reviewed, 568.
- "England, Political Thought in, from Locke to Bentham", by H. J. Laski, reviewed, 572.
- "England in Transition, 1789-1832", by W: L. Mathieson, reviewed, 576.
- "England under the Yorkists", by Isobel D. Thornley, reviewed, 569.
- "English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth", by J: H. Pollen, reviewed, 84.
- "English Cotton Industry, Early", by G: W. Daniels, reviewed, 510.
- "English Economic History: Select Documents", ed. A. E. Bland, P. A. Brown, and R. H. Tawney, reviewed, 314.
- "English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne, 1702-1710", by W: T. Morgan, reviewed, 132.
- "English Reform Bill of 1867", by J. H. Park, reviewed, 515.
- Erlangers, and Confederate cotton loan, 266, 268, 270.
- Erskine, John, (ed.) "Cambridge History of American Literature", III., IV., reviewed, 812.
- "Étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime", I., by J. Mathorez, reviewed, 82.
- "Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française", by Alphonse Aulard, reviewed, 830.
- "Eugénie, Memoirs of the Empress", by Comte Fleury, reviewed, 360.
- "Europe, 1789-1920", by E: R. Turner, reviewed, 777.
- Europe in the nineteenth century, Stern's "Geschichte Europas", VIII., reviewed, 784.
- Evans, A. P., paper by, 423.
- "Evolution of Sinn Fein", by R. M. Henry, reviewed, 523.
- "Explorer in the Air Service", by Hiram Bingham, reviewed, 596.
- "Falklands, Battle of the, December, 1914", by Sir J. S. Corbett, reviewed, 94.
- Far East, Willoughby's "Foreign Rights and Interests in China", reviewed, 138; Hara's "Introduction to the History of Japan", reviewed, 539; LATOURETTE'S *Chinese Historical Studies during the Past Seven Years*, 703-716; SWINGLE'S *Chinese Historical Sources*, 717-725.
- Farrer, William, "Feudal Cambridgeshire", reviewed, 354.
- Fauchille, Paul, (pref.) "La Guerre de 1914: Recueil de Documents intéressant le Droit International", III., reviewed, 580.
- FAY, S. B., *New Light on the Origins of the World War*, II., *Berlin and Vienna, July 29-31, 37-52*; III., *Russia and the other Powers*, 225-

- 254; (R) Haake's "Ancillon und Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm IV. von Preussen", 358.
- Fayle, C. E., "Seaborne Trade", I., "Cruiser Period", reviewed, 531.
- Federal Reserve Board, 72.
- "Fenwick, Right Rev. Edward Dominic, O. P.", by V. F. O'Daniel, reviewed, 347.
- "Ferdinand Gregorovius, der Geschichtschreiber der Stadt Rom", by Johannes Hönig, reviewed, 786.
- FERGUSON, W. S., (R) West's "History of the Chalcidic League", 562.
- "Feudal Cambridgeshire", by W. Farrer, reviewed, 354.
- "Fight for a Free Sea", by R. D. Paine, reviewed, 112.
- "Finding of the *Mayflower*", by Rendel Harris, reviewed, 799.
- "Fine dell'Esercito Pontificio", by Attilio Vigeveno, reviewed, 788.
- FISH, C. R., (R) Vestal's "Maintenance of Peace", 304; *The German Indemnity and the South*, 489-490; (R) "Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865", 546.
- FISKE, B. A., (R) Corbett's "History of the Great War", I., 94; "From Midshipman to Rear-Admiral", reviewed, 122.
- "Fitch Papers: Correspondence and Documents during Thomas Fitch's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1754-1766", II., reviewed, 366.
- Fitzmaurice, E. B., "Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland", reviewed, 823.
- Fletcher, C. B., "Stevenson's Germany", reviewed, 373.
- Fleury, Comte, "Memoirs of the Empress Eugénie", reviewed, 360.
- Fliche, Augustin, "Saint Grégoire VII.", reviewed, 823.
- FLING, F. M., "Writing of History", reviewed, 305; (R) Sée's "Les Idées Politiques en France au XVIIIe Siècle", 507.
- Food Administration, 61, 63, 65, 66, 71.
- FORD, G. S., (R) Haake's "Der Preussische Verfassungskampf vor Hundert Jahren", 512; (R) Gooch's "Germany and the French Revolution", 775; (R) Lehmann's "Freiherr vom Stein", 779.
- Ford, W. C., report by, 418; (ed.) "Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865", reviewed, 546.
- "Foreign Rights and Interests in China", by W. W. Willoughby, reviewed, 138.
- Fortescue, J. W., "History of the British Army", IX., X., reviewed, 781.
- FOSTER, H. D., (R) "Catalogue or Bibliography of the Library of the Huguenot Society of America", 570.
- Fournier, August, deceased, 154.
- "Fourth Division, its Services and Achievements in the World War", by C. A. Bach and H. N. Hall, reviewed, 593.
- Fox, D. R., (comp.) "Harper's Atlas of American History", reviewed, 584.
- "Fox, Gustavus V., Confidential Correspondence of", I., II., ed. R. M. Thompson and Richard Wainwright, reviewed, 841.
- "Fox, Henry, First Lord Holland", by the Earl of Ilchester, reviewed, 87.
- France, Mathorez's "Étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime", I., reviewed, 82; Cahen and Mathiez's "Lois Françaises de 1815 à nos Jours", reviewed, 133; Schefer's "D'Une Guerre à l'Autre", reviewed, 329; Fleury's "Memoirs of the Empress Eugénie", reviewed, 360; Sée's "Les Idées Politiques en France au XVIIIe Siècle", reviewed, 507; Lockett's "Relations of French and English Society, 1793", reviewed, 575; Bloch's "Rois et Serfs", reviewed, 758.

- "France, History of: from the Earliest Times to the Treaty of Versailles", by W. S. Davis, reviewed, 313.
- "France, La Noblesse de, et l'Opinion Publique au XVIIIe Siècle", by H: Carré, reviewed, 573.
- Francis Joseph I., Austria-Hungary, 45, 47, 50.
- "Franciscan Province of Ireland, Materials for the History of", ed. E. B. Fitzmaurice, reviewed, 823.
- Frank, Tenney, "Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic", reviewed, 309.
- Franz Ferdinand, archduke, murder of, 52, 228, 252.
- "Freedom of Speech", by Zechariah Chafee, jr., reviewed, 819.
- Freedom of the seas, Paine's "Fight for a Free Sea", reviewed, 112; Borough's "Sovereignty of the British Seas", reviewed, 128.
- "Freiherr vom Stein", by Max Lehmann, reviewed, 779.
- "French Civilization from its Origins to the Close of the Middle Ages", by A. L. Guérard, reviewed, 755.
- French Revolution, Aulard's "Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française", reviewed, 830.
- "French Revolution, Germany and the", by G. P. Gooch, reviewed, 775.
- Friedjung, Heinrich, deceased, 601.
- "From Midshipman to Rear-Admiral", by B. A. Fiske, reviewed, 122.
- "Frontier in American History", by F: J. Turner, reviewed, 542.
- Frothingham, T: G., "True Account of the Battle of Jutland", reviewed, 835.
- FRYER, C. E., (R) Trevelyan's "Lord Grey of the Reform Bill", 90; (R) Peel's "Private Letters of Sir Robert Peel", 577.
- Fuel Administration, 64-66.
- "Fünfzig Jahre Riechsdienst: Lebenserinnerungen", by Ottmar von Mohl, reviewed, 519.
- Fulk, leader in Peasants' Crusade, 440, 447.
- FULLER, J. V., (R) Plehn's "Bismarck's Auswärtige Politik nach der Reichsgründung", 516.
- Fur-trade, Skinner's "Adventurers of Oregon", reviewed, 117; Luttig's "Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri", reviewed, 839.
- Gagliardi, Ernst, "Antiel der Schweizer an den Italienischen Kriegen, 1494-1516", I., reviewed, 127.
- "Galliéni, Mémoires du Général", reviewed, 530.
- "Galt, Sir Alexander Tilloch, Life and Times of", by O. D. Skelton, reviewed, 815.
- Garneau, F.-X., "Histoire du Canada", II., reviewed, 556.
- Garner, J. W., "International Law and the World War", reviewed, 526.
- Garraghan, G. J., "Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri", reviewed, 144.
- Garrison, F. H., paper by, 420.
- "Gaul, Schools of", by Theodore Haarhoff, reviewed, 563.
- GAY, H. N., (R) Vigeveno's "La Fine dell'Esercito Pontificio", 788; (R) Martini's "Due dell'Estrema, il Guerrazzi e il Brofferio", 831.
- General M. C. Meigs on the Conduct of the Civil War* (doc.), 285-303.
- General Staff, U. S. A., 54, 57, 61, 70, 470, 484; operations div. of, 470, 473, 479, 482-484.
- Geography, "Harper's Atlas of American History", reviewed, 584.
- George V., England, 45, 51.
- German Historians and Macedonian Imperialism*, by J: R. KNIPPING, 657-671; Niebuhr represented anti-Napoleonic Germany, 657-658; growing Prussian ambition colors views of Macedonian conquests, 658-661; even careful scholars regard Demosthenes as mistaken particularist, 662-669; pre-war

- work of German—and other—historians needs thoughtful revision, 670-671.
- German Indemnity and the South*, by C. R. FISH, 489-490.
- Germany, foreign policy, Plehn's "Bismarck's Auswärtige Politik nach der Reichsgründung", reviewed, 516; Eckardstein's "Lebenserinnerungen und Politische Denkwürdigkeiten", reviewed, 517.
- Germany, Haake's "Ancillon und Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm IV. von Preussen", reviewed, 358; Noske's "Von Kiel bis Kapp", reviewed, 794.
- "Germany, Stevenson's: the Case against Germany in the Pacific", by C. B. Fletcher, reviewed, 373.
- "Germany and the French Revolution", by G. P. Gooch, reviewed, 775.
- "Geschichte des Neuern Schweizerischen Staatsrechts", I., by E. His, reviewed, 88.
- "Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871", VIII., by Alfred Stern, reviewed, 784.
- Gipson, L. H., "Jared Ingersoll", reviewed, 807.
- Gladstone, W. E., 33-35.
- Gleaves, Albert, "History of the Transport Service", reviewed, 813.
- Glötz, Gustave, "Le Travail dans la Grèce Ancienne", reviewed, 493.
- Godley, J. R., 30, 33.
- Goethals, Gen. G. W., 60, 70, 472.
- GOLDER, F. A., *The American Civil War through the Eyes of a Russian Diplomat*, 454-463.
- Gompers, Samuel, 57, 58, 74.
- Gooch, G. P., "Germany and the French Revolution", reviewed, 775.
- Gooss, Richard, documents edited by, 225.
- Gottschalk, leader in Peasants' Crusade, 440, 447-448.
- "Government of the United States", by W. B. Munro, reviewed, 152.
- GRANT, W. L., (R) Kennedy's "Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915", 597.
- GRAS, N. S. B., (R) "English Economic History: Select Documents", 314.
- GRAY, H. L., (R) Cheyney's "Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England", 568.
- "Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies", by C. H. Maxson, reviewed, 105.
- Great Britain. *See* Navy, British.
- "Great Men and Great Days", by Stéphane Lauzanne, reviewed, 836.
- Great War, FAY's *New Light on the Origins of the World War*, II., 37-53, III., 225-254; PAXSON'S *American War Government*, 54-76; von Hindenburg's "Aus Meinem Leben", reviewed, 96; Bernstorff's "My Three Years in America", reviewed, 98; Dillon's "Inside Story of the Peace Conference", reviewed, 101; "Handbooks prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office", reviewed, 135, 365, 582; Scott's "Introduction to the Peace Treaties", reviewed, 137; "Official History of the 82nd Division American Expeditionary Forces", reviewed, 151; Sims's "Victory at Sea", reviewed, 332; Bogart's "Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great War", reviewed, 362; Kurth's "Guet-apens Prussien en Belgique", reviewed, 363; Paine's "The Corsair in the War Zone", reviewed, 371; McLEAN'S *Troop Movements on the American Railroads during the Great War*, 464-488; FISH'S *German Indemnity and the South*, 489-490; Garner's "International Law and the World War", reviewed, 526; "Mémoires du Général Galliéni", reviewed, 530; Fayle's "Seaborne Trade", I., "Cruiser Period", reviewed, 531;

- Stuart's "Secrets of Crewe House", reviewed, 533; Temperley's "History of the Peace Conference", reviewed, 535; McMaster's "United States in the World War", II., reviewed, 554; Lacour-Gayet's "Guillaume II., le Vaincu", reviewed, 579; Fauchille's "Guerre de 1914; Recueil de Documents", III., reviewed, 580; Halsey's "Literary Digest History of the World War", X., reviewed, 581; Bach and Hall's "Fourth Division", reviewed, 593; Taylor's "New England in France", reviewed, 594; Howe's "Memoirs of the Harvard Dead in the War against Germany", reviewed, 595; Bingham's "Explorer in the Air Service", reviewed, 596; Sargent's "Strategy on the Western Front", reviewed, 792; Noske's "Von Kiel bis Kapp", reviewed, 794; Gleaves's "History of the Transport Service", reviewed, 813; Page's "Italy and the World War", reviewed, 834; Frothingham's "True Account of the Battle of Jutland", reviewed, 835; Lauzanne's "Great Men and Great Days", reviewed, 836.
- "Great War, Brief History of the", by C. J. H. Hayes, reviewed, 91.
- "Great War, History of the, Naval Operations", I., by J. S. Corbett, reviewed, 94.
- "Great War, Little History of the", by H. Vast, reviewed, 582.
- "Great War, Monroe Doctrine and the", by A. B. Hall, reviewed, 150.
- "Great War, Short History of the", by A. F. Pollard, reviewed, 331.
- "Great War, Story of the", by R. G. Usher, reviewed, 136.
- "Grégoire VII., Saint", by Augustin Fliche, reviewed, 823.
- "Gregorovius, Ferdinand, der Geschichtschreiber der Stadt Rom", by Johannes Hönig, reviewed, 786.
- Grenville ministry, 19, 20.
- Gretton, R. H., "The Burford Records", reviewed, 824.
- Grey, Earl, 22, 27-29, 33.
- Grey, Sir Edward, 37, 39-41, 44, 46, 47, 229-231, 240, 241, 244, 251, 253-254.
- "Grey, Lord, of the Reform Bill", by G. M. Trevelyan, reviewed, 90.
- "Group Mind: . . . Collective Psychology . . . applied to the Interpretation of National Life and Character", by W. McDougall, reviewed, 748.
- Guérard, A. L., "French Civilization from its Origins to the Close of the Middle Ages", reviewed, 755.
- "Guerre de 1914: Recueil de Documents intéressant le Droit International", III., by Paul Fauchille, reviewed, 580.
- "Guet-apens Prussien en Belgique", by Godefroid Kurth, reviewed, 363.
- "Guillaume II., le Vaincu", by G. Lacour-Gayet, reviewed, 579.
- Gwynn, Stephen, "John Redmond's Last Years", reviewed, 134.
- Haake, Paul, "Ancillon und Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm IV. von Preussen", reviewed, 358; "Der Preussische Verfassungskampf vor Hundert Jahren", reviewed, 512.
- Haarhoff, Theodore, "Schools of Gaul: Pagan and Christian Education in the Last Century of the Western Empire", reviewed, 563.
- Hague Conference, 246.
- Hall, A. B., "Monroe Doctrine and the Great War", reviewed, 150.
- Hall, H. N., "The Fourth Division", reviewed, 593.
- HALL, J. P., (R) Scott's "Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union", 345.
- HALL, W. P., (R) Hammond's "Skilled Labourer", 324; (R) West's "History of the Chartist Movement", 513; (R) Mathieson's "England in Transition, 1789-1832", 576.

- Halsey, F. W., "Literary Digest History of the World War", X., reviewed, 581.
- Hamilton, J. G. deR., (ed.) "Papers of Thomas Ruffin", III., reviewed, 810.
- Hammond, J. L. and Barbara, "Skilled Labourer", reviewed, 324.
- HAMMOND, M. B., (R) Daniels's "Early English Cotton Industry", 510.
- "Handbooks prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office", nos. 1-42; 67-73, 96-109, 148-162; 76-88, 115-121, 131-138, reviewed, 135, 365, 582.
- Hanotaux, Gabriel, (pref.) Garneau's "Histoire du Canada", II., reviewed, 556.
- Hara, Katsuro, "Introduction to the History of Japan", reviewed, 539.
- "Harper's Atlas of American History", by D. R. Fox, reviewed, 584.
- Harris, Rendel, "Last of the *May-flower*"; "Finding of the *May-flower*", reviewed, 799.
- Harrison, Fairfax, 466, 467, 468.
- Hart, A. B., 4, 6.
- Hartmann, L. M., (ed.) "Weltgeschichte in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung", IV., V., reviewed, 495, 761.
- "Harvard Dead in the War against Germany, Memoirs of the", by M. A. D. Howe, reviewed, 595.
- HASKINS, C. H., (R) La Mantia's "Codice Diplomatico dei Re Aragonesi di Sicilia", I., 81; "Some Problems of the Peace Conference", reviewed, 334; (R) Orpen's "Ireland under the Normans, 1216-1333", III., IV., 760.
- Hasluck, E. L., "Teaching of History", reviewed, 353.
- Haworth, P. L., "United States in Our Own Times", reviewed, 349.
- Hayden, Ralston, "Senate and Treaties, 1789-1817", reviewed, 591.
- Hayes, C. J. H., "Brief History of the Great War", reviewed, 91; chairman committee on programme, 414; paper by, 416.
- Hellmann, S., "Das Mittelalter bis zum Ausgange der Kreuzzüge", reviewed, 495.
- Hemans, L. T., "Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason", reviewed, 840.
- Henderson, Archibald, "Conquest of the Old Southwest", reviewed, 116.
- Hendrick, B. J., (collab.) "Victory at Sea", reviewed, 332.
- Henry, Patrick, resolutions against the Stamp Act, accounts discussed, 727-729; as told by French traveler, 745.
- Henry, R. M., "Evolution of Sinn Fein", reviewed, 523.
- "Henry the Sixth: a Reprint of John Blacman's Memoir", reviewed, 126.
- "Heresy, Mediaeval, and the Inquisition", by A. S. Turberville, reviewed, 318.
- HEWES, AMY, (R) Ayusawa's "International Labor Legislation", 361.
- Hicks, J. D., paper by, 429.
- "Hidden Phase of American History: Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty", by M. J. O'Brien, reviewed, 797.
- Hindenburg, Field-Marshal von, "Aus Meinem Leben", reviewed, 96.
- Hindus, M. G., "Russian Peasant and the Revolution", reviewed, 364.
- His, Eduard, "Geschichte des Neuern Schweizerischen Staatsrechts", I., reviewed, 88.
- Historical Retrospect*, by EDWARD CHANNING, 191-202; the first two hundred years, 191-192; improvements in transportation and communication, 193; manufacture and staple agriculture come under capitalistic system, 194-195; migrations, native and foreign, 196-198;

- the last seven amendments, 199-202.
- "History, Some Sources of Human", by W. M. Flinders Petrie, reviewed, 124.
- "History, Teaching of", by E. L. Hasluck, reviewed, 353.
- "History, Writing of", by F. M. Fling, reviewed, 305.
- "History of Education in Iowa", V., by C. R. Aurner, reviewed, 842.
- "History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation", by R. P. Baker, reviewed, 844.
- "History of Imperialism", by I. St. J. Tucker, reviewed, 584.
- "History of Journalism in the United States", by G. H. Payne, reviewed, 107.
- "History of Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer", by W. A. Dunning, reviewed, 772.
- "History of Scotland from the Roman Evacuation to the Disruption", by C. S. Terry, reviewed, 756.
- "History of South Africa from 1873 to 1884", by G. McC. Theal, reviewed, 795.
- "History of the Art of Writing", by W. A. Mason, reviewed, 491.
- "History of the British Army", IX., X., by J. W. Fortescue, reviewed, 781.
- "History of the Great War, Naval Operations", I., by J. S. Corbett, reviewed, 94.
- "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland", III., by S. M. Dubnow, reviewed, 833.
- "History of the Peace Conference", by H. W. V. Temperley, reviewed, 535.
- "History of the Transport Service: U. S. Transports in the World War", by Albert Gleaves, reviewed, 813.
- "History of the University of Virginia", I., II., by P. A. Bruce, reviewed, 808.
- Hockett, H. C., paper by, 427.
- HODGE, F. W., (R) Bolton's "Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta", 340.
- Hodges, George, 467, 469, 470, 488.
- Hönig, Johannes, "Ferdinand Gregorovius", reviewed, 786.
- Hoener, R., documents edited by, 225-226.
- Hogan, James, "Ireland in the European System", reviewed, 768.
- Holt, L. H., paper by, 424.
- Hoover, Herbert, 59-61, 68.
- HOUSE, R. T., (R) Conrotte's "Intervención de España en la Independencia de los Estados Unidos", 837.
- HOWARD, G. E., (R) Vinogradoff's "Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence", 749.
- Howe, M. A. D., "Memoirs of the Harvard Dead in the War against Germany", reviewed, 595.
- Hubbard, G. E., "Day of the Crescent", reviewed, 129.
- Hughes, E. A., "Britain and Greater Britain in the Nineteenth Century", reviewed, 133.
- "Huguenot Society of America, Catalogue or Bibliography of the Library of the", comp. Julia P. M. Morand, reviewed, 570.
- HULBERT, A. B., "Paths of Inland Commerce", reviewed, 145; (R) Fox's "Harper's Atlas of American History", 584.
- HULME, E. M., (R) Taylor's "Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century", 501; (R) Smith's "Age of the Reformation", 765.
- Hunt, Gaillard, address by, 416.
- "Idea of Progress", by J. B. Bury, reviewed, 77.
- "Idées Politiques en France au XVIIIe Siècle", by Henri Sée, reviewed, 507.
- Ilchester, Earl of, "Henry Fox, First Lord Holland", reviewed, 87.

- Illinois, Bogart and Thompson's "Industrial State", reviewed, 548.
- "Illinois, Centennial History of", I., IV., reviewed, 341, 548.
- "Illinois Country, 1673-1818", by C. W. Alvord, reviewed, 341.
- "Imperialism, History of", by I. St. J. Tucker, reviewed, 584.
- "In Old Pennsylvania Towns", by Anne H. Wharton, reviewed, 589.
- India, Martineau's "Dupleix et l'Inde Française, 1722-1841", reviewed, 509.
- "Industrial State, 1870-1893", by E. L. Bogart and C. M. Thompson, reviewed, 548.
- "Ingersoll, Jared: a Study of American Loyalism", by L. H. Gipson, reviewed, 807.
- "Inquisition, Mediaeval Heresy and the", by A. S. Turberville, reviewed, 318.
- "Inside Story of the Peace Conference", by E. J. Dillon, reviewed, 101.
- "Intendant Tourny", by Michel Lhéritier, reviewed, 321.
- "International Labor Agitation", by I. F. Ayusawa, reviewed, 361.
- International law, Paine's "Fight for a Free Sea", reviewed, 112; Borough's "Sovereignty of the British Seas", reviewed, 128; Fauchille's "Guerre de 1914: Recueil de Documents intéressant le Droit International", III., reviewed, 580; de Melville's "Vermittlung und Gute Dienste", reviewed, 583.
- "International Law and the World War", by J. W. Garner, reviewed, 526.
- Interstate Commerce Commission, 66.
- "Intervención de España en la Independencia de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte", by Manuel Conrotte, reviewed, 837.
- "Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England", by E. P. Cheyney, reviewed, 568.
- "Introduction to the Peace Treaties", by A. P. Scott, reviewed, 137.
- "Iowa, History of Education in", V., by C. T. Aurner, reviewed, 842.
- Ireland, Gwynn's "John Redmond's Last Years", reviewed, 134; Henry's "Evolution of Sinn Fein", reviewed, 523.
- "Ireland in the European System", by James Hogan, reviewed, 768.
- "Ireland under the Normans, 1216-1333", III., IV., by G. H. Orpen, reviewed, 760.
- "Italian People, Short History of the", by Janet P. Trevelyan, reviewed, 565.
- Italy, Gagliardi's "Anteil der Schweizer an den Italienischen Kriegen, 1494-1516", I., reviewed, 127; Charbonnel's "La Pensée Italienne au XVIe Siècle et le Courant Libertin", reviewed, 504; Rodocanachi's "La Réforme en Italie", I., reviewed, 769; Vigevano's "La Fine dell' Esercito Pontificio", reviewed, 788; Chiminelli's "Bibliografia della Storia della Riforma Religiosa in Italia", 827; Martini's "Due dell' Estrema, il Guerrazzi e il Brofferio", reviewed, 831.
- "Italy and the Jugoslavs", by E. J. and C. G. Woodhouse, reviewed, 522.
- "Italy and the World War", by T. N. Page, reviewed, 834.
- "Jackson, Andrew, Reign of", by F. A. Ogg, reviewed, 115.
- Jagow, J. von, German sec. of state, 49.
- James, H. G., paper by, 430.
- James, M. R., (trans.) "Henry the Sixth: a Reprint of John Blacman's Memoir", reviewed, 126.
- JAMESON, J. F., *The American Historical Review*, 1-17; (R) O'Brien's "Hidden Phase of American History: Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty", 797.

- Janushkevich, chief of Russian General Staff, 53, 233, 235, 242, 243, 246-249.
- "Japan, Introduction to the History of", by Katsuro Hara, reviewed, 539.
- "Jared Ingersoll: a Study of American Loyalism in relation to British Colonial Government", by L. H. Gipson, reviewed, 807.
- JERNEGAN, M. W., (R) Mumford's "Manchester Grammar School", 127; (R) Woody's "Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania", 838.
- Jew-baiting during Crusades, 443, 447-449.
- "Jews, History of, in Russia and Poland", III., by S. M. Dubnow, reviewed, 833.
- Johnsen, O. A., "Norges Bønder: Utsyn over den Norske Bondestands Historie", reviewed, 821.
- JOHNSON, ALLEN, (R) Turner's "Frontier in American History", 542.
- Johnson, Andrew, possible drunkenness, 278.
- Johnson, Henry, address by, 419.
- Jolliffe, R. O., "Corruption in Roman Administration in the Last Half-Century of the Roman Republic", reviewed, 125.
- JONES, T. F., (R) Hönig's "Ferdinand Gregorovius", 786.
- Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765* (doc.), I., 726-747.
- "Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri", by J. C. Luttig, reviewed, 839.
- "Journal of the Rev. John Wesley", VII., VIII., ed. Nehemiah Curnock, reviewed, 322.
- "Journalism in the United States, History of", by G. H. Payne, reviewed, 107.
- "Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1715-1717", I., reviewed, 140.
- "Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union", by J. B. Scott, reviewed, 345.
- Judson, H. P., 5, 6.
- "Jugoslav Movement, Dalmatia and the", by Louis Voinovitch, reviewed, 521.
- "Jugoslavs, Italy and the", by E. J. and C. G. Woodhouse, reviewed, 522.
- "Jurisprudence, Outlines of Historical", by Sir Paul Vinogradoff, reviewed, 749.
- Jusserand, J. J., address by, 414.
- "Jutland, True Account of the Battle of", by T. G. Frothingham, reviewed, 835.
- Kaser, Kurt, "Das Späte Mittelalter", reviewed, 761.
- Kautsky, Karl, documents edited by, 37, 225.
- Kellar, H. A., paper by, 428.
- KENDRICK, B. B., (R) Haworth's "United States in Our Own Times", 349; paper by, 430.
- Kennedy, W. P. M., "Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915", reviewed, 597; (R) Terry's "History of Scotland from the Roman Evacuation to the Disruption", 756.
- Kennelly, A. E., paper by, 421.
- Kimball, Fiske, paper by, 427.
- Kinnicutt, L. N., paper by, 426.
- "Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta: a Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona", ed. H. E. Bolton, reviewed, 340.
- Klein, Julius, paper by, 430.
- KNAPLUND, PAUL, (R) Johnsen's "Norges Bønder: Utsyn over den Norske Bondestands Historie", 821.
- KNIPPING, J. R., *German Historians and Macedonian Imperialism*, 657-671.
- Knowlton, D. C., paper by, 420.
- Krafft, H. F., "Sea Power in American History", reviewed, 589.
- KREHBIEL, EDWARD, (R) Smith's "Mennonites", 310.

- Kurth, Godefroid, "Guet-apens Prussien en Belgique", reviewed, 363.
- "Labor, Armies of", by S. P. Orth, reviewed, 122.
- "Labor, Organized, in American History", by F. T. Carlton, reviewed, 369.
- "Labor Agitation, International", by I. F. Ayusawa, reviewed, 361.
- "Labor Movement, Short History of the American", by Mary Beard, reviewed, 591.
- "Labourer, Skilled", by J. L. and Barbara Hammond, reviewed, 324.
- Lacour-Gayet, G., "Guillaume II., le Vaincu", reviewed, 579.
- La Mantia, Giuseppe, "Codice Diplomatico dei Re Aragonesi di Sicilia", I., reviewed, 81.
- LARSON, L. M., (R) Williams's "Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age", 496; (R) David's "Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy", 498.
- Laski, H. J., "Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham", reviewed, 572.
- "Last of the *Mayflower*", by Rendel Harris, reviewed, 799.
- Latané, J. H., "United States and Latin America", reviewed, 351.
- "Latin America, United States and", by J. H. Latané, reviewed, 351.
- LATOURETTE, K. S., *Chinese Historical Studies during the Past Seven Years*, 703-716.
- LAUFER, BERTHOLD, (R) Cordier's "Ser Marco Polo", 499.
- Lauzanne, Stéphane, "Great Men and Great Days", reviewed, 836.
- LAVELL, C. F., (R) Hughes's "Britain and Greater Britain in the Nineteenth Century", 133; (R) Park's "Reform Bill of 1867", 515.
- Law, Vinogradoff's "Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence", reviewed, 749; Chafee's "Freedom of Speech", reviewed, 819.
- "League of Nations at Work", by Arthur Sweetser, reviewed, 538.
- "Leake, Sir John, Life of", by S. Martin-Leake, reviewed, 506.
- Leary, J. J., jr., "Talks with T. R.", reviewed, 149.
- "Lebanon in Turmoil, Syria and the Powers in 1860", trans. J. F. Scheltema, reviewed, 326.
- "Lebenserinnerungen und Politische Denkwürdigkeiten", by H. von Eckardstein, reviewed, 517.
- Lee, Ida, [Mrs. C. B. Marriott] "Captain Bligh's Second Voyage to the South Sea", reviewed, 829.
- Lehmann, Max, "Freiherr vom Stein", reviewed, 779.
- Lever Act, 63, 64, 67, 68.
- LEVERMORE, C. H., (R) Payne's "History of Journalism in the United States", 107.
- Lhéritier, Michel, "L'Intendant Tourney", reviewed, 321.
- Liberty loans, 61, 72.
- Lichnowsky, Prince, German ambassador to Great Britain, 41, 44, 45, 47, 231.
- "Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt", by O. D. Skelton, reviewed, 815.
- "Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason", by L. T. Hemans, reviewed, 840.
- "Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne", by Walter Vaughan, reviewed, 843.
- "Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring", by G. E. Manwaring, reviewed, 828.
- Life of Disraeli, V., VI.*, by Viscount Bryce, 672-682; rise and home policy, 672-674; guidance of foreign affairs, 674-676; results of policy, 677-679; reasons for policy, 680-682.
- Lincoln, Abraham, Stoeckl's estimate of, 457-458, 462.
- LINCOLN, C. H., (R) Wood's "William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts", I., 545.
- Lincolnshire, Neilson's "Terrier of Fleet", reviewed, 319.

- "Literary Culture in Early New England", by T: G. Wright, reviewed, 543.
- "Literary Digest History of the World War", X., by F. G. Halsey, reviewed, 581.
- "Literature, Cambridge History of American", III., IV., reviewed, 812.
- "Literature, History of English-Canadian, to the Confederation", by R. P. Baker, reviewed, 844.
- "Literature in a Changing Age", by A. H. Thorndike, reviewed, 362.
- "Little History of the Great War", by H. Vast, reviewed, 582.
- Livingston, E. B., "Livingstons of Callendar", reviewed, 826.
- "Livingstons of Callendar and their Principal Cadets", by E. B. Livingston, reviewed, 826.
- Lockey, J. B., "Pan-Americanism: its Beginnings", reviewed, 559.
- Lokitt, C. H., "Relations of French and English Society, 1763-1793", reviewed, 575.
- "Lois Françaises de 1815 à nos Jours, accompagnées des Documents Politiques les plus Importants", by L. Cahen and Albert Mathiez, reviewed, 133.
- Lord, Arthur, "Plymouth and the Pilgrims", reviewed, 586.
- Lord, R. H., "Some Problems of the Peace Conference", reviewed, 334.
- Loreburn, Lord, *How the War came about*, ref. to, 253.
- "Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall", by J. S. McLennan, reviewed, 104.
- "Louisiana Purchase, Constitutional History of the", by E. S. Brown, reviewed, 143.
- Loumyer, G., "Les Traditions Techniques de la Peinture Médiévale", reviewed, 564.
- LUNT, W: E., (R) Neilson's "Tierrier of Fleet", 319; (R) Ballard's "Eleventh-Century Inquisition of St. Augustine's, Canterbury", 320.
- Lusitania* notes, 54, 55.
- Luttig's "Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri", ed. Stella M. Drumm, reviewed, 839.
- LUTZ, R. H., paper by, 424; (R) Noske's "Von Kiel bis Kapp", 794.
- LYBYER, A. H., (R) Hubbard's "Day of the Crescent", 129.
- "Lyons Collection", II., American Jewish Historical Society, "Publications", reviewed, 372.
- Maas, Otto, "Órdenes Religiosas de España y la Colonización de América en la Segunda Parte del Siglo XVIII.", reviewed, 366.
- McAdoo, W: G., 66.
- McCALEB, W. F., (R) Blakeslee's "Mexico and the Caribbean", 817.
- McClellan, Peninsular Campaign, relation to recognition of Confederacy, 260, 262, 263, 265.
- McCulloch, Isabella W. and Jean W., (ed.) "Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D.", reviewed, 598.
- "McCulloch, Thomas, Life of", by William McCulloch, reviewed, 598.
- McCulloch, William, "Life of Thomas McCulloch", reviewed, 598.
- McDougall, William, "The Group Mind: Collective Psychology", reviewed, 748.
- McFayden, Donald, paper by, 422.
- McKinley, A. E., paper by, 418.
- McLaughlin, A. C., 14, 15; "Development of American Democracy", reviewed, 344.
- McLEAN, R. H., *Troop Movements on the American Railroads during the Great War*, 464-488.
- McLennan, J. S., "Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall", reviewed, 104.
- McMaster, J: B., 5, 6; "United States in the World War", II., reviewed, 554.
- MACMECHAN, ARCHIBALD, (R) Baker's "History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation", 844.

Macmillan Company, 6.

MAGOFFIN, R. V. D., (R) Cagnat and Chapot's "Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine", II., 752.

"Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy", by H: S. Burrage, reviewed, 367.

"Maintenance of Peace", by S. C. Vestal, reviewed, 304.

"Mainwaring, Sir Henry, Life and Works of", by G. E. Manwaring, reviewed, 828.

"Manchester Grammar School, 1515-1915", by A. A. Mumford, reviewed, 127.

"Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine", II., by R. Cagnat and V. Chapot, reviewed, 752.

Manwaring, G. E., "Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring", reviewed, 828.

"Marco Polo: Results of Recent Research and Discovery", by Henri Cordier, reviewed, 499.

"Marshall, John, and the Constitution", by E: S. Corwin, reviewed, 109.

Marshall, T: M., "Colonization of North America", reviewed, 540.

Martin-Leake, Stephen, "Life of Sir John Leake, Rear-Admiral of Great Britain", reviewed, 506.

Martineau, Alfred, "Dupleix et l'Inde Française, 1722-1741", reviewed, 509.

Martini, Ferdinando, "Due dell'Estrema, il Guerrazzi e il Brofferio", reviewed, 831.

Mason, James M., mission to England, 255, 257, 260, 262, 263, 264, 270.

"Mason, Stevens Thomson, Life and Times of", by L. T. Hemans, reviewed, 840.

Mason, W: A., "History of the Art of Writing", reviewed, 491.

Massachusetts, Colonial Society of, "Publications", XX., XXI., XXII., pt. I., reviewed, 585, 837.

Massachusetts, "Journals of the House of Representatives, 1715-1717", I., reviewed, 140.

"Massachusetts, William Shirley, Governor of", I., by G: A. Wood, reviewed, 545.

Massachusetts Historical Society, "Proceedings", LIII., reviewed, 585.

"Masters of Capital", by John Moody, reviewed, 121.

"Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland", ed. E. B. Fitzmaurice, reviewed, 823.

Mathieson, W: L., "England in Transition, 1789-1832", reviewed, 576.

Mathiez, Albert, "Lois Françaises de 1815 à nos Jours", reviewed, 133; "L'Affaire de la Compagnie des Indes", reviewed, 830.

Mathorez, J., "Étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime", I., reviewed, 82.

Mattern, Johannes, "Employment of the Plebiscite in the Determination of Sovereignty", reviewed, 578.

Maxson, C: H., "Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies", reviewed, 105.

"Mayflower, Finding of the", by Rendel Harris, reviewed, 799.

"Mayflower, Last of the", by Rendel Harris, reviewed, 799.

"Mediaeval Heresy and the Inquisition", by A. S. Turberville, reviewed, 318.

Medieval history, Hellmann's "Mittelalter bis zum Ausgange der Kreuzzüge", reviewed, 495; Kaser's "Das Späte Mittelalter", reviewed, 761.

Meigs, General M. C., *on the Conduct of the Civil War* (doc.) 285-303.

Melville, Edgar de, "Vermittlung und Gute Dienste in Vergangenheit und Zukunft", reviewed, 583.

Melvin, F. E., "Napoleon's Navigation System", reviewed, 773.

"Mémoires du Général Galliéni: Défense de Paris", reviewed, 530.

- "Memoirs of Count Witte", ed. Abraham Yarmolinsky, reviewed, 790.
- "Memoirs of the Empress Eugénie", by Comte Fleury, reviewed, 360.
- "Mennonites: Brief History", by C. H. Smith, reviewed, 310.
- Mensdorff, Count, Austrian ambassador at London, 42.
- Merivale, Herman, 28, 33.
- Merriam, C. E., "American Political Ideas, 1865-1917", reviewed, 551.
- "Methodism, Rise of, in the West", ed. W. W. Sweet, reviewed, 143.
- Mexico, French in, 260, 261, 274.
- "Mexico and the Caribbean", ed. G. H. Blakeslee, reviewed, 817.
- Michigan, Heman's "Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason", reviewed, 840.
- Mierow, C. C., (R) Haarhoff's "Schools of Gaul", 562.
- Mills, Arthur, 32, 34.
- Missouri Compromise, 192.
- Mr. Wells and the New History*, by CARL BECKER, 641-656; effect of contemporary history on historians, 641-644; Europe put in its proper place, 644-647; Mr. Wells's attitude toward his subject, 647-653; his philosophy of history shaped by hopes for the future, 653-656.
- "Mittelalter bis zum Ausgange der Kreuzzüge", by S. Hellmann, reviewed, 495.
- Mohl, Ottmar von, "Fünzig Jahre Reichsdienst: Lebenserinnerungen", reviewed, 519.
- Moltke, Count von, 48, 49, 51, 53, 236.
- Monasticism, Butler's "Benedictine Monachism", reviewed, 754; Smith's "Early History of the Monastery of Cluny", reviewed, 821.
- "Monroe Doctrine and the Great War", by A. B. Hall, reviewed, 150.
- Moody, John, "Railroad Builders", reviewed, 120; "Masters of Capital", reviewed, 121.
- Moore, Charles, address by, 417.
- Morand, Julia P. M., (comp.) "Catalogue or Bibliography of the Library of the Huguenot Society of America", reviewed, 570.
- MORGAN, W. T.: "English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne", reviewed, 132; (R) Martin-Leake's "Life of Sir John Leake", 506.
- MORISON, S. E., (R) Brown's "Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase", 143; (R) Melvin's "Napoleon's Navigation System", 773.
- Morrison, A. J., "East by West, Essays in Transportation", reviewed, 138.
- Mumford, A. A., "Manchester Grammar School", reviewed, 127.
- Munitions Board, General, 67.
- Munro, W. B., "Government of the United States", reviewed, 152.
- Muzzey, D. S., paper by, 426.
- "My Three Years in America", by Count Bernstorff, reviewed, 98.
- Napoleon III., attitude toward the Confederacy, 257, 258, 260, 262, 263, 264, 272, 277.
- "Napoleon's Navigation System. Trade Control during the Continental Blockade", by F. E. Melvin, reviewed, 773.
- National army, 473, 475, 476, 478, 479.
- National Defense, Special Com. on, 466-469.
- National Guard, 465, 473, 475, 476, 478, 479, 488.
- National Research Council, 59.
- Naval Consulting Board, 57.
- Navy, American, Fiske's "From Midshipman to Rear-Admiral", reviewed, 122; Sims's "Victory at Sea", reviewed, 332; Paine's "The Corsair in the War Zone", reviewed, 371; Krafft and Norris's "Sea Power in American History", reviewed, 589; Gleaves's "History of the Transport Service", reviewed, 813.

- Navy, British, Corbett's "History of the Great War, Naval", I., reviewed, 94; Fayle's "Seaborne Trade", I., "Cruiser Period", reviewed, 531.
- Navy Records Society, "Publications", LII., LIII., reviewed, 506.
- NEILSON, N., "Terrier of Fleet, Lincolnshire", reviewed, 319; (R) Farrer's "Feudal Cambridge-shire", 354.
- Netherlands, Elias's "Voorspel van den Eersten Engelschen Oorlog", reviewed, 356.
- New England, Agricultural Revolution in*, by P. W. BIDWELL, 683-702.
- "New England, Literary Culture in Early", by T. G. Wright, reviewed, 543.
- "New England in France: a History of the Twenty-sixth Division", by E. G. Taylor, reviewed, 594.
- New Era Printing Company, 7.
- "New Frontier: a Study of the American Liberal Spirit", by Guy Emerson, reviewed, 370.
- New Light on the Origins of the World War*, II., *Berlin and Vienna, July 29 to 31*, by S. B. FAY, 37-53; Germany's policy of non-interference untenable, 37-40; Bethmann attempts to moderate Berchtold's course, 41-44; offers of mediation and compromise, 44-47; plan for advance through Belgium crystallized, 48-49; effect of Russian mobilization on Berlin, 50-51; distribution of responsibility, 52-53.
- New Light on the Origins of the World War*, III., *Russia and the other Powers*, by S. B. FAY, 225-254; analysis of Russian sources, 225-227; Sazonov works for peace, 228-240; events leading to Russian, Austrian, and German mobilization, 241-251; division of responsibility, 251-254.
- "New South", by Holland Thompson, reviewed, 146.
- New South Wales, 24, 28, 29.
- New Zealand, 34.
- Newcastle, Duke of, 34.
- "Newcastle upon Tyne Council Minute Book, 1639-1656, Extracts from the", Records Com. Publications, I., reviewed, 571.
- Newspapers, Russian, 225, 227n.
- Nicholas, Grand-Duke, Russia, 232, 233, 253.
- Nicholas II., Russia, 227, 232, 233, 240-243, 246-251.
- Niketas, gov. of Bulgaria, and Crusaders, 444-446.
- Nish, treatment of Crusaders at, 444-446.
- "Noblesse de France et l'Opinion Publique au XVIIIe Siècle", by H. Carré, reviewed, 573.
- "Norges Bønder: Utsyn over den Norske Bondestands Historie", by O. A. Johnsen, reviewed, 821.
- "Normandie, Origines de la, et du Duché d'Alençon", by Vicomte du Motey, reviewed, 566.
- "Normandy, Duke of, Robert Curthose", by C. W. David, reviewed, 498.
- "Normans, Ireland under the, 1216-1333", III., IV., by G. H. Orpen, reviewed, 760.
- Norris, W. B., "Sea Power in American History", reviewed, 589.
- "Northeastern Boundary Controversy, Maine in the", by H. S. Burrage, reviewed, 367.
- "Northwest, Old", by F. A. Ogg, reviewed, 114.
- Norway, Johnsen's "Norges Bønder: Utsyn over den Norske Bondestands Historie", reviewed, 821.
- Noske, Gustav, "Von Kiel bis Kapp", reviewed, 794.
- NOTESTEIN, WALLACE, (R) "Margot Asquith: an Autobiography", 525; (R) Mattern's "Employment of the Plebiscite in the Determination of Sovereignty", 578.
- OBERHOLTZER, E. P., (R) Buck's "Agrarian Crusade", 147.

- O'Brien, M. J., "Hidden Phase of American History: Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty", reviewed, 797.
- O'Daniel, V. F., "Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick", reviewed, 347.
- "Official History of 82nd Division American Expeditionary Forces", by divisional officers, reviewed, 151.
- Ogg, F. A., "Old Northwest", reviewed, 114; "Reign of Andrew Jackson", reviewed, 115.
- "Old Northwest", by F. A. Ogg, reviewed, 114.
- Oliviera Lima, Manuel de, paper by, 430.
- "Órdenes Religiosas de España y la Colonización de América en la Segunda Parte del Siglo XVIII.", ed. Otto Maas, reviewed, 366.
- "Oregon, Adventures of", by C. L. Skinner, reviewed, 117.
- "Organized Labor in American History", by F. T. Carlton, reviewed, 369.
- "Origines de la Normandie et du Duché d'Alençon", by Vicomte du Motey, reviewed, 566.
- Orpen, G. H., "Ireland under the Normans, 1216-1333", III., IV., reviewed, 760.
- Orth, S. P., "Armies of Labor", reviewed, 122.
- "Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence", by Sir Paul Vinogradoff, reviewed, 749.
- Overman Act, 62, 70, 73.
- PACKARD, L. B., (R) Wambaugh's "Plebiscites", 327; (R) von Mohl's "Fünfzig Jahre Reichsdienst", 519.
- Paetow, L. J., paper by, 423.
- Page, T. N., "Italy and the World War", reviewed, 834.
- Paine, R. D., "Fight for a Free Sea", reviewed, 112; "*Corsair* in the War Zone", reviewed, 371.
- Paléologue, French ambassador to Russia, 230, 231, 239, 245.
- Palmerston, H. J: Temple, viscount, attitude toward the Confederacy, 257, 261, 262, 273, 274, 276, 277.
- PALTSITS, V. H., (R) McLennan's "Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall", 104.
- "Pan-Americanism: its Beginnings", by J. B. Lockey, reviewed, 559.
- Papacy, Fliche's "Saint Grégoire VII.", reviewed, 823; Vigevano's "La Fine dell'Esercito Pontificio", reviewed, 788.
- "Papers of Thomas Ruffin", III., ed. J. G. de R. Hamilton, reviewed, 810.
- Park, J. H., "English Reform Bill of 1867", reviewed, 515.
- "Pastor of the Pilgrims: a Biography of John Robinson", by W. H. Burgess, reviewed, 338.
- "Paths of Inland Commerce", by A. B. Hulbert, reviewed, 145.
- PAULLIN, C. O., (R) Thompson and Wainwright's "Confidential Correspondence of Gustavus V. Fox", I., II., 841.
- PAXSON, F. L., *The American War Government, 1917-1918*, 54-76; (R) Leary's "Talks with T. R.", 149; (R) "Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie", 368; (R) Bishop's "Theodore Roosevelt and his Time", 552; (R) Vaughan's "Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne", 843.
- Payne, G. H., "History of Journalism in the United States", reviewed, 107.
- "Peace, Maintenance of", by S. C. Vestal, reviewed, 304.
- "Peace Conference, History of the", ed. H. W. V. Temperley, reviewed, 535.
- "Peace Conference, Inside Story of the", by E. J. Dillon, reviewed, 101.
- "Peace Conference, Some Problems of the", by C. H. Haskins and R. H. Lord, reviewed, 334.
- "Peace Treaties, Introduction to the", by A. P. Scott, reviewed, 137.

- Peasants' Crusade*, by FREDERIC DUNCALF, 440-453; earlier characterizations questioned, 440-442; orderly march under Peter and Walter, 443-447; bands under Fulk, Gottschalk, and Emicho, 447-449; Peter's army in Asia Minor, 450-451; failure due to insufficient funds and premature arrival, 452-453.
- PEASE, T. C., *Caution Regarding Military Documents*, 282-284; (R) Laski's "Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham", 572.
- Peel, George, (ed.) "Private Letters of Sir Robert Peel", 577.
- Peel, Sir Robert, 30-32.
- "Peel, Sir Robert, Private Letters of", ed. George Peel, reviewed, 577.
- Pennsylvania, Wharton's "In Old Pennsylvania Towns", reviewed, 589.
- "Pensée Italienne au XVIIe Siècle et le Courant Libertin", by J.-R. Charbonnel, reviewed, 504.
- PERLMAN, SELIG, (R) Mary Beard's "Short History of the American Labor Movement", 591.
- Pershing, Gen. J: J., 61, 63, 481-483, 485, 486.
- Persigny, French minister of interior, attitude toward the Confederacy, 256, 259, 262, 263, 267, 268.
- "Personalidad de Manuel Belgrano", by Emilio Ravignani, reviewed, 845.
- Peter the Hermit, 440, 442-446, 450-451.
- Petrie, W. M. Flinders, "Some Sources of Human History", reviewed, 124.
- Pettit, W. W., (ed.) "Russian-American Relations, March, 1917-March, 1920", reviewed, 371.
- PHILLIPS, U. B., (R) Dozier's "Atlantic Coast Line Railroad", 148; (R) "Official History of the 82nd Division A. E. F.", 151.
- Pilgrims, 191; Burgess's "Biography of John Robinson", reviewed, 338.
- "Pilgrims, Plymouth and the", by Arthur Lord, reviewed, 586.
- Pimería Alta, "Kino's Historical Memoir", ed. H. E. Bolton, reviewed, 340.
- "Pioneers of the Old Southwest", by C. L. Skinner, reviewed, 112.
- Platner, J: W., deceased, 846.
- "Plebiscite, Employment of, in the Determination of Sovereignty", reviewed, 578.
- "Plebiscites, Monograph on, with a collection of Official Documents", by Sarah Wambaugh, reviewed, 327.
- Plehn, Hans, "Bismarck's Auswärtige Politik nach der Reichsgründung", 516.
- "Plymouth and the Pilgrims", by Arthur Lord, reviewed, 586.
- "Plymouth Church Records", reviewed, 837.
- Poincaré, president of France, 229, 230, 253.
- "Poland the Unknown", by K. Waliszewski, trans., reviewed, 316.
- "Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne", by W: T: Morgan, reviewed, 132.
- "Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer", by W: A. Dunning, reviewed, 772.
- "Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham", by H. J. Laski, reviewed, 572.
- Pollard, A. F., "Short History of the Great War", reviewed, 321.
- Pollen, J: H., "English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth", reviewed, 84.
- Pourtales, F., count, German ambassador to Russia, 228, 231, 236-238, 240, 242-246, 251.
- "Preussische Verfassungskampf vor Hundert Jahren", by Paul Haake, reviewed, 512.
- PRIESTLEY, H. I., (R) "Diary of a Forty-Niner", 592.
- Priority of Shipments Schedule, 481-483.

- "Problems of the Peace Conference, Some", by C: H. Haskins and R. H. Lord, reviewed, 334.
- "Progress, Idea of", by J: B. Bury, reviewed, 77.
- Prussia, Haake's "Ancillon und Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm IV.", reviewed, 358; Haake's "Preussische Verfassungskampf vor Hundert Jahren", reviewed, 512.
- "Psychology, Collective, The Group Mind", by W: McDougall, reviewed, 748.
- Public Information, Com. on, 74.
- Putnam, Ruth, 424.
- QUAIFE, M. M., (R) Alvord's "Illinois Country", 341.
- Quartering Act, 20.
- Quartermaster Corps, 465, 469, 471, 480.
- Quartermaster General, 469, 471; office of, 464, 465, 471, 473.
- "Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies", by B. W. Bond, jr., reviewed, 802.
- Railroad Administration, U. S., 66.
- "Railroad Builders", by J: Moody, reviewed, 120.
- Railroads' War Board, 467-470.
- Ramsdell, C: W., paper by, 429.
- KANDALL, J. G., (R) Connor's "John Archibald Campbell", 119.
- Ravignani, Emilio, "La Personalidad de Manuel Belgrano", reviewed, 845.
- READ, CONYERS, (R) Hogan's "Ireland in the European System", 768; Manwaring's "Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring", 828.
- Recall of the Legions: Decentralization of the British Empire*, by R: L. SCHUYLER, 18-36; period without definite policy of colonial defense, 18-20; England bears whole burden and economists criticize, 21-27; substitution of militia for imperial troops, 28-29; Parliamentary discussion and report of Peel's com., 30-32; classification of colonies and principle for defense, 33-35; criticism, 35-36.
- "Redmond's Last Years, John", by Stephen Gwynn, reviewed, 134.
- Reform Act of 1867, Disraeli and the, 673.
- "Reform Bill of 1867, English", by J. H. Park, reviewed, 515.
- Reformation, Rodocanachi's "La Réforme en Italie", I., reviewed, 769; Chiminelli's "Bibliografia della Storia della Riforma Religiosa in Italia", reviewed, 827.
- "Reformation, Age of the", by Preserved Smith, reviewed, 765.
- "Réforme en Italie", I., by E. Rodocanachi, reviewed, 769.
- Regular army, 473, 478, 479, 488.
- "Reign of Andrew Jackson", by F: A. Ogg, reviewed, 115.
- Reinsch, P. S., address by, 414; paper by, 415.
- "Relations of French and English Society, 1763-1793", by C. H. Lockitt, reviewed, 575.
- Religious liberty, 198, 199.
- RIKER, T. W., (R) Ilchester's "Henry Fox, First Lord Holland", 87.
- "Rise of Methodism in the West", ed. W. W. Sweet, reviewed, 143.
- "Rise of South Africa", III., by G. E. Cory, reviewed, 357.
- "Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy", by C: W. David, reviewed, 498.
- ROBERTSON, W: S., (R) Lockey's "Pan-Americanism: its Beginnings", 559.
- "Robinson, John", by W. H. Burgess, reviewed, 338.
- "Robinson, John, of Leyden, Answer to, by a Puritan Friend", ed. Champlin Burrage, reviewed, 339.
- Robinson, J. H., paper by, 421.
- ROBINSON, PASCHAL, (R) Fitzmaurice's "Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland", 823.
- Rodocanachi, E., "La Réforme en Italie", reviewed, 769.
- ROGERS, R. W., (R) Mason's "History of the Art of Writing", 491.

- "Rois et Serfs, un Chapitre d'Histoire Capétienne", by Marc Bloch, reviewed, 758.
- "Roman Administration, Corruption in the Last Half-Century of the Republic", by R. O. Jolliffe, reviewed, 125.
- Roman Catholic Church, Pollen's "English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth", reviewed, 84; Garraghan's "Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri", reviewed, 144; O'Daniel's "Right Rev. Edward Fenwick", reviewed, 347; Maas's "Órdenes Religiosas de España y la Colonización de América", reviewed, 366; Vansteenberghe's "Cardinal Nicholas de Cues", reviewed, 763; Fitzmaurice's "Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland", reviewed, 823.
- Rome, Jolliffe's "Corruption in Roman Administration", reviewed, 125; Cagnat and Chapot's "Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine", II, reviewed, 752.
- "Rome, Economic History of, to the End of the Republic", by Tenney Frank, reviewed, 309.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, Leary's "Talks with T. R.", reviewed, 149.
- "Roosevelt, Theodore, and his Time", by J. B. Bishop, reviewed, 552.
- Root, W. T., (R) Bond's "Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies", 802.
- Rosenwald, Julius, 57, 58.
- Ross, E. A., address by, 414.
- ROSTOVTSSEV, MIKHAIL, *South Russia in the Prehistoric and Classical Period*, 203-224; (R) Hindus's "Russian Peasant and the Revolution", 364; paper by, 422.
- Rowland, Dunbar, report by, 419.
- "Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783 to 1785", ed. H. E. Egerton, reviewed, 804.
- Royal Historical Society, "Transactions", fourth ser., vols. II., III., reviewed, 562, 819.
- "Ruffin, Thomas, Papers of", III., ed., J. G. de R. Hamilton, reviewed, 810.
- Russell, John, earl, attitude toward the Confederacy, 257, 258, 261, 263, 264, 273.
- Russia, ROSTOVTSSEV's *South Russia in the Prehistoric and Classical Period*, 203-224; FAY's *New Light on the Origins of the World War*, III., *Russia and the other Powers*, 225-254; "Memoirs of Count Witte", reviewed, 790.
- "Russian-American Relations, March, 1917-March, 1920: Documents and Papers", (ed.) C. K. Cumming and W. W. Pettit, reviewed, 371.
- "Russian Peasant and the Revolution", by M. G. Hindus, reviewed, 364.
- Russian Revolution, Hindus's "Russian Peasant and the Revolution", reviewed, 364.
- St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Ballard's "Eleventh-Century Inquisition", reviewed, 320.
- "Saint Grégoire VII.", by Augustin Fliche, reviewed, 823.
- "St. Werburgh, Chester, Chartulary or Register of", pt. I., ed. James Tait, reviewed, 567.
- Sargent, H. H., "Strategy on the Western Front. 1914-1918", reviewed, 792.
- Sazonov, Sergius, count, Russian foreign minister, 43, 225, 228-241, 243-248, 251, 254.
- "Scandinavia, Social, in the Viking Age", by Mary W. Williams, reviewed, 496.
- SCHAFER, JOSEPH, (R) Skinner's "Adventurers of Oregon", 117; report by, 418.
- Schefer, Christian, "D'Une Guerre à l'Autre", reviewed, 329.

- Scheltema, J. F., (trans.) "Lebanon in Turmoil, Syria and the Powers in 1860", reviewed, 326.
- SCHEVILL, FERDINAND, (R) Voinovitch's "Dalmatia and the Yugoslav Movement", 521; (R) Woodhouse's "Italy and the Yugoslavs", 522.
- Schiemann, Theodor, deceased, 601.
- SCHLESINGER, A. M., (R) Gipson's "Jared Ingersoll", 807.
- SCHMITT, B. E., (R) Stern's "Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871", VIII., 784.
- "Schools of Gaul", by Theodore Haarhoff, reviewed, 563.
- SCHUYLER, R. L., *The Recall of the Legions*, 18-36.
- "Scotland, History of, from the Roman Evacuation to the Disruption", by C. S. Terry, reviewed, 756.
- SCOTT, A. P., "Introduction to the Peace Treaties", reviewed, 137; (R) Pollard's "Short History of the Great War", 331.
- Scott, F. A., 58, 68, 69.
- Scott, J. B., "Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union", reviewed, 345.
- "Sea Power in American History", by H. F. Krafft and W. B. Norris, reviewed, 589.
- "Seaborne Trade", I., "Cruiser Period", by C. E. Fayle, reviewed, 531.
- SEARS, L. M., *A Confederate Diplomat at the Court of Napoleon III.*, 255-281; paper by, 428.
- "Secrets of Crewe House", by Campbell Stuart, reviewed, 533.
- Sée, Henri, "Les Idées Politiques en France au XVIIIe Siècle", reviewed, 507.
- Selective Service Act, 61, 62; regulations and system, 476-478.
- Semlin, treatment of Crusaders at, 443, 445.
- "Senate and Treaties", 1789-1817, by Ralston Hayden, reviewed, 591.
- Seward, W: A., Stoeckl's estimate of, 458-459.
- SEYMOUR, CHARLES, (R) Dillon's "Inside Story of the Peace Conference", 101; (R) Scott's "Introduction to the Peace Treaties", 137; (R) Temperley's "History of the Peace Conference", 535.
- Shebeko, Russian ambassador to Austria, 237, 243.
- SHEPHERD, W: R., (R) Latané's "United States and Latin America", 351.
- Sherman, S. P., (ed.) "Cambridge History of American Literature", III., IV., reviewed, 812.
- SHIPPEE, L. P., (R) Emerson's "New Frontier", 370.
- Shipping Board, U. S., 56, 60, 63, 73.
- "Shirley, William, Governor of Massachusetts", I., by G: A. Wood, reviewed, 545.
- "Short History of the American Labor Movement", by Mary Beard, reviewed, 591.
- "Short History of the Great War", by A. F. Pollard, reviewed, 331.
- "Short History of the Italian People", by Janet P. Trevelyan, reviewed, 565.
- SHORTT, ADAM, (R) Skelton's "Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt", 815.
- Show, Arley B., deceased, 374.
- Sicily, La Mantia's "Codice Diplomatico dei Re Aragonesi di Sicilia", I., reviewed, 81.
- SIEBERT, W. H., (R) Egerton's "Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783-1785", 804.
- Sims, W: S., "Victory at Sea", reviewed, 332.
- Singewald, Karl, report by, 418.
- "Sinn Fein, Evolution of", by R. M. Henry, reviewed, 523.
- Skelton, O. D., "Canadian Dominion", reviewed, 350; "Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt", reviewed, 815.

- "Skilled Labourer", by J. L. and Barbara Hammond, reviewed, 324.
- Skinner, C. L., "Pioneers of the Old Southwest", reviewed, 112; "Adventurers of Oregon", reviewed, 117.
- Slidell, John, mission to France, 255-281.
- Sloane, W: M., 5, 6, 9.
- Smith, Adam, 25, 26, 35.
- Smith, H: C., "Mennonites", reviewed, 310.
- Smith, L. M., "Early History of the Monastery of Cluny", reviewed, 821.
- Smith, Preserved, "Age of the Reformation", reviewed, 765.
- "Social and Economic History of England and Wales", IV., reviewed, 319.
- Social conditions and history, Cheyney's "Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England", reviewed, 568; Lockitt's "Relations of French and English Society", reviewed, 575.
- "Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age", by Mary W. Williams, reviewed, 496.
- Sonora, "Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta", ed. H. E. Bolton, reviewed, 340.
- "Sources of Human History, Some", by W. M. Flinders Petrie, reviewed, 124.
- South, German Indemnity and the*, by C. R. Fish, 489-490.
- "South, New", by Holland Thompson, reviewed, 146.
- "South Africa, Rise of", III., by G. E. Cory, reviewed, 357.
- South Russia in the Prehistoric and Classical Period*, by MIKHAIL ROS-TOVTSEV, 203-224; problems presented by Russia in eleventh century, 203; South Russia prior to 1100 B. C., 203-209; Cimmerian, Scythian, and Bosphoran states, 210-215; the Sarmatians and Celts, 216-220; Roman interest in Black Sea region, 221-223; spread of Irano-Greek culture, 223-224.
- "Southwest, Conquest of the Old", by Archibald Henderson, reviewed, 116.
- "Southwest, Pioneers of the Old", by C. L. Skinner, reviewed, 112.
- SOUVAY, C. L., (R) Garraghan's "Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri", 144.
- "Sovereignty of the British Seas", by Sir John Borough's reviewed, 128.
- "Späte Mittelalter", by Kurt Kaser, reviewed, 761.
- SPAULDING, O. J., jr., (R) "Mémoires du Général Galliéni: Défense de Paris", 530.
- SPERRY, E. E., (R) Bernstorff's "My Three Years in America", 98; (R) Turner's "Europe 1789-1920", 777.
- Squire, J. C., (introd.) West's "History of the Chartist Movement", 513.
- "Stein, Freiherr vom", by Max Lehmann, reviewed, 779.
- Stephens, H: M., 3-6.
- "Steps in the Development of American Democracy", by A. C. McLaughlin, reviewed, 344.
- Stern, Alfred, "Geschichte Europas", VIII., reviewed, 784.
- Stettinus, E. R., 59, 70.
- STEVENS, W. E., (R) Bingham's "An Explorer in the Air Service", 596.
- STEVENSON, E. L., (R) Wiener's "Africa and the Discovery of America", I., 102; (R) Vignaud's "Columbian Tradition on the Discovery of America", 139.
- "Stevenson's Germany: the Case against Germany in the Pacific", by C. B. Fletcher, reviewed, 373.
- "Storm van 's Gravesand", by J. A. J. de Villiers, reviewed, 574.
- "Story of the Great War", by R. G. Usher, reviewed, 136.
- STOWELL, E. C., (R) Garner's "International Law and the World War", 526.
- "Strategy on the Western Front", by H. H. Sargent, reviewed, 792.

- Stuart, Campbell, "Secrets of Crewe House", reviewed, 533.
- Sukhomlinov, Russian minister of war, 53, 226, 233, 236, 239, 240, 242, 246-249.
- Sullivan, James, report by, 418.
- Sverbeiev, Russian ambassador to Germany, 244, 245, 249, 250.
- SWEET, A. H., (R) Butler's "Benedictine Monachism", 754; (R) Smith's "Early History of the Monastery of Cluny", 821.
- SWEET, W. W., "Rise of Methodism in the West", reviewed, 143; (R) Curnock's "John Wesley", VII., VIII., 322; paper by, 427.
- Sweetser, Arthur, "League of Nations at Work", reviewed, 538.
- SWINGLE, W. T., *Chinese Historical Sources*, 717-725.
- Switzerland, His's "Geschichte des Neuern Schweizerischen Staatsrechts", I., reviewed, 88; Gagliardi's "Anteil der Schweizer an den Italienischen Kriegen, 1494-1516", I., reviewed, 127.
- Syria, Scheltéma's "Lebanon in Turmoil", reviewed, 326.
- Szárpáry, count, Austrian ambassador to Russia, 230, 237, 238, 240, 242-244.
- Tait, James, (ed.) "Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester", pt. I., reviewed, 567.
- "Talks with T. R., from the Diaries of J. Leary, Jr.", reviewed 149.
- Tawney, R. H., (ed.) "English Economic History: Select Documents", reviewed, 314.
- Taylor, E. G., "New England in France: History of the Twentieth Division", reviewed, 594.
- Taylor, H: O., "Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century", reviewed, 501.
- "Teaching of History", by E. L. Hasluck, reviewed, 353.
- Temperley, H. W. V., "History of the Peace Conference", reviewed, 535.
- "Terrier of Fleet, Lincolnshire", ed. N. Neilson, reviewed, 319.
- Terry, C: S., "History of Scotland from the Roman Evacuation to the Disruption", reviewed, 756.
- Theal, G: McC., "History of South Africa from 1873 to 1884", reviewed, 795.
- Thomas, Allen C., deceased, 600.
- Thompson, C: M., "The Industrial State, 1870-1893", reviewed, 548.
- Thompson, Holland, "New South", reviewed, 146.
- Thompson, R. M., (ed.) "Confidential Correspondence of Gustavus V. Fox", I., II., reviewed, 841.
- Thorndike, A. H., "Literature in a Changing Age", reviewed, 362.
- Thornley, Isobel D., "England under the Yorkists, 1460-1485", reviewed, 569.
- "Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century", by H: O. Taylor, reviewed, 501.
- Thouvenel, E: A., French foreign minister, attitude toward the Confederacy, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261, 263, 265, 266.
- Tirpitz, A. von, 53.
- Tisza, Count, president of the ministry of Hungary, 46.
- Torre, José Revello de, "Veladas Literarias del Marqués de Castell-dosrius", reviewed, 153.
- Toscanelli, and the discovery of America, Vignaud's "Columbian Tradition on the Discovery of America", reviewed, 139.
- "Tourny, L'Intendant", by Michel Lhéritier, reviewed, 321.
- Tout, T: F., "Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England", I., II., reviewed, 78.
- "Traditions Techniques de la Peinture Médiévale", by G. Loumyer, reviewed, 564.
- "Transactions", Royal Historical Society, ser. 4, vols. II., III., reviewed, 562, 819.
- "Transformation of Early Christianity from an Eschatological to a

- Socialized Movement", by L. P. Edwards, reviewed, 126.
- "Transport Service, History of the: U. S. Transports in the World War", by Albert Gleaves, reviewed, 813.
- "Transportation, East by West, Essays in", by A. J. Morrison, reviewed, 138.
- "Travail dans la Grèce Ancienne", by Gustave Glotz, reviewed, 493.
- TREAT, P. J., (R) Hara's "Introduction to the History of Japan", 539.
- "Treaties, Senate and, 1789-1817", by Ralston Hayden, reviewed, 591.
- TRENT, W. P., (R) Bruce's "History of the University of Virginia", I, II., 808; (ed.) "Cambridge History of American Literature", III., IV., reviewed, 812.
- Trevelyan, G: M., "Lord Grey of the Reform Bill", reviewed, 90.
- Trevelyan, Janet P., "Short History of the Italian People, from the Barbarian Invasions to the Attainment of Unity", reviewed, 565.
- Trimble, W: J., deceased, 601.
- Troop Movement Section, Div. of Transportation, U. S. R. A. (originally Troop Movement Force), 469-475, 483, 484, 487, 488.
- Troop Movements on the American Railroads during the Great War*, by R. H. McLEAN, 464-488; railroad organization before 1914 and under Railroads' War Board, 464-469; system evolved under railroad administration, 470-473; regular army and national guard, 474-476; selective service men and intercamp movements, 477-480; movements to ports of embarkation, 480-486; summary of achievements, 487-488.
- "True Account of the Battle of Jutland", by T: G. Frothingham, reviewed, 835.
- Tschirschky, Count, German ambassador to Austria, 41, 42, 45, 46.
- Tucker, I. St. J., "History of Imperialism", reviewed, 584.
- Tucker, Josiah, 25.
- Turberville, A. S., "Mediaeval Heresy and the Inquisition", reviewed, 318.
- "Turkey, Glimpses of Old: Day of the Crescent", by G. E. Hubbard, reviewed, 129.
- TURNER, E: R., paper by, 424; (R) Henry's "Evolution of Sinn Fein", 523; "Europe, 1789-1920", reviewed, 777.
- Turner, F: J., address by, 417; "Frontier in American History", reviewed, 542.
- "Twenty-sixth Division, New England in France", by E. G. Taylor, reviewed, 594.
- Tyler, M. C., 3, 5, 6, 9.
- TYLER, M. W., (R) Vast's "Little History of the Great War", 582.
- United States, Scott's "Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States", reviewed, 345.
- "United States: an Experiment in Democracy", by Carl Becker, reviewed, 337.
- "United States, Government of", by W: B. Munro, reviewed, 152.
- "United States and Latin America", by J: H. Latané, reviewed, 351.
- "United States in Our Own Times, 1865-1920", by P. L. Haworth, reviewed, 349.
- "United States in the World War", II., by J: B. McMaster, reviewed, 554.
- United States Railroad Administration, 470, 477, 478, 484.
- Urban II., pope, 441-442, 447.
- USHER, A. P., (R) Eckel's "Coal, Iron, and War", 307; paper by, 416.
- USHER, R. G., (R) Pollen's "English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth", 84; "Story of the Great War", reviewed, 136.

- Van Doren, Carl, (ed.) "Cambridge History of American Literature", III., IV., reviewed, 812.
- "Van Horne, William, Life and Work of", by Walter Vaughan, reviewed, 843.
- Vander Linden, H., "Belgium", reviewed, 355.
- Vansteenberghe, Edmond, "Cardinal Nicholas de Cues", reviewed, 763.
- Vast, H., "Little History of the Great War", reviewed, 582.
- Vaughan, Walter, "Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne", reviewed, 843.
- "Veladas Literarias del Marqués de Castellosos", by José Revello de Torre, reviewed, 153.
- "Vermittlung und Gute Dienste in Vergangenheit und Zukunft", by Edgar de Melville, reviewed, 583.
- Vestal, S. C., "Maintenance of Peace", reviewed, 304.
- Victoria, Queen, and Disraeli, 681-682.
- "Victory at Sea", by Rear-Admiral W: S. Sims, reviewed, 332.
- Vigevano, Attilio, "La Fine dell'Esercito Pontificio", reviewed, 788.
- Vignaud, Henry, "Columbian Tradition on the Discovery of America", reviewed, 139.
- VINCENT, J: M., (R) His's "Geschichte des Neuern Schweizerischen Staatsrechts", 88; (R) Gagliardi's "Anteil der Schweizer an den Italienischen Kriegen, 1494-1516", I., 127.
- Vinogradoff, Sir Paul, "Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence", reviewed, 749.
- "Virginia, History of the University of", I., II., by P. A. Bruce, reviewed, 808.
- Voinovitch, Louis, "Dalmatia and the Jugoslav Movement", reviewed, 521.
- "Von Keil bis Kapp: zur Geschichte der Deutschen Revolution", by Gustav Noske, reviewed, 794.
- "Voorspel van den Eersten Engelschen Oorlog", by J. E. Elias, reviewed, 356.
- Wade, T: C., (ed.) Borough's "Sovereignty of the British Seas", reviewed, 128.
- Wainwright, Richard, (ed.) "Confidential Correspondence of Gustavus V. Fox", I., II., reviewed, 841.
- Wales, "Social and Economic History", IV., reviewed, 319.
- Waliszewski, K., "Poland the Unknown", reviewed, 316.
- WALKER, WILLISTON, (R) Burgess's "John Robinson", 338; (R) "Answer to John Robinson of Leyden by a Puritan Friend", 339.
- Walsh, J. J., address by, 414.
- Walter the Penniless, 440, 442-444.
- WAMBAUGH, SARAH, "Plebiscites", reviewed, 327; (R) Sweetser's "League of Nations at Work", 538.
- War Department, 469, 470, 475, 480, 488.
- War Finance Corporation, 72.
- War Industries Board, 67-71, 73.
- War Labor Board, National, 75.
- War Trade Board, 65, 66, 73.
- Wells, Mr., and the *New History* [H. G. Wells's *The Outline of History*], by CARL BECKER, 641-656.
- "Weltgeschichte in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung", IV., V., ed. L. M. Hartmann, reviewed, 495, 761.
- "Wesley, John, Journal of", VII., VIII., ed. Nehemiah Curnock, reviewed, 322.
- West, A. B., "History of the Chalcidic League", reviewed, 562.
- West, Julius, "History of the Chartist Movement", reviewed, 513.
- WESTERMANN, W. L., (R) Glotz's "Le Travail dans la Grèce Ancienne", 493.
- "Western Front, Strategy on the", by H. H. Sargent, reviewed, 792.

- Wharton, Anne H., "In Old Pennsylvania Towns", reviewed, 589.
- Wiener, Leo, "Africa and the Discovery of America", I., reviewed, 102.
- Wieselburg, siege of, by Crusaders, 449.
- Wiesner report on murder of Franz Ferdinand, 230.
- "Wilhelm IV. von Preussen, Kronprinz Friedrich, Johann Peter Friedrich Ancillon und", by Paul Haake, reviewed, 358.
- Willard, Daniel, 57-59, 69, 70, 466, 467.
- William II., Germany, 37-41, 48, 52, 240, 241, 243, 245-248, 250, 251, 254; Lacour-Gayet's "Guillaume II., le Vaincu", reviewed, 579.
- "William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts", I., by G. A. Wood, reviewed, 545.
- Williams, M. W., "Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age", reviewed, 496.
- Willoughby, W. W., "Foreign Rights and Interests in China", reviewed, 138.
- Wilson, Woodrow, 55, 57, 61, 64, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74.
- "Witte, Count, Memoirs of", ed. Abraham Yarmolinsky, reviewed, 790.
- Wood, G. A., "William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, 1741-1756". I., reviewed, 545.
- WOODBURN, J. A., (R) Bogart and Thompson's "Industrial State, 1870-1893", 548.
- Woodhouse, E. J. and C. S., "Italy and the Jugoslavs", reviewed, 522.
- Woodward, R. S., address by, 420.
- Woody, Thomas, "Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania", reviewed, 838.
- WRIGHT, C. H. C., (R) Davis's "History of France", 313; (R) Guérard's "French Civilization from its Origins to the Close of the Middle Ages", 755.
- WRIGHT, I. A., (R) Torre's "Velas Literarias del Marqués de Casteldosrius", 153; (R) Ravignani's "La Personalidad de Manuel Belgrano", 845.
- Wright, T. G., "Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730", reviewed, 543.
- "Writing, History of the Art of", by W. A. Mason, reviewed, 491.
- "Writing of History", by F. M. Fling, reviewed, 305.
- Yarmolinsky, Abraham, (ed.) "Memoirs of Count Witte", reviewed, 790.
- "Yorkists, England under the", by Isobel D. Thornley, reviewed, 569.
- Zook, G. F., (R) Halsey's "Literary Digest History of the World War", X., reviewed, 581.

The
American Historical Review

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1895-1920

WHEN a notable American university was celebrating with just pride its first decennial anniversary, a "candid friend" who was present, from an "allied or associated" nation not here to be specified, remarked with austere pleasantry that "when one of our institutions is only ten years old, we try to conceal the fact". Twenty-five years may be—it is permissible to the editor to hope that it will prove to be—relatively a short period in the life of the *American Historical Review*, but, after all, twenty-five years is nearly a generation of human life, and its completion, by an institution however modest in scope, may well warrant some sort of commemoration. Most of those who now take (and we hope read) our journal are too young to remember the earlier part of its history; and moreover, there are features of the story of its origin that may interest the student of the history of scholarly enterprises in general.

America had not been wholly without historical journals in earlier times than the year 1895. Besides the organs of local historical societies, we had from 1857 to 1875 the *Historical Magazine*, edited during most of its career by Henry B. Dawson, a robust political partisan, stoutly polemical; and the centennial year 1876 had brought into existence the *Magazine of American History*, edited successively by John Austin Stevens, jr., the Reverend Dr. B. F. De Costa, and Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. Useful magazines they were, but they belonged to and represented a period when the little military engagements of the Revolutionary War, the biographies of its heroes and of the "Fathers" in general, the minutiae of voyages and discoveries, endlessly disputable, and the local and antiquarian details of the colonial period, were regarded as the main matters of American history, and those were the subjects with which their pages were filled; also they were confined to American history. By

1895, however, the study of history in the United States had passed into a more advanced stage of development. It had become less provincial, less contracted in view. Its chief motive powers had passed from the hands of elderly antiquarians into those of young teachers. Where in 1857 there had been a dozen college teachers of history in the country, in 1895 there were nearly or quite a hundred, and nearly half of them had studied in German universities. In those days, before the French universities had developed their superior excellences, Germany was the Mecca of the ambitious American historical student, and the German seminary the place where his mind came into fructifying contact with the historical scholarship of the world at large.

To such minds the rôle of scientific journals in the development and maintenance of their study was familiar. They were readers of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, which Ranke and others had established in 1859, and of the *Revue Historique*, founded by Monod in 1876, which most of them probably regarded as the best model of what an historical journal should be. It was certain that, as soon as the historical profession in the United States had attained a certain number, and a certain stage of importance and influence in the academic world, its members would wish to establish a periodical organ of American historical scholarship. No doubt a considerable impulse in that direction came from the foundation of the *English Historical Review*, whose initial number (January, 1886), with Lord Acton's famous article, made so brilliant a beginning. That impulse was probably strengthened among us by the visits paid to various American universities, later in that year, by the first editor of that journal, Dr. Mandell Creighton, afterward bishop of Peterborough and of London, who came to America as representative of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, at the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Harvard University. The present writer, at least, remembers well that from the time of his brief talk with Dr. Creighton the desire to see America provided with a scientific historical journal of her own, and to help if possible in its establishment, was often in his thoughts, and he presumes the same to have been true of others. At all events, the notion was in the air.

In the actual genesis of the *Review*, there was an element of fortunate coincidence—coincidence made fortunate by the amiable disinterestedness which characterizes the historical profession in this country and which, we may presume, springs naturally from the historian's habit of looking at all sides of questions in his field. At that time each of the subjects most nearly allied to history had one

or more professional journals in the United States. Nearly all of them were the peculiar property of individual universities, and were sustained by that loyal zeal for the individual university which is at times so great a help and at times so great a hindrance to the best progress of learning in America. Excellent as these journals were, they would have been the better for having a broader basis and drawing their material from a wider circle of contributors. If in such a subject as political economy, in which radical differences of opinion and tendency play an important part, there is an advantage in having different journals that represent the different schools of doctrine prevalent at various universities, in history, on the other hand, as history is pursued in North America, such differences of doctrine have no corresponding degree of significance, and, however journals of history might multiply in the future, it was fortunate that the first scientific American historical journal should not be in any sense the organ of a single institution, but should be founded, on as broad a basis as possible, in the good will of the whole profession.

It is possible that historical faculties in several American universities were in 1894 contemplating the foundation of historical journals; what is certain is that three such plans were coming to something like maturity in the closing months of that year, at Harvard, Cornell, and the University of Pennsylvania. Their development was so nearly simultaneous that no stress was ever subsequently laid on questions of priority. The plan which was developing at Harvard was based from the beginning on the thought of extensive co-operation, in the management of the journal, on the part of historical scholars in other universities. The Cornell plan was framed by Professor Henry Morse Stephens, who in that autumn had come to Ithaca from England. Besides his well-known learning and his gifts as a teacher, he had had much experience in journalistic reviewing and some share in the first years' work of the *English Historical Review*. Late in November he proposed to the trustees of Cornell University a project for an historical journal, of which he should be editor-in-chief, and in the conduct of which Professors Moses Coit Tyler and George L. Burr should be associated with him. It was, by the first intention, to be distinctly a possession of Cornell University, but the aid and support of the historical profession in general were of course and with reason expected.

During that same autumn of 1894 while the Cornell professor of history was shaping his plans, the faculty of history in Har-

vard University, which at that time consisted of Professors Emerson, Gross, Macvane, Channing, and Hart, and in a less technical sense included Justin Winsor and Professor W. J. Ashley, were engaged in plans of a similar nature, but providing on a much broader basis for co-operation on the part of historical faculties in other institutions. It does not appear that either project was known to the framers of the other until the meeting of the American Historical Association in the closing days of December, 1894. At that time there were some private conversations on the subject, but not such as would spread definite knowledge or would necessarily check the separate maturing of the two projects. It happened, however, that both Mr. Stephens and Mr. Emerson, very naturally, during the course of that session consulted Professor George B. Adams of Yale respecting their plans. Strongly impressed, as indeed was Professor Emerson, with the desirability of having one historical journal, supported by all the strength that the historical scholars of the country could supply, rather than two competing journals less completely representative, Mr. Adams on the last day of the year wrote to both informants, in terms intended to bring about a union of forces. At Harvard the effect of his representations was to cause a suspension of plans until a formal conference, representative of various universities and scholars, could be had. To Cornell he had suggested that the project there formed might be widened to include such representatives in the capacity of associate editors, while still, in recognition of the generous pecuniary provisions made by the trustees of Cornell University, Mr. Stephens should be editor-in-chief.

On February 11, 1895, Professor Stephens formally submitted to the executive committee of the Cornell trustees a project embodying these modifications of his original plan. On the next day the executive committee adopted this project, made liberal provisions for the initial expenses of the review and for its subsequent maintenance, and voted an increase of Professor Stephens's salary. A circular letter dated February 17, and signed by Professors Tyler, Burr, and Stephens, was sent to about a dozen historical scholars in different parts of the country, outlining the plan and inviting the recipients to act as associate editors assisting Professor Stephens and his Cornell colleagues. Meanwhile, however, on January 28, the Harvard professors had sent invitations to a larger number of scholars, in various places, asking them to come to a conference in Cambridge at Easter, to consider the foundation, on some co-operative plan, of an American Historical Review. Not unnaturally, it so happened that Professor Adams and at least three others of those

to whom these invitations went were also among the dozen who, a few days later, received the invitations from Cornell, and all these three, each on his own motion, wrote immediately to both parties, in the same sense in which Mr. Adams had written at an earlier stage, urging the advantages of a combination of forces.

Forthwith Professor Stephens, at the instance of the Cornell group, journeyed to Boston, to Providence, and to New Haven, everywhere seeking the means of harmonizing the Cornell plan with the desire so widely expressed for a single journal, with a truly national basis. As a result of these consultations and of ensuing correspondence it was agreed that both plans, and the whole matter of the journal, should be laid before a general conference of those interested, to be held at New York on April 6. The call, which was dated March 20, went out over six representative signatures, those of Professors Emerton, Tyler, and Adams, Professor (later President) H. P. Judson of Chicago, Professor McMaster of the University of Pennsylvania, and Professor Sloane of Princeton (afterward of Columbia University). Those invited were mostly professors of history in the leading universities and colleges. By the time the conference took place, the Cornell authorities were disposed to waive all the provisions that had accompanied their subvention, except the proviso that the editor-in-chief should be a Cornell professor. Morse Stephens personally had declared that if a co-operative plan was adopted and the Cornell plan rejected he would do all he could to persuade Cornell to withdraw from the field and would offer to surrender that portion of his salary which had been granted in view of the editorial work. Though the liberality of his trustees made it unnecessary for him to carry out this generous sacrifice, it is only just to add, by a little anticipation, that he cheerfully surrendered the post of editor-in-chief for which he had been designated, and throughout the initial years of the *Review* did yeoman service of much value in the Board of Editors.

The conference of April 6, 1895, held in the rooms of the Reform Club in New York City, was attended by twenty-six persons, of whom seventeen are still living. The twenty-six were: Mr. Charles Francis Adams,¹ Professors George B. Adams of Yale and Charles M. Andrews of Bryn Mawr, Dr. Frederic Bancroft, Professor Edward G. Bourne¹ of Western Reserve University (professor-elect in Yale), Professors John W. Burgess of Columbia, Edward P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania, and William A. Dunning of Columbia, Mr. Paul L. Ford,¹ Professor Herbert D.

¹ Since deceased.

Foster of Dartmouth, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald of Philadelphia, Professors Charles Gross¹ and Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, J. F. Jameson of Brown University, McMaster of Pennsylvania, Edwin K. Mitchell of Hartford Theological Seminary, Dana C. Munro of Pennsylvania, Herbert L. Osgood¹ of Columbia, and James H. Robinson of Pennsylvania, Mr. John C. Ropes,¹ Professors Lucy M. Salmon of Vassar, Sloane of Princeton, and Stephens¹ of Cornell, Dr. Charles J. Stillé¹ of Philadelphia, Professors Tyler¹ of Cornell and George M. Wrong of Toronto.

In this conference, by unanimous agreement, the main outlines of an organization for the proposed review were settled. To meet expenses, except in so far as they might be assumed by a publisher, it was resolved that an association of guarantors should be formed, guaranteeing in the aggregate two thousand dollars per annum for two years, and, if needed, for a third year, after which it was hoped that the *Review* would be self-supporting. It was also resolved that the conference should elect an editorial board of five members, which should select a managing editor and, for a term of one year, serve as an executive committee, in charge of the new undertaking. Professors Adams, Hart, McMaster, Sloane, and Stephens were elected as the first Board of Editors. In order that the West, hardly at all represented in the conference, might have a representative in the Board, Professor Judson of Chicago was presently added to this group.² The Board elected as its chairman Professor Adams, as its secretary and treasurer Professor Hart; and to these two, throughout all its earlier years, the *Review* was signally indebted for invaluable services, especially in all business matters. A managing editor (the writer of these pages, managing editor 1895-1901, 1905-1920) was chosen to serve as executive officer under this board of six. It was resolved by the Board that the first number of the new quarterly should appear on the first of October. Arrangements were presently made with the Macmillan Company of New York as publishers. It is a pleasure to bear testimony in this place to the uniformly happy relations which during twenty-five years have subsisted between these publishers and the editors, to the kindness and consideration with which, especially in the

² The list of members of the Board from the beginning to the present time runs as follows: George B. Adams, 1895-1912; Albert B. Hart, 1895-1909; Harry P. Judson, 1895-1902; John B. McMaster, 1895-1898; William M. Sloane, 1895-1911; H. Morse Stephens, 1895-1905; Andrew C. McLaughlin, 1898-1914; J. Franklin Jameson, 1902—; George L. Burr, 1905-1915; Frederick J. Turner, 1909-1915; James H. Robinson, 1911—; Edward P. Cheyney, 1912—; Carl Becker, 1914—; Ephraim Emerton, 1915-1917; Claude H. Van Tyne, 1915—; Charles H. Haskins, 1917-1919; Williston Walker, 1920—.

earlier years, the president of the company, Mr. George P. Brett, placed his experience and sagacity at the service of the Board, and to the perfect delicacy with which the publishers have abstained from every effort to use the pages of the *Review* in the interest of any of their other publications. Never in twenty-five years has any suggestion come from them as to how any "Macmillan book" should be treated in the pages devoted to reviews, while in all pecuniary matters their course has been so generous that, if the *Review* has been of service to the cause of history, a large share of the thanks belongs to the Macmillan Company.

It is a pleasure also to record the gratitude of the editors to the New Era Printing Company of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who since the second year have been the printers of the *Review*, and in all the many details involved in that function have constantly rendered it faithful, intelligent, and efficient service.

During the next months of 1895 the Board of Editors had a twofold labor to perform, that of securing guarantors in order that the *Review* might be possible and that of securing for its earlier numbers such contributions that it might be creditable. For the former purpose, members of the Board and of the organizing conference canvassed their friends and their university circles. The Harvard and Yale constituencies stood foremost in the amount of subscriptions; other institutions in which groups of guarantors were found were Cornell, Chicago, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, that of Toronto, and the Hartford Theological Seminary. The second recorded subscriber to the fund was Theodore Roosevelt, and one of the earliest was John Hay. So, in sums of from five to fifty-five dollars each, more than three hundred persons assured the new journal of an annual fund of more than \$3600 per annum for a period of three years. A meeting of the Association of Guarantors was held in December, 1895, at which the same editors were formally elected by that body, for terms so arranged as to expire in from one to six years, a six-year term being established as normal. To this meeting the treasurer of the Board submitted his accounts. Similar meetings were held in December of 1896 and 1897. Meanwhile, the Board of Editors had been having three or four meetings in each of these years, and in subsequent years it has been its practice to have three meetings yearly, meetings of great value to the conduct of the journal. Many scientific reviews have merely nominal boards, composed of distinguished members who only lend their names, but ours has been a real board of editors, directing the managing editor in the earlier years, advising and

counselling with him since the date (1901) when a member of the Board became managing editor.

As to the contents of the *Review*, it was intended that, as in most historical journals, they should consist of four sorts and should be organized in four divisions: "body articles", documents heretofore unpublished, reviews of books, and items of news respecting either the historical profession or new publications or developments in the field of history, European or American—for the title *American Historical Review* never implied confinement to the history of America, nor any other emphasis upon it than what the natural flow of contributions might bring.

Concerning articles, the preliminary circular put forth by the Board of Editors said, "the three criteria for contributions to the *Review* are: that they shall be fresh and original in treatment; that they shall be the result of accurate scholarship; and that they shall have distinct literary merit. Articles which fulfill these conditions will be welcomed on any field of history." Laudable desires, still entertained! though at the end of twenty-five years the editors would be obliged to confess, somewhat ruefully, that not everything they have printed has conformed to all these standards. A stream cannot rise higher than its source; with our best endeavors, the level our journal can attain is in some degree conditioned by the actual facts of a world, a country, and a profession in which not everyone who has something to say can say it well. In Parliament there are "papers by command"; an historical review, even though many papers are based on editorial request or suggestion, cannot always command all the excellences its ideals might require.

Neither in respect to articles solicited, nor in their selection from among articles offered, nor in respect to the reviewing of books, have the editors ever sought, either by choice of subject or by suggestions as to treatment, to favor any particular school or to sustain any doctrinal tendency in American historical work. They have wished their journal to be the organ of no circle less extensive than the whole American historical profession. They have desired to be hospitable to every variety of historical thought that is at all current among the members of that profession, and have had no "policy" but, while maintaining high standards of method and of scholarship, to be catholic in matters of opinion. If it has so happened that all the editors have been professors, and if the tone of the journal has been distinctly academic, those limitations have their explanation. A professor in an important university hears of more of the good work that is going on than comes to the knowledge of one less cen-

trally placed. Moreover, though we ought to guard against the characteristic weaknesses and defects of academics, it remains true that far the greatest part of America's historical production springs from academic circles. More than three-fourths of the members of the American Historical Association are teachers; and the number of Americans who with their own means and without academic connection were or are working in history was unfortunately small in 1895 and is, in proportion, even smaller in 1920.

The salutatory article of the new journal was a paper on "History and Democracy", by Professor Sloane, of the Board of Editors, who set forth with his customary breadth of view and eloquence the gains which the history of society owed to the modern developments of adjoining sciences, the need of sound historical knowledge for the conduct of a democratic government, and the encouragement which our conservative spirit, our varied European origins, and our cultivation of history in the past might lend to the expectation that American democracy would be favorable to the development of historical work among us, and that that work would be marked not only by solid merits but even by literary excellence. For articles of substantive history for their first number the editors made their best endeavors in many quarters. They secured from M. C. Tyler a valuable and most attractive article on the Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution, and from Professor F. J. Turner one on Western State-Making during the Revolutionary Era. John Fiske was prevented from assisting, by exclusive contracts which he had made with his publishers; von Holst, by failing health. Henry C. Lea gave to the first number a bit on the First Castilian Inquisitor, and a more important article to the second number. Henry Adams gave to the first number a chip from his workshop, slight but entertaining, on Count Edward de Crillon. Pressed for a further contribution, he replied in characteristic fashion:

Long absences are one cause which has broken my relations with the world. The other and more serious cause is that, in the chaotic and unintelligible condition in which I found—and left—the field of knowledge which is called History, I became overpoweringly conscious that any further pretence on my part of acting as instructor would be something worse than humbug, unless I could clear my mind in regard to what I wanted to teach. As History stands, it is a sort of Chinese Play, without end and without lesson. With these impressions I wrote the last line of my History, asking for a round century before going further. . . . I have nothing to say. I would much rather wipe out all I have ever said, than go on with more. I am glad to hear other men if they think they have something worth saying; but it is as a scholar, and not as a teacher, that I have taken my seat.

The old files of correspondence from those early days bring back pleasant recollections of many historical students of the older generation who helped the new journal on many occasions and with cordial good-will, and whose generous encouragement is remembered with affectionate gratitude—Charles Francis Adams and Daniel H. Chamberlain, Jacob D. Cox and George W. Julian, Admiral Mahan, that “*veray parfit gentil knight*”, John C. Ropes and James Schouler, Edward M. Shepard and Justin Winsor. Are there public men now who take the same interest in history as did these men of Civil War times? The old letters bring up too the memory of younger men now gone, colleagues like Edward Bourne or Charles Gross, who could be relied on for constant aid and sympathetic counsel; or Paul Ford, with his wonderful resources of knowledge, or the sagacious Herbert Adams; and grateful remembrance of the many friends of the new journal who are happily still living. Especially interesting are the many messages of congratulation upon the first number, for they show plainly how pleased were our scattered workers in history to find themselves so numerous and capable of co-operative effort so large and varied.

The pieces printed under the rubric “Documents” in this first number had not the same importance as some that have since been published, but at least one has always the satisfaction of feeling, with respect to this section, that what value its contents may have is permanent. Articles may be superseded, reviews of books serve in the main a temporary purpose, but original materials usually retain their value unimpaired. What one would like best would be to print, quarter after quarter, a series of documents found in private hands or houses, and so exposed to destruction—brands rescued from the burning—yet of such a character as to revolutionize important chapters of history; but this is too much to expect. We may be content in twenty-five years if we have made, whether from private repositories or from public archives, a good many helpful additions to the documentary material for history, chiefly, of course, American history.

In the earlier volumes there was a rubric for bibliographies of a certain sort, lists of original materials mostly, but this was before long abandoned. In the twentieth volume, on the other hand, the practice was begun of reserving a special place, with the heading “Notes and Suggestions”, for minor contributions, fruits of research having a limited scope and yet a certain importance. In European historical journals such by-products of the historian’s trade abound; in our case, though the notes actually sent in have

been good, the supply has for some reason never been as abundant as had been expected.

Of all the contents of the first number, it was perhaps the reviews of books on which the editors bestowed most thought and from which they derived most satisfaction. The difficulties were not inconsiderable, in the case of a journal which had as yet no established position, and which had to encounter the then formidable competition of the *Nation*; but books were obtained, through a range sufficient to justify the claim to catholicity which Professor Sloane's salutatory had announced, and the desired reviewers were cordially willing to help. A series of reviews which included notices of Hodgkin's *Italy and Her Invaders* by Professor Emerton, of Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law* by Professor Melville M. Bigelow, of Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales* by Professor C. M. Andrews, of Fitzmaurice's *Life of Sir William Petty* by W. J. Ashley, of Lord Wolseley's *Napoleon* and Lord Roberts's *Wellington* by Colonel Theodore Dodge, of Lavisse's *Victor Duruy* by John Bigelow, of *The Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman* by Herbert Adams, of Thayer's *Cases on Constitutional Law* by Judge Simeon Baldwin, of Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (ed. Thwaites) by Theodore Roosevelt, of Bigelow's *Tilden* by Edward M. Shepard, and of Prowse's *Newfoundland* by Goldwin Smith, certainly did not lack distinction.

In twenty-five years, more than four thousand books have been reviewed. It has been the intention of the editors to include among them all the important historical volumes published in the United States, and the most important of those that have appeared in European countries, but their success in obtaining the latter from the European publishers has naturally been less complete. It has been their desire that the books described and appraised should represent all fields and varieties of history—not political history alone, but also ecclesiastical, legal, military, naval, economic, social, and cultural history, and the general history of science and of literature. There were not wanting in 1895, perhaps there are not wanting now, those to whom such an inclusiveness appeared strange. A friendly reviewer of the first number mentioned with mild surprise that a review of Briggs's *The Messiah of the Apostles* had "somehow strayed in", as if the chief personage of history were no concern of history properly speaking, because his story could be labelled ecclesiastical history and so relegated to the exclusive care of ecclesiastics and their journals, or as if the empire of history could be profited by creating as many independent satrapies as possible and refusing

to meddle in any territory but such as no one else desired. If any of the readers of our journal have preferred a narrower view, the editors cherish the modest hope that they have done them a little good, by compelling them occasionally to look over their fences.

If there is anything in the conduct of the journal, in this or in other departments, that the editors would wish to emphasize, it is that the *American Historical Review* has always been edited primarily in the interest of its readers; indeed, it may fairly be said that the readers' interests have solely been regarded, except in cases where, such considerations standing equal, other interests could legitimately be taken into account. Thus, in the selection of reviewers, it is not the author, still less the publisher, whose interests have been considered, but those of the reader. For his benefit we have sought the aid of the reviewer most qualified in respect to knowledge, judgment, and fairness of mind. Men's books have not been reviewed by their colleagues and friends—neither by their enemies, but the "history man" usually has none—not that friend or colleague or enemy might not judge his book fairly, but readers might not think so. (Says Confucius, "Under an apple-tree adjust not your hat; in a cucumber-patch tie not your shoe.") It is a pleasant reward for the pains expended on these details that, so far as is remembered, no one has ever accused the *Review* of log-rolling or the opposite vice—except once the publisher of a very bad text-book.

Text-books are a special variety, and require a special treatment. Some have thought it beneath the dignity of an historical quarterly of the three-decker class to concern itself with these freight-carrying merchantmen. In the minds of the editors, however, the controlling consideration was that historical books of this sort are more used than any others, that a large portion of our readers are text-book-using teachers, and that it is particularly hard to obtain disinterested judgments respecting such volumes. There is a fierce light that doth beat upon a text-book. For several years the device employed by the *Review* was to retain a special group of five men, good teachers and good scholars, one in ancient history, one in medieval, one in modern, one in English, and one in American history, no one of whom had himself written a text-book or was likely to do so, but each of whom was a good judge of that genus, and to entrust to him all text-books that came in from his particular field. Fairer and more comparable judgments, based on more uniform standards, were thus secured; but after the establishment of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, with its admirable arrangements for

securing competent and disinterested reviews of text-books, it seemed best to resign that whole class of volumes, with a few exceptions, to that excellent journal.

Of reviews in general, what the editors have hoped for has been indicated in a circular which they have sent to all reviewers:

It is desired that the review of a book shall be such as will convey to the reader a clear and comprehensive notion of its nature, of its contents, of its merits, of its place in the literature of the subject, and of the amount of its positive contribution to knowledge. . . . It is hoped that the reviewer will take pains, first of all, to apprehend the author's conception of the nature and intent of his book and to criticize it with a due regard to its species and purpose. It should, however, be remembered that the review is intended for the information and assistance of readers, and not for the satisfaction of the author of the book. Sympathy, courtesy, a sense of attachment, readiness to make allowance for a different point of view, should not therefore withhold the reviewer from the straightforward expression of adverse judgment sincerely entertained; otherwise the Review cannot fulfill the important function of upholding a high standard of historical writing.

Whatever general suggestions might thus be laid before reviewers, the quality of the reviews, year after year, must perforce be what the reviewers make it. The managing editor can seldom be justified in asking them to modify what they have written, never in substituting his judgment for that of an expert whom he has selected as the best appraiser. If an author considers his reviewer's criticisms ill-founded, he has full liberty to reply, provided his response is confined to matters of fact, capable of being settled one way or the other, as distinguished from matters of opinion, on which author and reviewer might differ endlessly and without result. Probably our reviews have been on the average too lenient. Left free to sign or not to sign, most of our reviewers sign their reviews, and it is an uncomfortable thing to speak ill of a man's book when at the next Christmas season of peace on earth you are going to meet him at the meeting of the American Historical Association. Is it not perceptible that we "let ourselves go" a little more when we are reviewing the book of an Englishman, a Frenchman, or a German? No one wishes to see revived that "slashing" variety of review which delighted our grandfathers, or to emulate the controversial manners of the Germans;³ but, as the circular indicates, if standards are to be maintained, reviewers must speak their minds, "without fear, favor, affection, or hope of reward".

Of the final section of the *Review's* contents, that devoted to

³ Or ought one, now that warfare is ended, to be *Tacitus de moribus Germanorum*?

items of historical news, it is sufficient to say that, while in the first six volumes all were written by the managing editor, in the next four volumes those relating to European history were kindly supplied by Professor Earle W. Dow of Michigan, in the next three or four by Dr. Frances G. Davenport of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; for a number of years past, the majority of the American items have been provided by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett of the same institution, the greater number of the European by Professor George M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University.

Let us now return to the external history of the *Review*. Before the issue of the second number, there were, including the guarantors, 850 subscribers. Two years later there were a thousand. At that time, that is to say, in November and December, 1897, the guaranties having expired without the journal's becoming self-supporting, the Board of Editors began negotiations with the American Historical Association, with a view to aid. The Association had up to that time had no connection with the *Review*. Of the 324 guarantors, 144 were members of the Association when they made their guaranties, 180 were not. Of the thousand subscribers to the journal in the autumn of 1897, there were 850 who were not members of the Association and 150 who were members of it, while of the 800 members of the Association there were 650 who were not subscribers to the *Review*. The leading members of the Association's Executive Council at that time were reluctant to assume any financial responsibility for the journal, yet the logic of the situation and a due consideration of the objects which both institutions proclaimed and sought, called for some sort of organic relation.

At its Cleveland meeting of December, 1897, the Council, as a provisional measure, voted a subsidy to the treasury of the *Review* of a dollar a member, in return for which the numbers of the *Review* for July and October, 1898, should be sent to each member of the Association. A year later the Association, at its New Haven meeting, in December, 1898, proceeded to make a more permanent arrangement with the Board of Editors. According to its terms, the Association was thenceforward to pay to the publisher two dollars per annum for each member, in return for which the *Review* was to be sent to each; and the Council of the Association was to have the right to elect members of the Board, as their terms expired.

In 1901, on the resignation of the managing editor, Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Michigan, a member of the Board, was chosen to that position. In addition to the fresh intelligence and wisdom he brought to it, he benefited the journal

greatly by drawing into its circle new groups of contributors and by pursuing lines of tendency too little regarded hitherto. During his four years of service, moreover, and partly by reason of the high confidence which his abilities inspired, an arrangement was effected which in any view must be regarded as having been of great advantage to the *Review*. In 1903 the trustees of the Carnegie Institution of Washington agreed, at the instance of the Board of Editors, that Professor McLaughlin, coming to Washington as director of the Bureau (now Department) of Historical Research which the trustees were then establishing, should also, as a recognized part of his duties, continue to edit the *Review*. This arrangement was continued in force when, in 1905, on the resignation of Mr. McLaughlin, the writer of the present narrative was appointed by the trustees of the Carnegie Institution to succeed him as director of the same department and by the Board of Editors to be his successor as managing editor. The arrangement at once relieved the treasury of the *Review* of any charge for salary of that office, made it possible to pay regularly for articles (reviews had always been paid for), and provided an unusual amount of assistance in the work of editing. The *Review* is greatly indebted to its series of sub-editors, and most of all to Miss Elizabeth Donnan, now an assistant professor in Wellesley College, who served it in that capacity for seven years.

In the external history of the *Review* in recent years, the chief event has been the action, in 1916, by which the Board of Editors transferred to the American Historical Association whatever rights of ownership it possessed.⁴ At the time, the transfer seemed to some members of the Association a matter of considerable moment. The relations between the Board, the publishers, and the Association doubtless seemed to these members needlessly complex; they might easily seem anomalous, to those who were not aware of the strikingly wide variety of arrangements which subsist in this country between scientific societies and scientific journals. Probably many members believed that the Association supported the *Review*, or paid much the greater part of its expenses, and therefore ought to own it, or perhaps did own it. In reality the Association at that time was paying four-ninths of its cost, the Carnegie Institution three-ninths, the publishers two-ninths. But though the Board of Editors supposed itself to be the legal owner of the journal, in so far as its history permitted anyone (unless the publishers) to claim its ownership, and though, when the question was raised, competent

⁴ For the details, see *Review*, XXI. 459, 462, 466; XXII. 531; XXIII. 524, 525.

legal authority sustained that view, the editors did not attach serious importance to the inquiry. Since it is admitted that, under whatever ownership, a scientific journal ought to be edited solely in the interest of its readers (and the readers, in this instance, are, nearly all, members of the Association), it is only in the case of substantial pecuniary profits that it can matter who is its owner; and pecuniary profits could not in this case be expected. As a matter of fact, the Association assumed ownership just in time to incur the heavy responsibilities resulting from the extraordinarily enhanced cost of paper and printing. But under the circumstances the Board of Editors, when acting in the interest of the Association, has taken no different action from what it would have taken if acting solely on its own responsibility—it has reduced the number of pages and otherwise kept down expenses, without, it is hoped, seriously impairing the usefulness of the journal.

Apparently the transfer of ownership, or questions respecting it, would have excited little interest if they had not been involved with questionings raised at the same time concerning the constitution and management of the Association itself. But the recent history of the American Historical Association is another story,⁵ and it suffices here to say that that society, which like most other such societies had hitherto been managed by a moderate number of those most interested, was in 1915 undergoing a mild revolution or reorganization in a democratic sense. Students of the history of democratic revolutions know that, from the most violent to the most urbane, they present certain analogies. When constitutions are thrown into the melting-pot, it is natural to question anything that looks like special privilege, any arrangement that seems to be based on history rather than on logic. So *Messieurs les Rédacteurs* became *les citoyens rédacteurs*, with entire complaisance, but are still elected by the Council in the same manner, and, it is hoped, for the same reasons, as before.

When the *Review* had completed its twentieth volume, it printed⁶ a classified statement of the fields in which its many articles had lain. A fresh calculation, made now that the number of volumes has increased from twenty to twenty-five, would require little change in some of the indications which the former list gave as to the interests and predilections of American historical writers; thus, the proportion of articles in American history still remains about forty per cent. But the last five years show one striking difference. The

⁵ Its history from its foundation in 1884 to the year 1909 has already been recounted in this journal, XV. 1-20.

⁶ XXI. 194.

statement made in 1915 justly recorded it as "a strange and not wholly creditable fact" that "out of nearly four hundred articles only eight have related to the history of Europe since 1815". The Great War, if it has done no other good thing, has worked powerfully toward redressing this deficiency. The total number of such articles is now already twice as great. It is true that, of those which the five years have added, nearly a dozen in number, several were the result of editorial instigation, for the war-time policy of the editors was very distinctly that of seeking to clarify public opinion on the issues of the war by adding to public knowledge of the most recent periods of history.⁷ But it is also plainly true, and a fact of great and encouraging significance, that the war, among other sobering effects, has caused historical scholars to ask themselves, more searchingly than ever before, what things in history are most worth while, what lines of historical investigation are most likely to be profitable toward the instruction of mankind, to estimate practical values, to question conventional topics and procedures. "The historian's insight into the past", said Niebuhr, whose youth had been passed during the French Revolution, "will be the deeper, the greater and the more terrible the events he has witnessed with a bleeding or a rejoicing heart". When we see the crop of first-rate historians which the Reformation, and again the French Revolution, working upon young minds, produced in the next generation, we cannot doubt that the war just ended, the downfall of monarchies, the sudden rise of democratic and socialistic republics, above all perhaps the communistic revolution in Russia, will in turn bring into existence in each civilized country an extraordinary generation of historians, will produce a harvest the like of which the present generation has not seen.

If the work of the future is to be such as we could neither estimate nor perhaps understand, at least we shall have left to it a comprehensive record of our doings, and full evidence of what we thought in matters of history. Twenty-five volumes, twenty-two thousand pages of print, two or three cubic feet of rather solid historical matter! It is at least an impressive monument to one generation of historical workers in America. It might have been better; it must have been useful. Our thanks to all who have helped to make it so!

J. F. J.

⁷ "Historical Scholars in War Time", XXII. 831-835.

THE RECALL OF THE LEGIONS: A PHASE OF THE DECENTRALIZATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

I.

BRITISH colonial policy, as it was formulated in the seventeenth century and developed during the eighteenth, was predominantly commercial, yet it had to take cognizance of other matters, and notably of colonial defense. According to the accepted mercantile theory of colonization, England derived political strength and economic benefit from the trade of her colonies regulated in her own interest, and in return for these advantages she assumed the obligation of defending the colonies, at least by naval force, against rival imperial powers. To have compelled or induced the colonists to contribute directly to the support of the navy would have been contrary to the principle of reciprocal service upon which the imperial system was supposed to rest.¹

On the side of military defense, it may be said that prior to the close of the Seven Years' War the mother country recognized no obligation to protect the colonies from attacks by native tribes or to preserve law and order within them. "British colonies were expected to raise their own militia and to provide for their own defense, as though each one of them had been an England in herself."² In colonies peculiarly liable to attack at the hands of hostile European powers, such as Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New York, South Carolina, and Jamaica, English garrisons were quartered, but their cost to the mother country was small.³ "It was only under exceptional circumstances and under the stress of absolute necessity, that any English forces whatsoever were permanently maintained in America. This remained the practice until 1763."⁴

The bitter and prolonged imperial rivalry between France and Great Britain in the eighteenth century made the military defense of the British colonies a subject of prime importance. The conflict with the French and their Indian allies partook of the character

¹ Beer, *Old Colonial System*, pt. I., vol. I., p. 108 *et seq.*; *id.*, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, pp. 6-8.

² Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, II. 37; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1861, vol. XIII., "Report from the Select Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure", p. 320.

³ Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, pp. 10-14.

⁴ Beer, *Old Colonial System*, pt. I., vol. I., p. 119.

of both imperial and local warfare, but no general principle defining the respective military responsibilities of colony and mother country was laid down. It was the opinion of the late George Louis Beer, who wrote our clearest statement respecting defense as a part of the old British colonial system, that prior to the Seven Years' War, "there was no distinct theory nor any well-defined practice regarding the military activities and duties of the colonies in time of war with a European power".⁵ The colonies were expected to repel invasion to the limit of their ability, and upon occasion colonial troops co-operated with British forces in offensive operations against the French.⁶

During the French wars it was the practice of the home government to instruct the colonial authorities to furnish quotas of troops for offensive or defensive military operations, but its instructions were in fact merely requests which the colonial assemblies frequently failed to comply with. This method of "defense by supplication" reached its climax and disclosed most clearly its inherent inadequacy and inequitableness during the last intercolonial war (1754-1763).

Since it had seemed impossible to solve the problem of colonial military defense by establishing in the colonies a federal government with power to raise and maintain a common intercolonial army, such as was proposed in the Albany Plan of 1754, consideration was given to the possibility of maintaining a British army in the colonies and taxing the colonists by authority of Parliament for its support.⁷ The Grenville administration, which came to power in 1763, determined, as is well known, to establish a standing army of 10,000 men in the colonies, and to tax the colonists by parliamentary authority for the partial defrayal of the expenditure involved.⁸ Despite the fall of French power in North America, plausible rea-

⁵ *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, pp. 9-10.

⁶ For example, the capture of Port Royal in 1710 was effected by a joint British and colonial fleet and a force composed of New England regiments and British marines; Louisbourg was taken in 1745 by a New England force transported in colonial vessels and convoyed by a British squadron. Fortescue, *op. cit.*, II. 255, 258; Earl Grey, *Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, I. 43, 261.

⁷ Franklin, the principal author of the Albany Plan, later gave it as his opinion that the separation of the colonies from Great Britain might have been postponed, had the plan been adopted. A federal colonial army, such as the plan provided for, would have made unnecessary a British army in the colonies, and therefore, the taxation of the colonies by Parliament.

⁸ The military establishment was fixed in 1763 at 17,500 for Great Britain; 10,000 for the colonies; about 4000 for Gibraltar and Minorca; and 12,000 for Ireland. Fortescue, *op. cit.*, III. 10.

sons could be alleged for maintaining numerous garrisons in the forts and posts recently won, and for taking precautions for the future; and certainly no one who had imperial interests at heart could argue very forcibly for a continuation of the old requisition system.

The two measures of the Grenville ministry for raising a revenue in the colonies to meet the expenses of defending them were the Sugar Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765, which together were expected to produce somewhat less than one-half of the revenue necessary to meet the expenses of the British troops stationed in the colonies.⁹ In addition, Parliament in 1765 passed a Quartering Act requiring the several colonies to provide barracks for the troops, as well as to furnish them with certain supplies and transportation. From the point of view of the British Empire this legislation was a tragic failure. Its most palpable result was to provoke the colonists to united opposition and to incite them to a questioning of parliamentary authority over them. In 1766 the Rockingham ministry repealed the Stamp Act and modified the Sugar Act in a manner relatively satisfactory to the colonial merchants, who had been its most bitter opponents; and the Quartering Act led to little but unseemly controversy between the British government and the assembly of New York.

Not less disastrous was Charles Townshend's Revenue Act of 1767. Its preamble made it perfectly clear that the new duties which it laid on articles imported from Britain were intended not for commercial regulation, but for revenue, part of which was to go to "defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing" the colonies. Townshend merely taught the colonists to call still further in question all parliamentary authority. And meanwhile; of course, "the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing" the colonies were borne almost entirely by the taxpayers of Great Britain—pompous preambles to the contrary notwithstanding.¹⁰ As a force stationed in the colonies for the purposes officially set forth the army was farcical. Only if intended as an instrument for the promotion of colonial irritation could it have been adjudged a success. With the further progress of events that resulted in American independence we are not here concerned, but it should be remembered that the train of occurrences that led up to the disrup-

⁹ Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, p. 286.

¹⁰ From 1769 to 1774, inclusive, the parliamentary duties collected in the continental colonies, Bermuda, and the Bahamas averaged about £31,500 per annum, with an annual cost of collection of £13,000. Channing, *History of the United States*, III. 90.

tion of 1776 had for its starting-point a question of colonial defense.¹¹

II.

Britain emerged from the war of the American Revolution shorn of prestige and the larger part of her old empire. With the coming of peace in 1783 her military forces were reduced, but it was deemed necessary still to maintain some 9500 troops for colonial service.¹² Almost the whole expense of supporting them fell upon the mother country.¹³ The disastrous attempt of Grenville and Townshend to extract revenue from colonies for the support of British troops quartered therein was not repeated. On the contrary, Parliament, recognizing, when too late to avert the disruption of the empire, that "taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain for the purpose of raising a Revenue in His Majesty's Colonies, Provinces and Plantations in North America has been found by Experience to occasion great uneasiness and disorders", enacted in the following words what was clearly intended to be a binding pledge:

That from and after the passing of this Act the King and Parliament of Great Britain will not impose any Duty, Tax or Assessment whatever, payable in any of His Majesty's Colonies, Provinces or Plantations in North America or the West Indies; except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the Regulation of Commerce: the net produce of such duties to be always paid and applied to and for the use of the Colony, Province or Plantation in which the same shall be respectively levied in such manner as other duties collected by the authority of the Respective General Courts or General Assemblies of such Colonies etc. are ordinarily paid and applied.¹⁴

This belated concession to the American revolutionists failed wholly as a measure of conciliation, but the pledge which it gave, though not legally binding on succeeding Parliaments, has in fact been observed, not only in respect of the colonies to which the act expressly referred, but as a general principle of British colonial policy.¹⁵ The

¹¹ Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, p. 3.

¹² Fortescue, *op. cit.*, III. 499.

¹³ This statement does not apply to India. The expense of defending India, as indeed of conquering and governing it, has been defrayed out of Indian revenue; cf. Seeley, *Expansion of England*, course II., lecture III. On the anomaly of the distinction between Indian and colonial defense, cf. *Parl. Papers*, 1861, vol. XIII., "Report from the Select Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure", pp. 126, 141.

¹⁴ 18 Geo. III., c. 12. This statute also repealed the memorable tea duty.

¹⁵ "We attempted to tax the North American colonies, *not for imperial*, but *for colonial* objects. Rebellion made us recoil from the attempt, and the 18 Geo. III., cap. 12, gave assurance to the colonies that the attempt would not be repeated. It never was repeated with these colonies, nor has it been repeated by the impe-

troops which the imperial government has seen fit to maintain in the colonies have been paid by the British treasury, assisted in some cases by contributions from the colonies.

The outcome of the American Revolution produced, no doubt, a feeling of depression in England with regard to colonies in general. This was reflected in the abolition of the Board of Trade and of the office of colonial secretary in 1782, as well as in the political and economic literature of the day.¹⁶ But the war with Revolutionary France was accompanied by an imperialistic revival, and an enlargement of her empire was the most obvious result of that prolonged conflict so far as Britain was concerned. To guard her scattered dependencies in America, the West Indies, the Mediterranean, Africa, Asia, and Australia, numerous garrisons were deemed necessary. The expense of maintaining them was borne almost wholly by the mother country. Earl Grey, colonial secretary from 1846 to 1852, wrote in his *Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration* (page 44): "I believe it was not until the time of the great revolutionary war with France, that nearly the whole burden of the defense of the Colonies was undertaken by this country." And in the course of testimony given before a parliamentary committee in 1861 he observed: "It is to be remarked that for a very long series of years this country has acted on the principle of taking their [the colonies'] defence entirely upon herself."¹⁷ To the same effect is a statement made by Mr. Adderley, who was under-secretary for the colonies in the Derby-Disraeli ministry, that "our earliest and most vigorous colonists in North America defended themselves, as in fact they governed themselves, and separated from us in resentment of our interference. Our second Colonial policy was to govern and defend Colonies from home."¹⁸

rial parliament with any other colony, except perhaps during the short period during which the constitution of Canada was suspended. No doubt, what the imperial parliament did not venture to do, the crown has ventured, and achieved, too, in many of the colonies, but always for colonial purposes." Sydney Smith Bell, *Colonial Administration of Great Britain*, p. 404. The 18 Geo. III., c. 12, did not repeal all parliamentary duties then in force in the colonies, e.g., duties levied upon certain imports into the province of Quebec by the Quebec Revenue Act of 1774 (14 Geo. III., c. 88). These latter imposts long continued to form an important part of the public revenue of Canada (cf. Lord Durham's *Report*, ed. by Lucas, II. 141).

¹⁶ Cf. Hertz, *The Old Colonial System*, ch. X.

¹⁷ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1861, vol. XIII., report cited, p. 150.

¹⁸ *Review of "The Colonial Policy of Lord J. Russell's Administration" by Earl Grey, 1853, and of Subsequent Colonial History*, p. 380. Cf. Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, p. 585.

The purpose for which military forces were maintained varied according to the character and local conditions of the colony. In the case of military and naval stations, Gibraltar and Malta for example, the primary purpose was imperial defense. In Canada, it was precaution against foreign aggression; in Jamaica, the preservation of law and order among the blacks; at the Cape, protection against powerful and warlike native tribes.¹⁹

Argument was not wanting to justify the heavy expenditure to which the people of Great Britain were put in consequence of this policy. Many military men, aware of the traditional opposition to a powerful standing army in England, must have agreed with the Duke of Wellington that it was advisable to maintain strong garrisons in the colonies as reserves. The assertion was frequently made that the presence of British "red-coats" was an outward and visible sign of imperial unity which it would be dangerous to obliterate. Then, too, since the colonies might at any moment be involved in war by reason of the foreign policy of the mother country, it was only just, so the argument ran, that they should be protected at her expense from the consequences of that policy. Furthermore, it was held by many that the control of military affairs by the colonial governments might lead to cruelty and violence on their part toward natives.²⁰

In 1834 a select parliamentary committee was appointed "to inquire into the Military Establishment and Expenditure in the Colonies and Dependencies of the Crown". Lord John Russell, Grote, and Charles Buller were among its members. It was found that the total charges incurred for the year 1832 for the military defense of the dependencies, classified as "military and maritime stations", "plantations and settlements", and "penal settlements", was £2,003,397 and the actual net cost to Great Britain £1,761,505.²¹ The committee urged that the strictest economy should be observed in every branch of colonial military expenditure and recommended a few trifling reductions of forces and expenditure, but in the following resolution recognized it as an obligation resting on the imperial government to provide for the security of the colonies, even in time of peace:

That it is not the Intention of this Committee, by any suggestion which it may offer as to the Amount of Force deemed to be sufficient for the Garrison of any Colony in time of Peace, to relieve the Executive Gov-

¹⁹ Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, p. 587, note; also *Parl. Papers*, 1861, vol. XIII., report cited, p. 132.

²⁰ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, third series, CLXV. 1039-1041.

²¹ *Parl. Papers*, 1834, vol. VI., "Report from Select Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure", appendix, pp. 112-113.

ernment from the Duty which constitutionally belongs to it, of providing, on the responsibility of the King's Ministers, a Force sufficient for the Security of His Majesty's Possessions abroad, which Experience has proved is liable to vary in time of Peace, according to several contingencies arising out of internal or external causes.²²

The system of colonial military defense at the expense of Great Britain continued with but slight modification until the sixties. To quote from the report of an interdepartmental committee appointed in 1859 to investigate the expense of military defenses in the colonies:

the Colonies of Great Britain may be said, speaking generally, to have been free from the obligation of contributing, either by personal service or money payment, towards their own defences—a state of things which we believe to have no parallel or precedent in the case of any other organized community of which the history is known.²³

This report shows that the total military expenditure in the colonies for the year ending March 31, 1858, was £3,968,599, toward the defrayal of which the colonies contributed only £378,253, or less than one-tenth, leaving £3,590,346 as the cost to the imperial government. It appeared, furthermore, that of the total colonial contributions about two-thirds were paid by the three colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, and Ceylon, that several colonies contributed nothing and that only Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, and one or two of the West Indies had organized any militia or other local force.²⁴ A parliamentary committee on colonial military expenditure, appointed in 1861, found that the imperial government had expended on the military defense of the dependencies during the year ending March 31, 1860, £3,225,081, the colonies having contributed £369,224.²⁵ It may not be superfluous to point out that this system whereby Great Britain held herself responsible for the military defense of the whole empire was similar to that which still prevails with respect to naval defense. In the former case, as in the latter,

²² *Parl. Papers*, 1834, vol. VI., "Report from Select Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure", p. iii.

²³ *Parl. Papers*, 1860, vol. XLI., "Report of the Committee on Expense of Military Defences in the Colonies", p. 3. By way of contrast with British colonial policy the report referred to the Dutch and Spanish colonies, which yielded surplus revenues to their mother countries. It stated that in 1857 "the surplus revenue paid by the Dutch colonies into the metropolitan exchequer, after defraying all their military and naval expenses, was 31,858,421 florins (about £2,600,000). The estimated surplus revenue from the Spanish colonies for the past year (1859) was 115,000,000 reals (about £1,150,000)." *Ibid.*, p. 3, note.

²⁴ *Parl. Papers*, 1860, vol. XLI., report cited, pp. 4-5.

²⁵ *Parl. Papers*, 1861, vol. XLII., "Report from the Select Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure", pp. iv-v.

initiative and responsibility rested with the imperial government, and some of the colonies made financial contributions or raised local forces.

III.

The burden to Great Britain of providing military defense for the colonies was naturally a favorite theme with anti-imperialists. Josiah Tucker and Adam Smith, precursors of the later school of "Little Englanders", though attacking the colonial system primarily on economic grounds, did not wholly neglect the subject of colonial defense. In 1776, that *annus miserabilis* of British imperial history, the former published a tract entitled *The True Interest of Great Britain set forth in regard to the Colonies*²⁶ and the latter his *Wealth of Nations*. Though he wrote before England had assumed very heavy obligations for colonial defense, Tucker enumerated as one of the "manifest advantages" which would accrue to the mother country from the independence of the colonies the fact that she would be relieved of an expenditure of between £300,000 and £400,000 for their civil and military establishments, "for which generous Benefaction", he added, "we receive at present no other Return than Invectives and Reproaches".²⁷ Adam Smith, in the course of his bold indictment of the colonial system as a scheme of monopoly injurious both to colonies and to mother country, included in the cost of the colonies to Great Britain the expenses of naval forces maintained to prevent colonial smuggling and of colonial military establishments.²⁸ Though he realized that considerations of national pride and prestige, as well as the interest of the governing classes of England, would prevent the voluntary

²⁶ Published in *Four Tracts on Political and Commercial Subjects* (Gloucester, 1776). Tucker wrote, in all, thirteen tracts on the subject of the American colonies, the central idea of which, as stated by himself, was "that the colonists in quarreling with the mother country are essentially hurting themselves and greatly tho' not intentionally benefitting us by obliging us to see and pursue our own true and lasting interest". W. E. Clark, *Josiah Tucker*, p. 57. There is no evidence to show that Adam Smith influenced, or was influenced by, Tucker; Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 225.

²⁷ *Four Tracts*, p. 216.

²⁸ Nor was this all. "If we would know the amount of the whole [cost of colonies to Great Britain], we must add to the annual expense of this peace establishment the interest of the sums which, in consequence of her considering her colonies as provinces subject to her dominion, Great Britain has upon different occasions laid out upon their defence. We must add to it, in particular, the whole expence of the late war, and a great part of that of the war which preceded it. The late war was altogether a colony quarrel, and the whole expence of it, in whatever part of the world it may have been laid out . . . ought justly to be stated to the account of the colonies. . . ." *Wealth of Nations*, ed. by Cannan, II. 116.

abandonment of the colonies by Great Britain, he said that one of the great advantages to be derived by her from such an outcome would be freedom "from the whole annual expense of the peace establishment of the colonies".²⁹ According to the Father of Free Trade, despite all the attempts that had been made to monopolize the trade of colonies, "no country has yet been able to engross to itself anything but the expense of supporting in time of peace and of defending in time of war the oppressive authority which it assumes over them".³⁰

The teachings of Adam Smith did not, of course, captivate at once the government and ruling classes of Britain.³¹ Indeed after the loss of the American colonies British colonial policy became and for a time remained more rather than less restrictive.³² The evil days of "Mr. Mother Country", to use Buller's famous term, fell in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century. But Adam Smith was never silenced. His free-trade and anti-imperialistic doctrines were perpetuated by the classical economists and the Benthamites.³³

The Manchester School was fond of enlarging upon the burdensomeness of colonies to the harassed British taxpayer. England was pictured as a weary Titan struggling under a crushing burden. This view was forcefully expressed by Cobden in the course of a speech delivered in the House of Commons on June 22, 1843.

He was not opposed to the retention of colonies . . . and he believed that colonization, under a proper system of management, might be made as conducive to the interests of the mother country as to the emigrants themselves. But he also believed that the system upon which our colonial affairs were now conducted was one of unmixed evil, injustice and loss to the people of this country. . . . He found that the mother country furnished her colonies with an army and a navy, and maintained every description of military defence all over the world; that in some cases

²⁹ *Wealth of Nations*, II. 116.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

³¹ Lord Shelburne was the first prime minister to be influenced by Adam Smith. In his *Autobiography*, written in 1801, he speaks of Smith as one whose "principles have remained unanswered for above thirty years, and yet when it is attempted to act upon any of them, what clamor!". Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, I. 24.

³² R. C. Mills, *Colonization of Australia*, p. 9.

³³ Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20. In a letter addressed to the French Convention, *Emancipate Your Colonies*, Bentham in 1793 exhorted the Convention to free the French colonies. He asked ". . . how long will you take our example to govern you, and of all parts of it those which are least defensible? Is it a secret to you any more than to ourselves, that they cost us much, that they yield us nothing—that our government makes us pay them for suffering it to govern them . . . ?" *Works of Jeremy Bentham*, ed. by Bowring, IV. 415-416.

this country supplied the colonies with schoolmasters, with bishops, with magistrates; that she built them lighthouses, constructed their canals, and, in fact, the mother country not only did not derive any revenue from her colonies, but that, besides maintaining for them large fleets and armies, she paid almost everything that constituted the governmental expenses of the colonies. . . . The distribution of the British forces on the 1st of January this year he found to be this: out of 88,510 rank and file, there were stationed abroad (exclusively of India) 44,529 rank and file, the number left at home being 43,981. Thus, it appeared that more than half of our army was stationed in the colonies. But it had been stated by the authorities at the Horse Guards, and it was also stated by the noble Lord the Member for Tiverton, when Secretary of War, that for every 10,000 men in the colonies, 5000 were wanted in England for the purposes of making the necessary exchanges, and for recruiting the regiments abroad; therefore not merely half, but three-fourths of our army were devoted to the colonies.³⁴

So long as Great Britain pursued the policy of commercial restriction upon which the colonial system rested, the executive governments of the colonies were held responsible to the imperial government. As a writer on colonial administration put it, "it was obviously impossible for us to liberalize our system of administration until we should first have liberalized our commercial policy".³⁵ So long, moreover, as colonial governments were responsible to an external authority it could be argued that this authority was justly chargeable with the military defense of the colonies, not only against foreign powers but against internal dangers as well. That free trade arrived at the same time with the beginning of colonial self-government was not fortuitous. They were related causally, and with them logically went a change in the system of colonial military defense. Earl Grey in his work on colonial policy already referred to makes clear the connection between these three subjects:

I think it will follow, that when this Country no longer attempts either to levy a commercial tribute from the Colonies by a system of restriction, nor to interfere needlessly in their internal affairs, it has a right to expect that they should take upon themselves a larger proportion than heretofore of the expenses incurred for their advantage. . . . Our military expenditure on account of the Colonies is certainly very heavy. . . . This expenditure ought, I think, to be very largely reduced; and the Colonies, now that they are relieved from all that is onerous to them in their connection with the Mother country, should be required to contribute much more than they have hitherto done to their own protection.³⁶

³⁴ Hansard, third series, LXX. 205-207.

³⁵ Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

³⁶ *Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, I. 18, 43. See also Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, III. 1248.

IV.

It was the free-trade government of Lord John Russell (1846-1852), in which Grey held the office of colonial secretary, that took the first steps in the direction of modifying the system of colonial defense which had been in operation for the preceding half-century. A beginning was made with New South Wales, a colony free from the menace of either warlike native tribes or foreign powers. Soon after the Russell ministry took office, Earl Grey directed the governor of New South Wales to send all disposable forces in the colony to New Zealand, retaining at Sydney only a small garrison which, under the circumstances, was all that the imperial government deemed necessary. In this despatch he took the position that thenceforth the people of New South Wales must provide for the maintenance of internal order by the formation of an adequate force of police or militia. Despite local opposition, the policy which he outlined was carried out in the case of the Australian colonies. That policy, briefly stated, was that a certain maximum force should be maintained at imperial expense, and that any additional British troops that might be desired must be paid for by the colony which asked for them. Barracks and other military buildings were transferred to the colonies, which were held responsible for providing quarters for the imperial troops still retained. According to testimony given in 1861 by Herman Merivale, one of the leading colonial experts of the day and previously under-secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Grey's plan for the military defense of the Australian colonies worked in a satisfactory manner. It undoubtedly stimulated the formation of volunteer forces. In 1859 there were only some 1800 British troops in Australia, while the number of local volunteers amounted to about 9000.³⁷

In an important despatch to the governor of Canada, in March, 1851, Lord Grey outlined a military policy for Canada similar to that already applied to New South Wales: He announced that the imperial troops in the province would be confined for the future to garrisons in two or three fortified posts and that the use of the barracks would be made over to the provincial authorities if the parliament of Canada was prepared to maintain them at its own expense. If British forces were desired at any of the other posts previously occupied, they would be supplied by the imperial government, provided the cost was met by the province. The colonial secretary was careful to add that this policy, though necessary in justice to the people of Great Britain, was not to be taken to mean

³⁷ *Parl. Papers*, 1861, vol. XIII., report cited; pp. 11, 19, 278, 312 *et seq.*

that the connection between Canada and the mother country could be broken without great injury to both or that there was any probability that it would be broken. Reductions of the British forces in Canada were soon effected. During the Crimean War troops still stationed there were withdrawn for service against Russia, and increased responsibility for military defense was thrown upon the province. The main reliance for the military defense of Canada was for the future to be the patriotism and loyalty of the Canadian people.³⁸ By the beginning of 1861 the number of imperial troops in the province had been reduced to less than 2000, most of whom were stationed at Quebec, Kingston, and Montreal; and volunteer forces aggregating about 4500 had been organized.³⁹

Lord Grey thus describes the policy which as colonial secretary he had formulated and begun to apply :

... we endeavoured to establish, and by degrees to act upon, the principle that the Colonies can only look to the Mother-country for military support in any dangers to which they may be exposed from a powerful foreign enemy; that Her Majesty's troops are not to be expected to undertake the duties of police, and of maintaining the internal tranquillity of the Colonies; and that the Colonies ought to undertake to provide for the expense of barracks for such of Her Majesty's troops as may be stationed in them for their protection.⁴⁰

And later he expressed the opinion that the policy had been carried into effect during his tenure of office as far as it safely and properly could be.⁴¹

In 1856, Sir William Denison, governor of New South Wales, made a significant proposal, which, if adopted, would have shifted the initiative in providing for the military defense of the colonies from the imperial to the colonial government. He recommended

That, whatever may be the mode in which the military force in a Colony may be raised and organized, the mother country and the Colony shall contribute towards its expense in equal proportions, and that the Government of the Colony should have the responsibility of determining the amount of that force, whether in peace or war.⁴²

³⁸ *Parl. Papers*, 1861, vol. XIII., report cited, pp. 308-311. In this connection it is significant that at the time of the Indian Mutiny Canada tendered a regiment for imperial service, which was mobilized and actually served. Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

³⁹ *Parl. Papers*, 1861, vol. XIII., report cited, pp. 3, 278.

⁴⁰ *Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, I. 44; this statement of policy was not intended to apply to imperial naval and military stations, such as Malta and Bermuda.

⁴¹ *Parl. Papers*, 1861, vol. XIII., report cited, p. 150.

⁴² *Parl. Papers*, 1860, vol. XLI., "Report of the Committee on Expense of Military Defences in the Colonies", p. 9.

The imperial government declined to accede to this proposal on the ground that it could not be carried out "without compromising the independent action of the central Government of the empire".⁴³

More important than the Denison proposal was a report of a committee appointed in 1859 to prepare a general plan of colonial military expenditure. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century the same minister was at the head of both the Colonial and the War Office. This arrangement, whatever may have been its disadvantages, possessed a certain convenience so far as the military defense of the colonies was concerned. In consequence of the Crimean War, the Colonial and War offices were separated, and, as a result, the Secretary for War was obliged to defend in Parliament expenditure incurred for the defense of the colonies, of whose needs he had no official knowledge and with whose governments he held no direct communication. He inevitably found himself embarrassed by the lack of any general principle determining questions with which he was called upon to deal. Accordingly, on March 14, 1859, the War Office, at the direction of the secretary, General Peel, addressed a note to the Colonial Office, suggesting the propriety of adopting arrangements "which should define the respective liabilities of this Department and the various Colonial Governments, in respect to military expenditure". It was the opinion of the secretary

that England should assist in the defence of her Colonies against aggression on the part of foreign civilized nations, and (in a less proportion) of formidable native tribes; but in no case, except where such Colonies are mere garrisons kept up for Imperial purposes, should she assume the whole of such defence . . . [and] that military expenditure, for purposes of internal police, should be defrayed from local funds, there being no grounds for drawing any distinction between a Colony and an independent nation in this respect.

He proposed the appointment of an interdepartmental committee, representative of the Colonial Office, the Treasury, and the War Office, to prepare a general scheme of colonial military expenditure.⁴⁴ Such a committee was appointed, consisting of Sir T. F. Elliot of the Colonial Office, Mr. George A. Hamilton of the Treasury, and Mr. John Robert Godley of the War Office. The report, to which some reference has been made,⁴⁵ was not signed by the representative of the Colonial Office, who found himself unable to concur with his colleagues and submitted a separate memorandum in the

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴⁴ *Parl. Papers*, 1860, vol. XLI., report cited, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵ *Supra*, p. 24.

nature of a minority report.⁴⁶ The committee found that the total imperial expenditure for colonial military defense for the year ending March 31, 1858, was approximately £3,600,000, and the total colonial expenditure approximately £375,000.⁴⁷

The report attacked the existing policy of colonial defense on two principal grounds: (1) that it imposed an enormous burden on the people of Great Britain, not only in taxes but also by withdrawing a large part of their military forces from home; and (2) that it tended to prevent the development among the colonists of a spirit of self-reliance and to enfeeble their character. It pointed out that existing arrangements were attended with great inequality and chronic discussions with regard to the respective liabilities of the imperial and colonial governments. There were, it was asserted, "no recognized principles of mutual relations to which appeal can be made, or upon which a permanent settlement can be founded". The report did not recommend the adoption as a general policy of Lord Grey's plan for the defense of the Australian colonies. The presence of even small garrisons in the colonies, maintained on the initiative of the mother country, would be taken, it was said, as a symbol of her responsibility for colonial military defense and would "tend to perpetuate the main evils of the present system, namely, the dependence of the Colonies on the mother country for defense, and their neglect of local efforts".

What the report proposed was to divide the colonies into two classes: (1) military posts, garrisoned by the imperial government for imperial purposes, rather than for local defense; and (2) all other dependencies where troops were stationed primarily for the protection of the inhabitants. In the case of the latter, it recommended that the system of defense should be founded on two simple principles: "colonial management, and joint contribution at a uniform rate". It proposed that the imperial government should call upon each colony to decide on the nature of its own defenses and should offer to bear a share—one-half was the proportion suggested—of the entire cost. Among the advantages anticipated by the

⁴⁶ The report and memorandum are printed in *Parl. Papers*, 1860, vol. XLI., "Report of the Committee on Expense of Military Defences in the Colonies", pp. 2-18.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4. Merivale, in a later edition of his *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, published in 1861, p. 590, thus analyzed the purposes for which this imperial expenditure had been incurred: Defense of posts for military, convict, commercial, and other special purposes, £1,600,000; defense of colonies against foreign powers solely, £400,000; defense of colonies against foreign powers and internal disturbances, but chiefly the latter, £600,000; defense of colonies against warlike natives, £1,000,000.

committee from the adoption of its plan were: (1) that it would result in a great saving to the British exchequer without imposing an unduly heavy burden on the colonies; (2) that it would be applicable alike in time of peace and of war; (3) that it would stimulate the patriotism, self-reliance, and military spirit of the colonists by throwing on them responsibility for their own defense; and (4) that "it would convey, in the most marked and emphatic way, the determination of the mother country, that the colonies should be governed through and for their own people".

The representative of the Colonial Office dissented from some of the major proposals of the report. In particular, he did not accept the principle that all the colonies should bear a uniform proportion of the expense of their military defense, irrespective of local conditions, such as the degree of exposure to invasion, the character of the colonial population, and the wealth of the colony. Nor did he concur in the position taken by his colleagues that the only ground for military assistance to the colonies was that the imperial government controlled the issues of war and peace. On the contrary, he held that the interests of Great Britain were involved, and that they would suffer if certain colonies were lost. He preferred Lord Grey's plan to that recommended by the committee.⁴⁸

This report of 1859 resulted in no radical change in the system of colonial defense. Its principal proposal, which had previously been made by Sir William Denison, that the initiative in providing for colonial defense should be thrown upon the colonies, was not at once adopted. The immediate outcome was fairly stated by Godley, in a criticism of Elliot's memorandum, when he said: "We have, with trifling exceptions, the same extravagance on our side, the same helplessness on theirs; the same confusion, inconsistency, and disputation which has prevailed more or less for the last century in our military policy towards our Colonies."⁴⁹

V.

But the demand for reform was insistent, and on March 5, 1861, on motion of Mr. Arthur Mills, a select committee was appointed by the House of Commons "to Inquire and Report whether any and what Alterations may be advantageously adopted in regard to the

⁴⁸ Merivale says of the interdepartmental report of 1859: "this paper contains a thorough political discussion of the general subject, by Mr. Godley of the War Department, and Mr. Elliot of the Colonial Office, whose opinions widely differ, and are powerfully defended." *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, p. 587, note.

⁴⁹ *Parl. Papers*, 1861, vol. XIII., report cited, p. 319.

Defence of the British Dependencies, and the Proportions of Cost of such Defence as now defrayed from the Imperial and Colonial Funds respectively". The meetings of the committee extended over a period of nearly four months. It examined a number of witnesses who were able to speak with authority on colonial, military, and fiscal questions, notably Earl Grey, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Merivale, General Sir J. F. Burgoyne, inspector-general of fortifications, Mr. Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Godley.⁵⁰

For the purposes of the inquiry the report divided the British dependencies, exclusive of India, into two classes: (1) colonies proper, and (2) military garrisons, naval stations, convict depots, and dependencies maintained chiefly for objects of imperial policy. In the former class it included the North American, South African, and West Indian colonies, Ceylon, Mauritius, New Zealand, and the Australian colonies with the exception of Western Australia; in the latter, Malta, Gibraltar, the Ionian Islands, Hong Kong, Labuan, Bermuda, the Bahamas, St. Helena, the Falklands, Western Australia, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and the Gold Coast. The committee found that for the year ending March 31, 1860, the imperial military expenditure for the colonies proper was £1,715,246 and for the dependencies of the second class, £1,509,835—a total of £3,225,081. For the same year the dependencies, including some of both classes, contributed £369,224.⁵¹ In the case of the dependencies of the second class, the committee agreed that "the responsibility and main cost of their defence properly devolves on the Imperial Government", but with respect to the colonies proper, it recommended that "the responsibility and cost of the military defence . . . ought mainly to devolve upon themselves", the imperial government using its discretion in applying this principle to particular colonies. Not the recommendation of the committee of 1859, but rather an extension of Lord Grey's policy for the defense of the Australian colonies, was the solution of the problem urged by the select committee.

It will be remarked that the classification of the dependencies adopted by the committee of 1861 is not identical with that which divides them into "self-governing colonies" and "crown colonies"; not all of what the committee classed as "colonies proper" were self-governing. All of the witnesses examined by the committee

⁵⁰ The report of the committee, together with minutes of evidence and appendixes, is printed in *Parl. Papers*, 1861, vol. XIII.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. iv-v. Gladstone informed the committee that a great part of what appeared in returns as colonial expenditure did not lighten the burden of the British exchequer but was paid "simply by way of addition to the regular pay and allowances of the forces". *Ibid.*, pp. 255-256.

agreed that colonies enjoying responsible government should bear the primary responsibility for their military defense.⁵² This view was clearly stated by Gladstone when he said: "The privileges of freedom and the burdens of freedom are absolutely associated together; to bear the burdens is as necessary as to enjoy the privileges, in order to form that character which is the great ornament of all freedom itself."⁵³

On March 4, 1862, the House of Commons adopted without a division the following resolution introduced by Mr. Mills:

That this House (while fully recognizing the claims of all portions of the British Empire to Imperial aid in their protection against perils arising from the consequences of Imperial policy) is of opinion that Colonies exercising the rights of self-government ought to undertake the main responsibility of providing for their own internal order and security, and ought to assist in their own external defence.⁵⁴

This resolution may fairly be called conclusive, for the principle which it expressed has not since been questioned by any British ministry.⁵⁵ In 1863 the Duke of Newcastle, then colonial secretary, notified the governors of the Australian colonies that thenceforth those colonies must pay for all imperial troops retained within them at the rate of £40 a year for every soldier, and announced that if additional troops were furnished at the request of a colony, the rate of pay would be £70 per man, "a sum which more nearly approaches the real cost to the Imperial Government of each soldier".⁵⁶ By 1870 the last of the imperial troops had been withdrawn from Australia. In New Zealand, where imperial forces had been stationed for defense against the warlike Maoris, the imperial government relinquished the control of native affairs to the colonial authorities in 1863, and in 1869 the last of the British troops were recalled. The same policy was applied to Canada. Even after the creation of the Dominion in 1867, however, some British troops were retained, and it was not until the time of the Boer War that the imperial government ceased to maintain garrisons at Halifax and Esquimalt.⁵⁷ The cost to Great Britain of the military defense of Cape Colony had long seemed disproportionately great, and

⁵² Hansard, third series, CLXV. 1035.

⁵³ *Parl. Papers*, 1861, vol. XIII., report cited, p. 257.

⁵⁴ Hansard, third series, CLXV. 1060.

⁵⁵ Todd, *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies*, p. 393; Adderley, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

⁵⁶ *Parl. Papers*, 1871, vol. XLVII., "Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Cape of Good Hope", p. 2.

⁵⁷ On the withdrawal of the imperial troops from Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, see Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, III. 1249-1256.

in 1867 the colony was notified that the force maintained there would be reduced at once and that after 1869 the colony must pay for all troops retained, at the Australian rate.⁵⁸ Troubles with the natives and continued friction between the British and the Boers made it impossible to carry out this policy so soon, but the imperial forces were gradually reduced. The despatch of British troops in great numbers to South Africa during the Boer War was, of course, no part of a permanent colonial policy. In the self-governing colonies, now styled dominions, the system of military defense has for years past rested upon local legislation, and its cost has been defrayed out of local funds.⁵⁹

In practice, British policy has gone even beyond the resolution of 1862. In the case of some colonies which are not self-governing, as, for example, Ceylon and Mauritius, the burden of military defense has, for the most part, been shifted from the imperial to the colonial governments. This statement does not, of course, apply to such dependencies as Gibraltar, which are held and garrisoned for imperial purposes. So rapid was the progress of the new policy that the imperial expenditure on account of the colonies was reduced from £3,388,033 in 1869 to £1,708,290 in 1873, and a colonial under-secretary informed the House of Commons that most of this latter amount was for imperial and not colonial purposes.⁶⁰

VI.

It was freely and frequently asserted during the third quarter of the nineteenth century that the colonial policy of Great Britain aimed at the dissolution of the British Empire. Publicists and writers on colonial administration did not hesitate openly to advocate this "solution" of the imperial problem.⁶¹ It is not strange that this was so, for the Manchester School, whose doctrines were then politically in the ascendant, subscribed to the colonial as well as to the commercial teachings of Adam Smith. The colonial system having fallen with the fall of protection, why retain the colonies? This was a question to which British politicians found it difficult to give a convincing answer. Anti-imperial tendencies reached their climax during Gladstone's first ministry (1868-1874),

⁵⁸ *Parl. Papers*, 1871, vol. XLVII., "Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Cape of Good Hope", p. 1.

⁵⁹ See Keith, *op. cit.*, III. 1262.

⁶⁰ Hansard, third series, CCXIV. 1527-1528.

⁶¹ See, e.g., Bell, *op. cit.*, and Goldwin Smith, *The Empire*; also writers referred to in G. B. Adams, "Origin and Results of the Imperial Federation Movement", in *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1898.

and the recall of the imperial troops from the colonies, which was then proceeding rapidly, seemed to many people, and not unnaturally, to foretell the disintegration of the empire. Several events occurred during the early part of this ministry that lent a coloring of plausibility, to say the least, to such a prediction. The words of Disraeli, uttered during the course of a famous speech delivered in 1872, come to mind:

If you look to the history of this country since the advent of Liberalism—forty years ago—you will find that there has been no effort so continuous, so subtle, supported by so much energy, and carried on with so much ability and acumen, as the attempts of Liberalism to effect the disintegration of the Empire of England. . . .⁶²

The testimony of the leader of the Conservative party is not to be accepted as that of a witness who desired to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth about the Liberal party, nor is the implication warranted that Liberals only were infected with the virus of anti-imperialism. Liberalism had undoubtedly been more hospitable than had Conservatism to the "Little England" propaganda, but no one who examines the evidence is likely to escape the conclusion that most British statesmen of the day, to whichever party they belonged, viewed the possibility of colonial independence without dismay.

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER.

⁶² *Selected Speeches of the Earl of Beaconsfield*, ed. by Kebbel, II. 530.

NEW LIGHT ON THE ORIGINS OF THE WORLD WAR, II. BERLIN AND VIENNA, JULY 29 TO 31

UNTIL the recent publication of the *Kautsky Documents*¹ and the new *Austrian Red Book*² it has been believed by many that at a famous military council at Potsdam on the evening of Wednesday, July 29, the German militarists triumphed over the civilian diplomatists and that the Kaiser at that time gave the fatal decision for war. The reason for this belief is natural. At the close of the council Bethmann returned to Berlin, sent for the British ambassador, and

proceeded to make the following strong bid for British neutrality. . . . Provided that neutrality of Great Britain were certain, every assurance would be given to the British government that the Imperial Government aimed at no territorial acquisition at the expense of France should they prove victorious in any war that might ensue. About the French colonies he was unable to give a similar undertaking. . . . It depended upon the action of France what operations Germany might be forced to enter upon in Belgium. But when the war was over, Belgian integrity would be respected if she had not sided against Germany.³

It has quite naturally been believed that the German Chancellor would never have taken this step, so extraordinary, so apparently self-incriminating, and as it turned out, so infelicitous, unless he knew that Germany had already taken the decision for war. But if one looks more closely at the actions of these men during those frightful sleepless days and nights, one comes to the conviction that the prevailing belief is not wholly correct. Bethmann still had the upper hand over the militarists during the following day. He had been able to persuade the Kaiser that no decision should be taken until an answer had been received from Vienna to a proposal which had been urged by England and Germany in the interests of the

¹ A few of these have been translated into English in *German Secret War Documents* (Amer. Assoc. for International Conciliation, no. 150, May, 1920).

² An English translation has been announced by Allen and Unwin, but has not been accessible to me. In addition to the works noted in my previous article, vol. XXV., pp. 616-639, may be noted: E. Müller-Meiningen, *Diplomatie und Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1917, 2 vols.), very prejudiced but full of convenient documents; Freiherr von Liebig, *Die Politik von Bethmann-Hollweg* (third ed., Berlin, 1919, 2 parts), a typical Pan-German indictment of the whole "Bethmann-Hollweg system" before, during, and after the crisis of July, 1914; P. Hiltebrandt, *Das Europäische Verhängnis* (Berlin, 1919), sane, with illuminating comment on the economic and political background; see also, below, note 44, on Russia.

³ *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 64.

peace of Europe.⁴ And it was not until two days later, about noon of July 31, after the arrival in Berlin of official news of the Russian general mobilization,⁵ that is, mobilization against Germany as well as against Austria, that the Kaiser took the final decision to issue the fatal proclamation of "Imminence of War".⁶ During these three days, July 29 to 31, Germany was making a real, though belated, effort to induce Austria to accept a peaceful solution.

By Monday evening, July 27, the Kaiser and the militarist leaders had returned to Berlin.⁷ They were all vexed at the way in

⁴ "By the military authorities the wish had been expressed to proclaim *drohende Kriegsgefahr*; he had, however, hitherto represented successfully to His Majesty his own expressed view to the contrary and military measures had been limited to military protection of the railways". Bethmann's statement to the Prussian Cabinet July 30, *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 456. This is confirmed also by the report to Munich from Lerchenfeld, the Bavarian minister in Berlin, late on July 30 (*Kautsky Docs.*, vol. IV., p. 145): "Still no answer from Vienna. The Chancellor, however, has tonight declared to the Vienna Cabinet in the most emphatic manner that Germany cannot be towed in the wake of Austria's Balkan policy. In case Austria replies affirmatively, the Chancellor does not give up hope of maintaining peace. Peace, however, is not certain, for the mobilization which has already been begun by Russia, will make a backdown very hard for Russia. Germany's procedure is rendered very difficult, because one doesn't know whether the measures taken in Russia and France are a bluff or in earnest."

⁵ Cipher telegram of Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 31, despatched 10:20 A.M., arrived 11:40 A.M.: "General mobilization of army and navy ordered. First mobilization day, July 31." *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 473.

⁶ Bethmann to Tschirschky, July 31, 1:45 P.M.: "After the Russian general mobilization we have ordained *drohende Kriegsgefahr*, which will presumably be followed within 48 hours by mobilization. This unavoidably means war. We expect from Austria immediate, *active* participation in the war against Russia." *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 479; cf. nos. 477, 480, 488, 490-492, 499.

⁷ Rumbold was incorrect in his date in reporting to Grey on July 26: "Emperor returns suddenly tonight [Sunday] and Under-Secretary of State says that Foreign Office regret this step which was taken on His Majesty's own initiative. They fear that His Majesty's return may cause speculation and excitement." *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 29. He did not return to Berlin until Monday afternoon; for he was still at sea on Sunday evening (*Kautsky Docs.*, no. 221, note 2), and at 11:20 A.M. on Monday Bethmann was telegraphing arrangements to meet him at the Wildpark railway station to give him the latest despatches (*ibid.*, no. 245, note). Moltke, before the crisis arose, had planned to return from Carlsbad to Berlin on July 25, but delayed a day (*ibid.*, nos. 74, 197), probably at Bethmann's request. Tirpitz, on July 24, had been requested by Bethmann not to return from Switzerland, in order to avoid arousing remark which might embarrass the "localization" policy; nevertheless he did return on his own responsibility three days later: "On July 27 when I arrived in Berlin . . . I, as well as the Kaiser who had returned against the Chancellor's wish on his own decision, and my ministerial colleagues who were now streaming together into Berlin, had a false view of the situation" [in thinking Germany might still, in spite of Russia's military preparations and the threatening mobilization of the English fleet, be able to steer clear of war]. Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 213 f., 236 f.

which Bethmann had kept them absent from Berlin and insufficiently informed. They had been told by him that to secure the successful "localization" of the Austro-Serbian dispute, calm was necessary; but they were doubtless of the same mind as the Kaiser, who, while at sea, pencilled ironically on one of Bethmann's injunctions to calmness in spite of rumors of Russian mobilization: "To remain calm is the citizen's first duty! just keep calm, always keep calm!! A calm mobilization is, to be sure, something new."⁸ They were all alarmed at the way Bethmann had allowed Berchtold to draw so heavily on the blank cheque of July 5. A serious crisis was developing for which no special military preparations had been made. It was not so certain that Bethmann's policy of "localization" would succeed after all. His optimism might prove to be a frightful blunder.⁹ Russia, drawing encouragement from France and England, was making much louder objections and more wide-reaching military preparations than had been anticipated. Sir Edward Grey, usually so calm and friendly, was reported to be "vexed for the first time" at Austria's over-speedy rejection of Serbia's conciliatory answer and at Germany's failure to influence her ally.¹⁰ The Kaiser, too, had been irritated at sea because it was through a newspaper agency, and not officially through Bethmann, that he had first learned the terms of Austria's demands on Serbia;¹¹ and also because Bethmann, hearing that the Kaiser had acted on a Wolff telegram and made plans for the rapid return of the navy, had "suggested most humbly that Your Majesty do not order a premature return of the fleet". Upon this the Kaiser made the characteristic annotation:

Unbelievable presumption! Unheard of! the idea never occurred to me!!! This was done because of the message of my Ambassador about the mobilization at Belgrade! This *may* cause mobilization of Russia; *will* cause mobilization of Austria! In this case I must keep my forces on land and sea *together*. In the Baltic there is not a single ship!! Moreover I generally take military measures not according to *one* Wolff

⁸ Kautsky Docs., no. 197.

⁹ Helfferich and Tirpitz, writing their recollections with the advantage of hind-sight, claim that they quickly realized this; but Bethmann, more honest and frank, but with a less clear perception of what Bismarck used to call the "imponderabilia", has always unswervingly asserted that he steered the only available course under the circumstances.

¹⁰ Kautsky Docs., no. 258.

¹¹ Kaiser to Foreign Office, July 26, *ibid.*, no. 231. This, together with what was said in my first article, seems to dispose effectively of Bunsen's "private information that the German ambassador [Tschirschky] knew the text of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia before it was despatched and telegraphed it to the German emperor". *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 74.

telegram but according to the general situation and this the *Civilian* Chancellor has not yet grasped!¹²

In spite of irritation at the Chancellor, there was still substantial solidarity of opinion on that Monday afternoon, July 27, in agreeing that he was correct in his idea that a peaceful solution could be found for the crisis, but that, to secure this, his policy of strict "localization" of the Austro-Serbian conflict must be abandoned. Germany must recognize that the matter had become one in which the other Powers were interested. She must give some heed to Grey's reiterated proposals for mediation and to Russia's attitude of protest. Consequently she must immediately attempt to take back into her own hands that control over her ally in the Serbian question which she had so foolishly abandoned on July 5. Instead of saying at Vienna, as she had done three weeks earlier, that the Kaiser "naturally cannot take any stand in the questions open between Austria and Serbia for they are beyond his competence",¹³ the Kaiser must at once begin to give advice to Austria and bring her back within the bounds of moderation. Hitherto Germany as well as Austria had been rendering nugatory the several peace proposals sincerely suggested by the Entente Powers.¹⁴ To continue to do this would

¹² *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 182. Cf. also nos. 125, 221, 231, and Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, p. 219. Tirpitz, if we are to believe his later recollections, made efforts to oust Bethmann from office and to replace his incompetent subordinate, Jagow, by some strong and able man like Hintze, who unfortunately, however, at the moment was sitting in Mexico. But though the Kaiser had been momentarily irritated with Bethmann, he declared "that he could not part with this man because he enjoys the confidence of Europe". *Ibid.*, p. 237; cf. also pp. 204-249, where the difference of moral and political outlook between Tirpitz and Bethmann is revealed on almost every page.

¹³ See above, vol. XXV., p. 627.

¹⁴ (a) Proposals by Russia and by England for extending the time-limit, purposely rendered by Austria impracticable both by the shortness of the time-limit and the lateness at which the Powers were notified; (b) a proposal for mediation between Austria and Serbia by the four less directly interested Powers, rejected outright by both Germany and Austria; and (c) a proposal for mediation between Austria and Russia, at first on July 25 "accepted in principle" by the German authorities; Lichnowsky urged it in three telegrams (*Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 157, 179, 180), and Jagow replied to Rumbold in Berlin that he was "quite ready to fall in with the suggestion" (*Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 17-18, 23); through Lichnowsky, however, Jagow stated a little more reservedly that "the German Government accept in principle mediation between Austria and Russia by the Four Powers, reserving of course their right as an ally to help Austria if attacked" (*ibid.*, p. 40; cf. also pp. 55, 429, and *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 192). But when the Kaiser, while he was at sea, saw the proposal for mediation by the Powers, he jotted in the margin: "It's superfluous! For Austria has already explained her intentions to Russia and Grey cannot propose anything else. I'll not join in; only if Austria expressly requests me, which is not likely. In questions of honor and vital interests one does not consult others." The substance of this, wire-

be a mistake because it would simply increase the suspicion circulated by the French ambassadors¹⁵ that Germany was egging Austria on, knew the text of the ultimatum from the beginning, wanted war, and was acting *mala fide* in pretending to desire peace.

Accordingly on Monday night Bethmann telegraphed to Tschirschky at Vienna the full text of Lichnowsky's report of his latest conversation with Grey. Grey had pointed out the conciliatory character of Serbia's answer, hoped Austria would not begin hostilities, and said that he was urging moderation at Petrograd, and that Germany ought to do likewise at Vienna. After emphasizing the bad impression which a further refusal of all mediation would make, Bethmann added:

We cannot reject the rôle of mediator and must place the English proposal before the Vienna Cabinet for its consideration. Request Count Berchtold's opinion on the British proposal, as well as on Sazonov's wish to negotiate directly with Vienna.¹⁶

The basis on which the Kaiser was willing to act the mediatory rôle between Russia and Austria is what may be called the "pledge plan". Though he had been greatly impressed with the extremely conciliatory character of Serbia's reply, when it finally came to him on Tuesday morning,¹⁷ he nevertheless thought Austria ought to have some pledge as a guarantee that the Serbs would live up to their conciliatory promises. Tuesday night the mediatory proposal which he sketched was embodied by Bethmann in the following telegram to Vienna:

[Aside from a declaration to Russia that it intends no territorial acquisition in Serbia] the Austro-Hungarian Government, in spite of repeated questions as to its purposes, has left us in the dark. The answer now at hand of the Serbian Government to the Austrian ultimatum makes it evident that Serbia has in fact met the Austrian demands in so wide-reaching a manner that if the Austro-Hungarian Government adopted a wholly intransigent attitude, a gradual revulsion of public opinion against it in all Europe would have to be reckoned with. . . . [Russia will be satisfied] if the Vienna Cabinet repeats in Petrograd the definite

lessed to Berlin from the Kaiser's yacht by Count Wedel, caused the Foreign Office to back water at once. Jagow hastened to say that he "could not fall in with your suggestion" after all, because, as he added rather lamely and awkwardly, the proposed conference was "not practicable", and "would practically amount to a court of arbitration and could not in his opinion be called together except at the request of Austria and Russia". He advocated as a substitute the "direct conversations" between Vienna and Petrograd which Sazonov had just proposed.

¹⁵ Cf. *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 149, 164, 169, 272. *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 215, 415, 485.

¹⁶ *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 277.

¹⁷ Cf. above, vol. XXV., p. 637, note 78. *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 271, 293.

declaration that territorial acquisitions in Serbia lie far from its purpose, and that its military measures aim solely at a temporary occupation of Belgrade and other definite points of Serbian territory in order to compel the Serbian Government to a complete fulfillment of the demands and to serve as guarantees for future good behavior to which Austria-Hungary unquestionably has a claim after her experiences with Serbia. The occupation could be regarded like the German occupation in France after the Peace of Frankfort as security for the demand of the war indemnity. As soon as the Austrian demands were fulfilled, a withdrawal would follow. . . . You are immediately to express yourself in this sense to Count Berchtold emphatically and have him take the proper step in Petrograd. You are carefully to avoid giving the impression that we wish to hold Austria back. It is solely a question of finding a method which will make possible the accomplishment of Austria's purpose of cutting the vital nerve of Great Serbian propaganda without at the same time unchaining a world war, and in the end, if this is unavoidable, of improving as far as practicable the conditions under which it is to be waged. Wire reply.¹⁸

To this telegram Bethmann had received no reply by Wednesday evening at the time of the military council at Potsdam, even though twenty-four hours had elapsed, and telegrams even at this time of crowded wires ordinarily were transmitted between Vienna and Berlin within three or four hours. Therefore he sent on Wednesday evening three more telegrams to secure an immediate answer.¹⁹ In the meantime, however, while he could get no answer from Vienna on the "pledge plan", he began to receive reports from the other capitals which seemed to indicate bad faith or stupidity on the part of his ally. He telegraphed to Tschirschky:

These expressions of the Austrian diplomats must be regarded as indications of more recent wishes and aspirations. I regard the attitude of the Austrian Government and its unparalleled procedure toward the various governments with increasing astonishment. In Petrograd it declares its territorial disinterestedness; us it leaves wholly in the dark as to its programme; Rome it puts off with empty phrases about the question of compensation; in London Count Mensdorff hands out part of Serbia to Bulgaria and Albania and places himself in contradiction with Vienna's solemn declaration at Petrograd. From these contradictions I must conclude that the telegram disavowing Hoyos [who, on July 5 or 6 at Berlin, had spoken unofficially of Austria's partitioning Serbia] was intended for the gallery, and that the Austrian Government is harboring plans which it sees fit to conceal from us, in order to assure herself in all events of German support and to avoid the refusal which might result from a frank statement.²⁰

¹⁸ Bethmann to Tschirschky, July 28, 10:15 P.M., *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 323. Cf. *Red Book*, III., no. 24, and Gooss, pp. 243-244.

¹⁹ *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 377, note, and 385; for Berchtold's eventual dilatory and evasive reply, see no. 388; also nos. 432 and 433.

²⁰ Bethmann to Tschirschky, July 29, 8 P.M., *ibid.*, no. 361.

On Wednesday afternoon, July 29, while still waiting in vain for a reply from Berchtold as to the "pledge plan", Bethmann took up two more peace proposals which had been suggested, and supported both energetically at Vienna. One was the suggestion from Sazonov for a negotiation by "direct conversations" between Vienna and Petrograd.²¹ Bethmann had already handed this suggestion on to Vienna without comment as soon as it had been received by him on July 27.²² But it had been at once flatly rejected by Berchtold, because Sazonov had intended that the direct conversations should take up modifications of the terms of Austria's ultimatum. Berchtold was determined not to enter into any negotiations which might touch the "local" issues existing purely between Austria and Serbia. As an additional reason for his refusal to "converse directly" on Austro-Serbian relations, he pointed out that the time for a peaceful settlement of those relations was passed, since the declaration of war and the opening of hostilities had already taken place. As a result "direct conversations" between Vienna and Petrograd had come to a halt on July 28, with the result that Sazonov was much incensed.²³ Sazonov had concluded, though mistakenly, that because Berchtold flatly refused to discuss Austro-Serbian relations, he was also unwilling to converse at all with Russia. To re-open "direct conversations", and to clear up what seemed to be an unfortunate misunderstanding between Vienna and Petrograd, Bethmann sent now three more telegrams to Vienna very late on Tuesday night.²⁴ After mentioning hopefully the interchange of telegrams which had begun between the Kaiser and the Tsar,²⁵ and minimizing the danger of the rumored Russian military preparations, Bethmann added severely:

²¹ *Ibid.*, nos. 238, 282.

²² *Ibid.*, notes to nos. 238, 292.

²³ For this abortive result of the proposals for "direct conversations", see *Red Book*, II., nos. 73, 95; III., nos. 16, 17, 19, 20; *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 40, 58, 85, 177, 197-199, 203, 205, 213, 505, 522-524. A comparison of the first edition of the *Red Book*, published in the *Dipl. Corresp.*, with the new edition shows that the former characteristically omits some of the most important sentences and paragraphs.

²⁴ *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 383, 385, 396.

²⁵ I pass over these because they have long been familiar; it may be noted, however, that their wording in the *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 411-413, 431-432, 542, being a translation from English into German and from German back again into English, differs somewhat from the original English always used in the Willy-Nicky correspondence. Also the date of the Tsar's first telegram (p. 431, exhibit 21) should be July 29, 1 A.M., and not 1 P.M., and that of his third telegram (exhibit 23a) should be July 30, 1:20 A.M., and not 1:20 P.M.; that is, these two efforts of the Tsar took place twelve hours earlier than was represented, whether by intention or by a mere error, in the original German *White Book*.

The refusal of every exchange of views with Petrograd would be a serious mistake, for it provokes Russia precisely to armed interference, which Austria is primarily interested in avoiding. We are ready, to be sure, to fulfill our obligations as an ally, but must refuse to allow ourselves to be drawn by Vienna into a world conflagration frivolously and in disregard of our advice. Please say this to Count Berchtold at once with all emphasis and with great seriousness.²⁶

The other plan which Bethmann also cordially took up late Tuesday night was Grey's proposal for mediation between Austria and Russia, either by the four Powers, or by Germany alone, on the basis of Serbia's very conciliatory original answer and the news from Rome that she was now ready for the sake of peace "on condition of certain interpretations to swallow even articles 5 and 6, that is, the whole of the Austrian ultimatum".²⁷ This proposal of Grey's was eagerly welcomed by Bethmann as a possible happy solution. In sending it on to Vienna, he genuinely again "pressed the button", by adding: "Please show this to Berchtold immediately and add that we regard such a yielding on Serbia's part as a suitable basis for negotiation along with an occupation of a part of Serbian territory as a pledge."²⁸ But Berchtold was still deaf to the button; he eventually made the characteristic reply that, though the integral acceptance of Austria's note would have been satisfactory before hostilities had begun, "now after the state of war has begun, Austria's conditions must naturally take another tone".²⁹

Grey's proposal was all the more eagerly welcomed by Bethmann, partly because Grey quickly supplemented it by embodying the two very points which Germany herself had already been urging at Vienna and Petrograd in her "pledge plan", viz., a new statement by Austria of her intentions in Serbia which would satisfy Russia, and a pledge in the shape of the temporary military occupation of Belgrade which would satisfy Austria; and partly because Grey gave his first "warning". As Lichnowsky reported his conversation with Grey:

to him [Grey] personally a suitable basis for such mediation seemed to be that Austria, after the occupation perhaps of Belgrade or other places, should announce her conditions. Should Your Excellency [Bethmann], however, undertake the mediation as I was able to propose to him early this morning as a possibility, this would, of course, suit him just as well. . . . [At the close of the conversation Grey] said he wanted to make

²⁶ *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 396.

²⁷ Lichnowsky to Bethmann, July 29, 2:08 P.M. *Ibid.*, no. 357; *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 53-54.

²⁸ *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 384.

²⁹ Tschirschky to Bethmann, July 30, 3:20 A.M. *Ibid.*, no. 432.

me a friendly and private statement. . . . It would be possible for her [England] to stand aside so long as the conflict is limited to Austria and Russia. But if we and France should be drawn in, then the situation would immediately be a different one, and the British government under the circumstances would be forced to rapid decisions. In this case it would be impossible to stand aside for long and to wait; "if war breaks out, it will be the greatest catastrophe that the world has ever seen". He was far from wishing to utter any kind of threat; he merely wanted to save me from being misled and himself from the reproach of insincerity and, therefore, chose the form of a private explanation.³⁰

Upon hearing of this alarming possibility that England might not remain neutral, so contrary to all that Lichnowsky, King George, and the general British situation had led him to expect, Bethmann immediately transmitted the whole conversation to Vienna and proceeded to "press the button" very vigorously:

If Austria refuses all negotiations, we are face to face with a conflagration in which England will be against us, Rumania and Italy according to all indications will not be for us, and we shall stand two against four Powers. Through England's opposition the main blow will fall on Germany. Austria's political prestige, the military honor of her army, as well as her just claims against Serbia, can be adequately satisfied by her occupation of Belgrade or other places. Through her humiliation of Serbia, she will make her position in the Balkans as well as in her relation to Russia strong again. Under these circumstances we must urgently and emphatically urge upon the consideration of the Vienna Cabinet the adoption of mediation in accordance with the above honorable conditions. The responsibility for the consequences which would otherwise follow would be for Austria and for us an uncommonly heavy one.³¹

To this urgent request by Germany for Austria's acceptance of a solution which perhaps even yet might have avoided the conflagration of Europe, Berchtold gave no definite or frank answer. Bethmann's telegram, inclosing Lichnowsky's conversation with Grey, after being deciphered was handed to Tschirschky Thursday, July 30, while he was at lunch with Berchtold. "Berchtold listened, pale and silent, while they were read through twice; Count Forgách took notes; finally Berchtold said he would at once lay the matter before the Emperor."³² After Berchtold had departed to put on another suit of clothes in which to present himself before His Majesty, Tschirschky spent a good part of the afternoon setting

³⁰ *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 368; cf. also Grey's report to Goschen of the same conversation, in *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 66-67.

³¹ Bethmann to Tschirschky, July 30, 2:55 A.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 395. Cf. also Goschen to Grey, *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 84; Gooss, pp. 233-246.

³² Tschirschky to Bethmann, dated July 30, but despatched July 31, 1:35 A.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 465.

forth long and earnestly to Forgách and Hoyos all of Bethmann's arguments. It was useless. Instead he was cynically informed by these two intimate advisers of Berchtold that "in view of the feeling in the army and in the people any checking of the military operations in progress was out of the question . . . Conrad von Hoetzendorff [Austrian chief-of-staff] would lay before the Emperor this evening the order for general mobilization, as a reply to the measures which have already been taken". He was also finally told that Berchtold could not give any answer until the following morning, for the reason that Tisza, who would not be in Vienna until then, must be consulted.³³ Later in the evening Tschirschky learned that Austria had decided to order general mobilization, *i.e.*, against Russia as well as against Serbia,³⁴ and that Berchtold's answer to the "pledge plan" would "presumably not be absolutely negative".³⁵ What this dubious phrase meant is now clear from Berchtold's double-faced procedure as revealed, on the one hand, in his pretended attitude to the Russian ambassador, and, on the other, in his real attitude as reported in the minutes of the ministerial council of Friday morning. With the Russian ambassador he took up conversations again in a most friendly manner and to all the Powers pretended that Austria was ready to "consider favorably" Grey's proposal. To the British ambassador in Vienna, he gave the impression, as Bunsen later wrote to Grey, that

Austria, in fact, had finally yielded, and that she herself had at this point good hopes of a peaceful issue, is shown by the communication made to you on the 1st of August by Count Mensdorff [the Austrian ambassador in London] to the effect that Austria had neither "banged the door" on compromise, nor cut off the communications. . . . Unfortu-

³³ *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 465.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 468, 498. *Red Book*, III., no. 50. Austrian general mobilization was not caused by the announcement of Russian general mobilization as the Germans have often asserted, nor *vice versa*, because the announcements of mobilization took place virtually simultaneously before the news could go from the one country to the other. General mobilization was the last step in Austria's game of bluff to prevent Russia from interfering in the Serbian question. She took this step primarily because of Russia's unexpected stiff attitude and because of the rumors of the wide-reaching military preparations which Russia was making. But it is highly probable that she may have been hastened in taking the step, partly by the reports of Szögyény, her ambassador in Berlin, who was too much inclined to reflect the views of the German militarists rather than of the German Foreign Office; and partly by the arrival in Vienna at 10:20 P.M. of a telegram from the Austrian military attaché in Berlin, who reported that Moltke strongly urged Austrian general mobilization. *Red Book*, III., no. 34; *cf.* Gooss, p. 307.

³⁵ Telephone message from Tschirschky to Berlin. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 468; *cf.* also nos. 432, 433.

nately these conversations were cut short by the transfer of the dispute to the more dangerous ground of a direct conflict between Germany and Russia. Germany intervened on the 31st July by means of her double ultimatum to St. Petersburg and Paris. The ultimatums were of a kind to which only one answer was possible, and Germany declared war on Russia on the 1st August and on France on the 3rd August. A few days' delay might in all probability have saved Europe from one of the greatest calamities in all history.³⁶

How far Berchtold, however, was from the slightest intention of really and honestly yielding to mediation and stopping the Austrian advance in Serbia is now unmistakably revealed in the protocol of the minutes of the ministerial council held on Friday morning, July 31.³⁷ After stating Grey's last proposal and Bethmann's strong urging that it be accepted, Berchtold pointed out that experience showed that mediatory powers always tried to reach a compromise by forcing one power to pare down the conditions it had made;

It was probable that they would attempt this now also, when in the present conjuncture France, England, and Italy also would represent the Russian standpoint, and we [Austria] should have a very doubtful support in the present German ambassador in London. From Prince Lichnowsky everything else was to be expected except that he would represent our interests warmly. If the action should end now merely with a gain of prestige, it would in his opinion have been undertaken wholly in vain. From a mere occupation of Belgrade we should gain absolutely nothing, even if Russia should give her consent to it. All this would be mere tinsel [*Flitterwerk*]. Russia would come forward as the savior of Serbia, and especially of the Serbian army. The latter would remain intact, and in two or three years we should again have to look forward to the attack on Serbia under much more unfavorable conditions.

He had therefore had an audience with Francis Joseph. His Majesty had at once declared that there could be no check placed upon military operations, but accepted the proposal "that we should carefully avoid accepting the English proposal in actual substance, but that in the form of our answer, we should pretend to be ready to meet it. . . ."³⁸

Berchtold's colleagues agreed with him or went even further. Tisza, who had now completely changed his attitude, made no opposition. To Stürgkh "the very thought of a mediatory conference was so odious that he preferred to avoid even the pretense of accepting one". Bilinski was equally hostile to a conference, because "the course of the London Conference was so horrible to

³⁶ Bunsen to Grey, Sept. 1, 1914. *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 117-118; cf. also pp. 99-100, 212-213, 222, 528.

³⁷ *Red Book*, III., no. 79; Gooss, pp. 234-243, 301-306.

³⁸ *Red Book*, III., no. 79; repeated in less bald language in no. 80. Cf. Gooss, p. 302.

recall to memory, that all public opinion would reject the repetition of such a spectacle".³⁹

Meanwhile at Berlin Berchtold's failure to heed any of Bethmann's efforts for peace and his delay in replying to Bethmann's telegrams greatly embarrassed the Chancellor's struggle to keep the upper hand over the militarists. In his arguments with them and with the Kaiser, his position was undermined by continually having to say "No word from Vienna". By July 29 he was already being pressed strongly by Moltke and by Berlin public sentiment to take a decision. Every additional hour of indecision lessened the advantage of Germany's speedy mobilization through which they hoped, if war should come, to win an overwhelming victory over France before they had to meet a large force on the eastern frontier.⁴⁰ Their mobilization plan contemplated going through Belgium, to which Bethmann personally was strongly opposed on moral grounds. But in the preceding months, though he must have known of the existence of this plan, he had not chosen to resign his office as a protest. Perhaps he had been so absorbed in his policy for a better understanding with England, that he had never looked squarely in the face the violation of international law which Moltke contemplated, if his own Bagdad Railway and African colonial agreements with England should fail. Now, when suddenly faced with the imminence of war with Russia, brought on by Austria's action and his own negligence, he was unable to meet Moltke's arguments of strategic military necessity. Aside from the moral objection, he might urge the practical one that it might bring in England against Germany. Moltke admitted that the addition of England to Germany's enemies would be a serious difficulty in the matter of provisioning Germany, particularly if the war should last long. But still he advised against buying England's neutrality at the price of sparing Belgium, even if this would have been possible, which he did not think was the case. An advance into France from Alsace-Lorraine would have cost the German army fully three months, and given Russia such a start that a victory on both fronts would not be possible. Therefore the only way to victory was to Paris *via* Belgium.⁴¹

Accordingly, on July 29, Bethmann was forced into the foolish

³⁹ *Red Book*, III., no. 79.

⁴⁰ *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 349, 372; Bethmann, *Betrachtungen*, pp. 166-169.

⁴¹ Statement of Moltke's views as reported by the Bavarian minister in Berlin on Aug. 5, 1914. *Kautsky Docs.*, vol. IV., p. 157. Cf. also Moltke's confidential statements to Lieut.-Col. von Haeften about 1 A.M. on July 31, as reported by the latter in the *Nordd. Allg. Zeitung*, no. 261, Sept. 21, 1917.

act of making the bid for British neutrality which instantly roused suspicions abroad as to the German militarist intention. A courier was also despatched by Jagow to the German ambassador at Brussels, bearing a sealed document. It was not safe to trust this even to a ciphered telegram, nor was it desirable to reveal even to the ambassador himself the crime which after all it might not be necessary to put into practice. On opening it, the ambassador merely found instructions to keep safely another sealed envelope which he would find enclosed, but which he was to open only if subsequently instructed by telegram from Berlin. This inner envelope contained the detailed demands which Moltke had written with his own hand on July 26, for eventual presentation to Belgium, if war should come.⁴² It included the absolutely fictitious statement, for which there was never the slightest evidence either on July 29 or later, that "there lies before the Imperial Government reliable information in regard to the intended advance of French troops in the Meuse district Givet-Namur. They leave no doubt of France's purpose to attack Germany through Belgian territory." Givet-Namur was the line on which Moltke, months before,⁴³ had determined to advance if war should come. Moltke also made arrangements for post-dating the document and making it appear that this "reliable information" had only arrived as hostilities were beginning. Neither in his "scrap of paper" conversation nor in his book, did Bethmann stultify himself by adopting as his own this fictitious allegation of Moltke's. Nor in his book does he seek, as many Germans have so laboriously attempted to do, to establish any justification for the violation of Belgium from the "disclosures" revealed subsequently by the German investigation of the Belgian archives. These disclosures, of course, whether there is any incriminating evidence in them or not, being subsequent to the invasion of Belgium, are no more a justification for that act than Frederick the Great's later revelations from the Dresden archives justified his attack on Saxony at the opening of the Seven Years' War.

Still more embarrassing to Bethmann in his effort to restrain the militarists was the news from Russia. For some days the reports

⁴² *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 375, 376, 648, 735.

⁴³ At any rate as early as March 31, 1914, *cf. Kautsky Docs.*, vol. I., p. xv. The plan to go through Belgium to annihilate the French army by an attack on its flank and rear, which it had been calculated could be accomplished on the twenty-seventh day after the opening of hostilities, originated about the time of the Russo-Japanese War with Moltke's predecessor as chief of the General Staff, Count von Schlieffen; *cf. H. von Kuhl, Der Deutsche Generalstab in Vorbereitung und Durchführung des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 109, 142-179.

of the Russian "measures preparatory to war" had become very alarming. The statements of the Russian minister of foreign affairs did not harmonize with those of the Russian minister of war, and both were contradicted by the apparently unmistakable evidence of very wide-reaching military activities.⁴⁴

On the morning of Thursday, July 30, it was known in Berlin that Russia had officially admitted "partial mobilization", and it was suspected, probably with good reason, that she had done much more. Nevertheless, Bethmann appears still to have kept the upper hand during the day. At its close he gave the Prussian cabinet a long and still hopeful summary of the situation; he declared that he was still supported by the Kaiser in the determination that no decision for war should be taken, until an answer had been received from Austria as to her acceptance of the "pledge plan".⁴⁵

Though the Kaiser by this time was in a very excited state of mind, as indicated by a raving philippic against his Austrian ally as well as against the Entente enemies who had "encircled" Germany,⁴⁶ he was persuaded by Bethmann to make a personal appeal to Francis Joseph. This was followed by another telegram of Bethmann's own, warning Berchtold of the terrible consequences of a refusal to accept the "pledge plan" which was now being urged by

⁴⁴ The very difficult question of Russian mobilization has been most thoroughly discussed by R. Hoeniger, *Russlands Vorbereitung zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1919); "Untersuchungen zum Suchomlinowprozess", in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, CLXXV. 15-80 (Apr., 1918); and "Fürst Tundutow über die russische Mobilmachung", *ibid.*, CLXXVI. 150-165 (Aug., 1918). Hoeniger has used and printed a large number of Russian mobilization orders, which the Germans afterwards captured in the Warsaw district. On the basis of these, he believes that Sukhomlinov and Januschkevitch, the Russian minister of war and chief of general staff, began on July 25 to take very wide-reaching "preparatory measures for war" which were almost equivalent to mobilization, that the idea of "partial mobilization" against Austria was really a fiction intended to deceive Germany and perhaps even the Tsar. Under cover of "partial mobilization", steps were really being taken against Germany as well as against Austria. It is also clear from the extraordinary revelations of the Sukhomlinov trial that these Russian militarists flatly disobeyed and deceived the Tsar who unquestionably worked and hoped for peace up till the very last moment. Whether Hoeniger is correct in his analysis of the nature of Russian preparatory measures for war, I cannot at present give an opinion. I think it doubtful, however, whether he is correct in thinking that Sazonov was working hand in hand with the militarists in a deliberate effort to deceive and surprise Germany. I think it more probable that they worked behind his back and that he honestly worked and hoped for peace, at least until July 29. Cf. Oman, *op. cit.*, ch. vii.

⁴⁵ *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 456; see above, note 4.

⁴⁶ Pencilled on a telegram from Pourtalès which reported that Sazonov regretted that the Russian mobilization measures could not be stopped. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 401; translated in *German Secret War Documents*.

both England and Germany.⁴⁷ But the militarists were already getting the upper hand. Early in the evening Moltke had advised the Austrian chief-of-staff to order the general mobilization of the whole Austrian army.⁴⁸ Before 11:20 P.M. Bethmann had been told by the General Staff that Russia's military measures were so alarming that a speedy decision by Germany was necessary, unless Germany was to be taken by surprise. Bethmann for a moment abandoned hope.⁴⁹ A few minutes later, however, he learned that a telegram from King George V. to Prince Henry had arrived.⁵⁰ It was in answer to the appeal which Prince Henry had made at the Kaiser's prompting about noon.⁵¹ In it King George said:

My Government is doing its utmost, suggesting to Russia and to France to suspend further military operations, if Austria will consent to be satisfied with occupation of Belgrade and neighboring Serbian territory as a hostage for satisfactory settlement of her demands, other countries meanwhile suspending their war preparations. Trust William will use his great influence to induce Austria to accept this proposal, thus proving that Germany and England are working together to prevent what would be an international catastrophe.⁵²

Bethmann grasped at this telegram from George V. as another chance for peace. He sent it on with a last urgent appeal "for a definite decision in Vienna within the course of the day". But it had no more influence than its predecessors.⁵³ It remained, however, as a slender hope for a few hours until the arrival in Berlin of Pourtalès's despatch from Petrograd confirming beyond doubt the fact that Russia had ordered general mobilization. Thereupon, as the militarists had urged, Germany declared about noon the "Imminence of War", and a little later despatched her ultimatums to Russia and France.

On the whole these new documents from Berlin and Vienna place Austria in a much more unfavorable light than hitherto. They

⁴⁷ Kaiser to Francis Joseph, July 30, 7 P.M., *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 437: "The personal appeal of the Tsar to undertake mediation for the prevention of a world conflagration and for the preservation of world peace, I believed it impossible to reject, and have had proposals submitted to your Government through my ambassador yesterday and today. Among other things they point out that Austria should state her demands after the occupation of Belgrade and other places. I should be deeply indebted to you if you would notify me of your decision as soon as possible." Bethmann's telegram was sent at 9 P.M., *ibid.*, no. 441.

⁴⁸ See above, note 34.

⁴⁹ *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 450 and 451, note.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 452.

⁵¹ Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 417, 474.

⁵² *Ibid.*, no. 452; *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 538-539.

⁵³ Bethmann to Tschirschky, July 31, 2:45 A.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 464.

likewise clear the German government of the charge that it deliberately plotted or wanted the war. Whatever individual militarists or Pan-German writers may have wished or said, there is no doubt that the Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, as the official representative of German foreign policy, aimed at peace and better relations with Germany's neighbors in the period just before the war. In fact the very charge that has been most bitterly brought against him by many of his own countrymen is that he was too much a man of conciliation and peace. Germany did not will the war. In a narrow sense, even, looking merely at the events of these three days one can easily see how the Germans have become convinced that the war was forced upon them. As the crisis grew more serious, particularly after the Austrian declaration of war on Serbia and the warning from England, Bethmann did make real and sincere efforts, though belated, to hold Austria back and find a feasible solution. But he did not find adequate support from his own War-Lord and in Vienna. Berchtold had chosen his course. Austria, as was believed with reason, was growing weaker and weaker through the disintegrating force of nationalism and the ambitious imperialism of Russia, which supported the aspirations of Austria's smaller neighbors. The Serajevo crime afforded a good excuse to attempt to rehabilitate her position by action against Serbia. He counted on his powerful ally for protection in case of Russian interference. He had believed it would again be possible to bluff Russia by "rattling the sabre" of Emperor William. But imperialism and militarism, encouraged by a jingo press, had put Russia in a very different temper from that which prevailed after the Russo-Japanese War. When, therefore, Bethmann strove for peace at the eleventh hour, he failed partly because Austria and Russia were so unyielding and partly because events marched so rapidly that he could not keep control over them. In this sense Germany had war forced upon her, not, of course, by England, as has been so commonly believed in Germany, but by her own ally and by Russia.

In a wider sense, however, these new documents do not in any way relieve Germany of the main responsibility. She is responsible for her negligence in giving Austria a free hand on July 5, and in not attempting earlier and more vigorously to reassert her control at Vienna. She is responsible—and here the responsibility rests especially on the Kaiser—in deliberately blocking several peace proposals which, though they might have turned to the disadvantage of Austria, and to the diminution of her own prestige, would have been as nothing in comparison with what was to take place. One

would be more inclined to listen to her assertion that she was fighting a war of self-defense if she had not sent so precipitately her ultimatums to Russia and France and insisted in adhering to her principle that mobilization inevitably must be followed by war. In a still wider sense, also, Germany is responsible, because one may say that militarism was one of the great causes of the war. It was militarism which was largely responsible for the campaign of lies and national hatred in the jingo press of all Continental Europe which had been poisoning public opinion for years. When the crisis arose, not a little of the direction which diplomacy took in Berlin, Vienna, and Petrograd was due to the pressure of so-called public opinion. It was militarism, too, which placed in power such men without scruple as Moltke and Tirpitz, or Sukhomlinov and Janushkevitch. It is always at a time of diplomatic crisis, precisely when it is most difficult for diplomats to keep their heads clear and their hands free, that the influence of militarism makes itself felt by hastening decisions for war, or even by getting the upper hand altogether. And for the growth of militarism in Europe, no country was so much responsible as Germany.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

THE AMERICAN WAR GOVERNMENT, 1917-1918

ON April 6, 1917, nineteen officers, as prescribed by law, were stationed in Washington on duty on the General Staff of the army.¹ This small group of men, all of whom had been trained by years of service in the regular army, but no one of whom had ever commanded in action or seen a modern division of American troops, was required by law under direction of the chief-of-staff to formulate the plans upon which four million troops should be raised for the World War.² In his message to Congress, April 2, President Wilson had informed his fellow-countrymen that the approaching war would "involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country",³ but neither could he anticipate nor had they foreseen the completeness of national reorganization that must be attained.

The United States has never, by prearrangement, made itself ready for immediate defense or for precipitate attack. In every military crisis war has been begun first and armies have been created afterwards. The object-lesson of the World War in Europe suggested to many American minds the necessity for a thorough reconsideration of national defense, and citizens working toward this, under the general name of preparedness, organized societies, held meetings, and tried to educate public opinion and members of Congress. It was a slow process to overturn the mental habit of a century and a half. In both parties were responsible politicians who denied the necessity of preparedness or who charged that it was only a selfish propaganda of corrupt munition-makers. The suggestion that a thoroughgoing investigation of national defense be made at once was repelled by the President who feared it might unsettle his policy of neutrality; and the appropriation bills of 1915 contain few indications that the United States feared danger to itself.

The diplomatic controversy arising from the *Lusitania* finally convinced the administration of impending danger. On July 21,

¹ *Report of the Chief-of-Staff*, 1919, p. 18.

² *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1916, p. 49, discusses the effect of the National Defense Act upon the General Staff.

³ *The War Message and Facts behind it: Annotated Text of President Wilson's Message*, Apr. 2, 1917 (Committee on Public Information, *War Information Series*, no. 1, June, 1917).

1915, when the President despatched his third and last *Lusitania* note,⁴ he sent to his Secretaries of War and Navy brief memoranda directing them to consider and report far-reaching programmes of national defense.⁵ From this moment until the end of the war, President Wilson never relaxed his pressure upon Congress for more and more sweeping defense legislation. In November, 1915, he came out publicly for such preparedness, and in January, 1916, he took to the stump and travelled through the Middle West, directing and focusing the rising interest in national defense. The resulting appropriation bills⁶ undertook new programmes for both services, while on June 3 the National Defense Act reorganized and enlarged both the regular army and the militia.⁷

Before the summer of 1916, it had become clear to all who were observing the course of the war in Europe that military and naval reorganization alone could not constitute an adequate preparation. The war in every country brought the whole nation into arms and the utilization of the non-combatant population and its resources had become as important as the training of troops, the production of matériel, and the direction of armies in the field. In all the belligerent countries these were new tasks, slightly recognized in time of peace, if not entirely ignored. In the United States, even more than overseas, these new agencies of government were a significant need because of the peculiar restrictions inherent in the American state.

"The departments at Washington were never conceived or organized to meet the modern needs incident to mobilizing a nation."⁸ The administrative branch of the government is organized for the purpose of spending upon specified projects funds whose availability Congress has surrounded with minute special provisions. The itemized appropriation bills are intentionally so constructed as to reduce to narrow limits the discretion of executive officers. As a natural result, the standing agencies of government, including even the army and the navy, are never prepared for any emergency which has not been foreseen. From one to three

⁴ J. S. Bassett, *Our War with Germany* (1919), p. 79.

⁵ The texts may be found in *New York Times*, Sept. 3, 1915, p. 1.

⁶ Including provision for a government-owned armor-plate factory which had long been urged and which was now provided against the open opposition of private manufacturers. *Fleet Review*, May, 1917, p. 10; *Army and Navy Journal*, Sept. 27, 1913, p. 105; *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Aug. 30, 1917, p. 2; *New York Times*, June 17, 1916, p. 6.

⁷ *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1916, p. 26.

⁸ *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Feb. 26, 1917, p. 10.

years may and often do elapse between the inauguration of a project and the arrival of available funds for its development. In the interval of waiting, the whole aspect of the world may have changed.

At the beginning of the war in 1917, the American administration included ten cabinet departments and sundry detached commissions and boards. Over some of the latter the President exercised no control after having appointed the commissioners. Each of these agencies represented its own evolution and struggle, and each, including the army and navy, was constructed to meet some other end than that of immediate war. The American administrative machinery for war, like the armed forces, had been left to be improvised after the nation had come under fire, and to the administration, already harassed by war itself, fell the burden of devising basic legislation for the emergency.

A Council of National Defense, created in the Army Appropriation Bill of 1916, was one of the few civic additions made during the period of preparedness. Even earlier than 1914 there had been individuals ready to suggest the creation of some sort of war board to do for the civil population the sort of thing that the General Staff was supposed to do for the army. The idea gained adherence among the preparedness advocates, with the result that six members of the Cabinet (the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor) were on August 29, 1916, designated as a Council of National Defense and given an appropriation of \$200,000.⁹ Their duties were to prepare plans for the mobilization of human and economic resources in the support of the military programme. They were authorized to organize an Advisory Commission of not more than seven experts in as many fields involved in national mobilization.

No one could foresee the course which such a novel institution would follow in its development. The six *ex officio* members were necessarily involved in the administration of their departments. The duties of the council were not different from those which might be supposed to be incumbent upon the Cabinet and President. The significant fact lay in the available appropriation and the authorization of an advisory commission of experts, all of whom were detached from the cares of Cabinet members.

In addition to the Council of National Defense, the Congress of 1916 created as an emergency body the United States Shipping Board. Such a body as this had been urged upon Congress repeatedly and in vain through 1914 and 1915. Its desirability had

⁹ *First Annual Report of the Council of National Defense, 1917, p. 6.*

been suggested when the navies of the Allied powers drove German shipping from the ocean, while the Allied governments themselves utilized more and more completely for their own war needs the rest of the world's shipping tonnage. The United States possessed no important merchant marine, and lost control of its exports. To insure provision of available American tonnage whether by construction or purchase, the administration consistently urged the passage of a shipping bill. The opponents of this measure, however, kept it from becoming law in any form until September 7, 1916,¹⁰ more than two years after the need for it had arisen.

Another of the emergency organizations was the Naval Consulting Board, brought into existence informally by Secretary Josephus Daniels, in October, 1915, with duties to act as a consulting body upon naval inventions in connection with the new programme upon which the Navy Department had been at work since July 21. The great name of Thomas Alva Edison gave it special lustre, and around him were grouped engineers and scientists in the fields of naval development. A year later Congress legitimated the body by appropriating funds for its expenses.¹¹

In another of the related fields of military invention, a National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics had been created by act of March 3, 1915.¹²

The breach with Germany, early in February, 1917, brought to full and abrupt realization the positive lack of agencies for national mobilization. The little group of officers in the General Staff were put to work upon plans for the creation of an army, and the Council of National Defense hurried the organization of its Advisory Commission and proceeded to use this body as an informal general staff for civil purposes. The President had named the Advisory Commission during October, 1916. Daniel Willard, its chairman, was a widely known railroad president; the names of Samuel Gompers and Julius Rosenwald were household words in many parts of the country. Howard E. Coffin stood among the leaders of motor manufacturers. Hollis Godfrey was an educator of prominence, while Dr. Franklin H. Martin was identified with one of the great medical societies. Bernard M. Baruch was less known than the rest and was associated in the public mind with speculative business. On February 12, 1917, the council and the Advisory Commission settled down to the task of creating the outlines of a war govern-

¹⁰ *First Annual Report of the United States Shipping Board*, 1917, p. 5.

¹¹ *Report of the Secretary of the Navy*, 1915, p. 45; 1916, p. 67.

¹² *Third Annual Report of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics*, 1917, p. 11.

ment in advance of the declaration of war. It had no legal authority for action, but it exercised wide power in advice, and by April 6 had sketched the larger outlines of a national programme.¹³ The technical work in connection with the army and navy was conducted in the military departments, the Council of National Defense taking its function to be that of making the civilian resources of the country available for the military agents.

Seven great committees were organized, each with one of the members of the Advisory Commission as its chairman, and each including civilian experts and administrators, whose services were believed likely to be needed. Willard became chairman of a Committee on Transportation that speedily possessed itself of the resources of the American Railway Association and created, ready for business on April 11, 1917, the Railroads' War Board. Until the United States Railroad Administration was created, December 26, 1917, the Railroads' War Board co-ordinated the efforts that hauled materials to the cantonment sites and to the munitions factories, and that hauled the troops to camp.

The Committee on Raw Materials was formed by Baruch with sub-committees in charge of the more important single commodities. Julius Rosenwald naturally became chairman of the Committee on Supplies with a long list of co-operative committees in the several lines of manufacture. Munitions, as the most important of the supplies, received a special committee with Coffin as chairman, and shortly gave birth to a Munitions Standards Board, whose proposed duty was to standardize the specifications of army and navy matériel. Frank A. Scott of Cleveland became chairman of the Munitions Standards Board, and remained chairman when its scope was broadened and its title changed on April 9, 1917, to that of the General Munitions Board. "It was necessary", said the director of the council, "if we were going to give intelligent advice, that somehow we should have a system for clearing the needs of the Army and Navy, and for having the needs brought before the people."¹⁴

Dr. Martin organized the Committee on Medicine, while Dr. Godfrey brought together the Committee on Science and Research. Gompers created his Labor Committee before the end of February, and on March 12 procured, from a conference headed by the

¹³ *Council of National Defense, Hearing before Subcommittee of House Committee on Appropriations . . . on Amendments of the Senate to H. R. 3971* (Washington, 1917), pp. 1-159, is devoted to the period prior to May 23, 1917.

¹⁴ *Investigation of the War Department, Hearing before the Committee on Military Affairs, United States Senate* (Washington, 1918), pt. 3, p. 1859.

American Federation of Labor, a statement of the attitude of labor towards the war, that was designed to counteract the anti-war activities of certain of the Socialist labor leaders.

The meeting of the Council of National Defense and of the Advisory Commission that put in motion this series of organizations remained in almost continuous session until after the outbreak of actual war. On February 13 it listened to the report of General J. E. Kuhn upon the elements of German mobilization, as he had seen it while military attaché at Berlin. At other sessions it received counsel from Edward R. Stettinius, who had been American buyer for Allied account throughout the war, and from Herbert Hoover, whose report upon the victualling of Europe was followed by the early creation of a Food Committee with him as chairman. It shortly adopted the Naval Consulting Board as an Inventions Section, and the National Research Council as an agency for co-ordinating the efforts of scientific investigators throughout the country. Other committees were taken on as need for them appeared. The Advisory Commission concluded its formal organization by electing Commissioner Willard as chairman, W. S. Gifford as director, and Grosvenor B. Clarkson as secretary.

War¹⁵ was declared with many plans in the making for the co-ordination of effort, but with the whole body of legislation still to be passed. For the next six months the history of the war government was largely a matter of emergency measures to tide over the period until Congress should take action, and of advocacy of laws granting the necessary powers.

It would have been a simpler task to prepare for American participation in the war had there been any agreement as to the form which that participation was to take. General Sharpe later testified that, "In April when the original plan for raising the army was under discussion there was no intention whatever of sending any troops abroad until March, 1918".¹⁶ It was the expressed opinion of the British Premier Lloyd George that ships would win the war, and that the true duty of the United States was to build new tonnage. From another angle, food was expected to win the war. To stimulate the unlimited resources of the American farm

¹⁵ The name of the war has varied in official usage. The Pension Bureau appears to have designated it, at an early period, as the War of 1917, *Washington Post*, May 20, 1917, p. 1. Subsequently the Historical Branch of the General Staff used the same designation with the approval of the Chief of Staff; but by General Orders, no. 115, War Department, Oct. 7, 1919, the name has now been changed to the World War.

¹⁶ *Investigation of the War Department* (Washington, 1918), pt. 2, p. 506.

was the clear duty of Hoover's Food Committee, but before either of the programmes for ships and food was far advanced, Marshal Joffre arrived at Hampton Roads with the French Commission, bringing the imperative demand for troops at once—"Let the American soldier come now".¹⁷ And behind each of these three lines of possible participation lay the need for funds.

The United States Shipping Board had the advantage of preliminary authorization during the first three months of the war. Its members had been appointed during the early winter. It proceeded, in March, to outline its plans; and the public press soon took the cue from its chairman, William Denman, and talked hopefully about "a bridge of wooden ships". Congress was at once approached for additional power and appropriations. The greatest constructor before the American public, Major-General George W. Goethals, was summoned to administer ship-building, while on April 16 the Shipping Board incorporated as its building agency the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

To revive the ancient ship-building prowess of the United States was no mean task, for, as General Goethals said, the "birds were still nesting in the trees from which the great wooden fleet was to be made".¹⁸ It was a human problem as well as a productive one, since it was by law to be directed by a Shipping Board whose chief servant, General Goethals, regarded "all boards 'as long, narrow, and wooden'"; but for some weeks before General Goethals and Chairman Denman were allowed to retire from their task, contracts flew in shoals to builders for the erection of shipping yards, and to yards for the construction of wooden ships, and fabricated steel ships.¹⁹

The food which was to be carried in ships depended largely upon the crop that could be sowed in the spring of 1917, and the amount of the reserve that could be saved. It was equally necessary to begin a propaganda for economy and for an increase in the acreage of crops. It was impossible to wait for Congress to authorize either of these, since the planting season could not outlast even a few weeks of patriotic deliberation. Hoover's Food Committee was organized during April. "The foremost duty of America towards the Allies", he announced, as he started from London to assume its chairmanship, ". . . is to see that they are supplied with

¹⁷ *Literary Digest*, May 12, 1917, p. 1393.

¹⁸ *New York Times*, May 26, 1917, p. 1.

¹⁹ *United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, Hearings before the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate . . . on Senate Resolution 170* (Washington, 1918, 2 vols.).

food". From day to day action from Congress was awaited while the Department of Agriculture brought into operation all of its powers to stimulate the planting. On May 19 the President appointed Hoover as Food Administrator without legal authorization, and allowed him to organize a voluntary Food Administration largely at his own expense. Not until August 10, 1917, did Congress overcome the opposition to the granting of real powers of control; and even then its creation of a Food Administration was in spite of a persistent minority that continued, through the war and afterwards, to attack the patriotism, importance, and honesty of food control. Voluntary conservation was advertised and promoted through the creation of state food administrations with an elaborate system of local sub-committees.

The military programme changed from week to week as the problem changed. The first expectation was to keep all forces in America until 1918, in order to use the existing army as a nucleus for a national army. The General Staff proposal for erecting a national army, based upon universal liability to service, was accepted by the Secretary of War and the President, and became a law on May 18. "As a result of the exchanges of views which took place between the military missions to the United States and our own Government", says Secretary Baker, "it was determined to begin at once the dispatch of an expeditionary force of the American Army to France".²⁰ On the day that he signed the Selective Service Act, the President announced this decision and that Major-General John J. Pershing had been selected to command the troops.²¹ The administration of the draft, through its various stages of enrollment, classification, exemption, and quota, covered the country with another network of co-operative and patriotic effort, while yet a third was added as the Treasury Department built up an organization for its Liberty Loan campaign.

The provision of funds was the subject of the earliest important war legislation by Congress. With the outbreak of the war, there arose a debate upon the burden of the war. The American Committee on War Finance was organized as a propaganda association by opponents of the war and advocates of a policy that would place its burden chiefly on accumulated wealth.²² The questions whether its costs should be deferred through the issuance of bonds, or raised immediately through taxation, brought to light all the argu-

²⁰ *Rept. of Sec. of War*, 1917, p. 51.

²¹ Graphs showing the monthly strength of the A.E.F. are in L. P. Ayres, *The War with Germany: a Statistical Summary* (Washington, 1919), pp. 14, 15.

²² *New York Call*, Apr. 1, 1917, p. 5.

ments in the field of war finance and drew upon the whole experience of the other belligerents.

The great fiscal debate on the "pay as you go" method of war finance was not ended until the passage of the War Revenue Act of October 3, 1917. Meanwhile, regardless of the final decision as to loans or taxes, immediate funds were indispensable. On April 24 Congress authorized a bond issue of five billion dollars, three billions of which were to provide means for advancing funds to those associates "engaged in war with the enemies of the United States". In addition to this, authority was given for the use of two billions in short-term certificates of indebtedness to be redeemed by subsequent bond issues, and to constitute a sort of revolving fund. In the provision for extending loans to the Allies, Congress started wittingly or not the train of events that led inevitably through the Allies Purchasing Commission to the Interallied Conference, the Inter-Ally Council of War Purchases and Finance,²³ the Allied Maritime Transport Council, the Food and Munitions Councils,²⁴ the Supreme War Council, the supreme command, and victory itself.

The weeks in which emergency machinery was created overlapped weeks in which Congress debated the fundamental policies upon which the war should be conducted. It is impracticable to separate the debates upon the several measures, since there was a running discussion over the whole field of war organization. Through the entire period of the Congress of 1917, any aspect of the debate was likely to be discussed in connection with any of the measures. The prolonged arguments began while the loan act was under consideration. Thereafter the Selective Service Act, the appropriations for the Fleet Corporation and the Aircraft Production Board, the legislation on espionage and foreign trade, the control of food and fuel, served as texts for daily argument. From week to week single statutes emerged from the deliberation and terminated for the time being single aspects of the discussion. In the long run, occasionally the very long run, public opinion supported the demands of the administration for war powers, and the powers were granted; but not until the spring of 1918, when the Overman Act became a law on May 20, could it be said that the government of the United States possessed the powers to wage a modern war.

Within the limited field of the army and the navy, these months

²³ *London Times*, Dec. 17, 1917, p. 9.

²⁴ J. P. Cotton and D. W. Morrow, "International Cooperation during the War," in *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1919, pp. 807-809; ch. VI. in D. W. Morrow, *The Society of Free States* (New York, 1919).

brought increase in numbers and subdivision and reorganization of functions. The powers of the commander-in-chief were here more nearly adequate to the situation, and less special legislation was required than in the fields of civilian co-operation. The navy underwent no fundamental reorganization, for a navy, of all government agencies, is least susceptible to change after war has been declared. In the army there was the constant need of General Pershing for the best-trained service in the A.E.F., and the need of the War Department for the same trained service in raising and equipping the American divisions. Since the number of professional officers of mature years was rigidly limited, the army was compelled to make numerous compromises in order to acquire the technical and numerical strength that its task demanded. The General Staff was repeatedly reorganized, the most important dates being February 9, 1918,²⁵ and August 26.²⁶ By this latter date there existed throughout the whole army an extreme "dilution" of commissioned officers, whose purpose was to enable a few trained professional soldiers to indoctrinate the whole body.

The result of the special legislation was to bring into existence a group of war boards of which only the Council of National Defense and the United States Shipping Board were founded on authority which antedated the war. The Emergency Fleet Corporation was a manufacturing agent of gigantic scope and intricate organization, but was fundamentally subordinate in all matters of policy to the Shipping Board.

Next after the Shipping Board arose the Food Administration, with its legal authority derived from the Lever Act of August 10, 1917.²⁷ Hoover's volunteer organization was ready to be sworn into the service when the Lever Act became a law. Under Hoover the functional divisions of the Food Administration did the "staff" work for the whole campaign, while the local food administrations constituted the "line". For the control of two particular commodities it operated, as did the Shipping Board, through corporations whose stock was entirely owned by the United States. The

²⁵ Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Feb. 11, 1918, p. 1; *Rept. of the Chief-of-Staff*, 1919, p. 19; General Orders, no. 14, War Department, Feb. 9, 1918; *Army and Navy Journal*, Feb. 16, 1918, p. 914. See also F. P. Keppel, "The General Staff", in *Atlantic Monthly*, Apr., 1920, pp. 539-549.

²⁶ General Orders, no. 80, War Department, Aug. 26, 1918; *Army and Navy Journal*, Sept. 7, 1918, p. 34.

²⁷ B. H. Hibbard, *Effects of the Great War upon Agriculture in the United States and Great Britain*, no. 11 of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* (New York, 1919), p. 71.

earlier of these, the United States Grain Corporation, was announced on August 14, 1917, with a working capital which was to be used to stabilize the price of cereals.²⁸ The Sugar Equalization Board was not formed until July 11, 1918, for the performance of somewhat similar duties in the control of sugar and coffee. The system of licenses²⁹ whereby the Food Administration kept its hand upon the reserve stocks of food and their consumption and export were novelties in American life but were largely borrowed from the experiences of the Commission for the Relief of Belgium and of the foreign food controllers.

The Lever Act carried authority over fuel as well as food, and pursuant to it on August 23, 1917, President Harry A. Garfield of Williams College was designated as Fuel Administrator. The Fuel Administration machinery comprehended a network of centralized bureaus and local agents similar to that of the Food Administration, but was somewhat less pervasive in its extent.

The powers to stimulate the production and control the consumption of raw materials were largely granted in the acts of a single day, August 10, 1917. The powers over trade were derived piecemeal. It had been the experience of the Allied powers that the blockade of Germany was among the most telling weapons of the war. This could be effective only through a control of trade in order to prevent exports from the Allies from leaking into Germany, or from releasing in neutral countries neutral exports to the enemy.³⁰ The scarcity of ships, from another angle, made it important that the government have the power to compel the useful use of merchant shipping. In the Espionage Act, passed June 15, 1917, for the chief purpose of breaking up any attempt at opposition to the selective draft, the President was given authority to control exports from the United States.

The machinery for controlling trade was as fragmentary as the laws conveying power to control it. Under the Espionage Act the President brought into existence an Exports Council of *ex officio* members.³¹ The council's duties were to formulate the policies for whose administration a Division of Export Licenses was immediately organized in the Department of Commerce. Some two

²⁸ L. H. Haney, "Price Fixing in the United States during the War", in *Political Science Quarterly*, Mar., 1919, p. 111; *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Nov., 1918, p. 17.

²⁹ *Monthly Review of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics*, Dec., 1917, p. 1167.

³⁰ C. H. Huberich, *The Law relating to Trading with the Enemy* (New York, 1918).

³¹ *Rules and Regulations of the War Trade Board*, no. 1, Nov., 1917, p. 5.

months later, on August 21, 1917, an Exports Administrative Board composed of technical members named by the *ex officio* members of the Exports Council was created to direct the work of the Division of Export Licenses.³² Vance McCormick, as the deputy of the State Department, became chairman of this Exports Administrative Board, and when on October 6, 1917, Congress at last enlarged the powers over foreign trade in the Trading with the Enemy Act, the President revised their administration by executive order of October 12.³³ The Exports Council with a slightly changed personnel became the War Trade Council, while the technical members delegated by the council became the War Trade Board with McCormick as chairman.³⁴ The War Trade Board thus joined the Food and Fuel Administrations and the Shipping Board, as a full-fledged war board. Through its Bureaus of Exports and Imports,³⁵ it exerted increasingly pervasive pressure upon all foreign trade;³⁶ through its Bureau of Enemy Trade it watched those conduits of commerce which were believed to be directly or indirectly to enemy advantage; through its Bureau of War Trade Intelligence it assembled the secret information essential to its accurate administration; and through numerous other bureaus it studied, collected, and tabulated the facts on trade. Its government-owned corporation, the Russian Bureau (Inc.), was brought into existence in the final moments of the war to bring aid to Russia by traffic through Siberia.³⁷ An Alien Property Custodian was created in the same act of October 6.³⁸

An immediate consequence of preparation for the war was an increase in the burden upon the railroad systems of the United States. These were already operating almost to capacity in their

³² *Washington Post*, Aug. 23, 1917, p. 3.

³³ *Enemy Trading List*, no. 1, Oct. 6, 1917 (War Trade Board), gives the text of the Trading with the Enemy Act, and the first edition of the list of proscribed firms.

³⁴ A. E. Swanson, "The Statistical Work of the War Trade Board", in *Quarterly Publications* of the American Statistical Association, Mar., 1919, p. 262.

³⁵ *Directory of the War Trade Board*, Feb. 1, 1918, pp. 5-14, gives brief definitions of function for the several bureaus.

³⁶ The Restricted Imports List was made public in its initial form on Mar. 23, 1918. *War Trade Board Journal*, no. 8, April 1, 1918, p. 13. The Exports Conservation List had first appeared Sept. 17, 1917. *Rules and Regulations of the W. T. B.*, no. 1, p. 24.

³⁷ *W. T. B. J.*, no. 16, Dec., 1918, p. 4.

³⁸ *Alien Property Custodian Rept.* (Washington, 1919) is "a detailed report by the Alien Property Custodian of all proceedings had by him under the Trading with the Enemy Act during the calendar year 1918 and to the close of business on February 15, 1919".

efforts to meet the peace-time needs of the country, and had, as a whole, within the past few years, failed to keep pace with the normal extension of industry. The Railroads' War Board, with Fairfax Harrison³⁹ as its chairman, undertook a voluntary administration of this crippled plant on April 11, 1917.⁴⁰ Every month thereafter the problems grew worse. Freight traffic for war construction, export traffic to the ports, passenger traffic to and from the camps, increased the burden; while a leakage of skilled employees into the armed forces and demands for higher wages from those who remained increased the cost.

In the late autumn of 1917 the Interstate Commerce Commission, whose powers had already been extended by an act giving it control of car service,⁴¹ recommended that the railroads be taken over by the government under authority of the act of August 29, 1916, which contemplated such action in time of war. By executive action of December 26, the United States Railroad Administration was created with the Secretary of the Treasury, William G. McAdoo, as its director general. Within the next few weeks unified administration was taken off the voluntary basis and given legal sanction. Congress on March 21, 1918, enacted the terms upon which compensation should be awarded to the roads. The director general relieved their operating officials of responsibility, and through a system of regional directorships rearranged the mechanism and added another to the series of war administrations.

By the side of the Fuel and Food Administrations, the War Trade Board, and the government-conducted ship-building and transportation enterprises, a transformation of industry was working itself out in 1917. The procurement of supplies for military use had in no earlier war occupied all of the surplus of human endeavor. The Council of National Defense concerned itself with procurement from the beginning. It was the business of the technical branches of the military department—Naval Ordnance, Army Ordnance, Signal Corps, Medical Corps, Quartermaster Corps, Engineer Corps, etc., to determine upon the specifications for their matériel. In a few weeks the field of munitions expanded from

³⁹ *Washington Post*, Apr. 12, 1917, p. 5.

⁴⁰ This board was discontinued upon creation of the Railroad Administration. The letters involved may be found in *New York Times*, Jan. 1, 1918.

⁴¹ H. E. Byram, "Principles and Practices of Car Service Regulation", in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Mar., 1918, p. 32; 31st Ann. Rept. of the Interstate Commerce Commission (Washington, 1917), p. 65; 32d Ann. Rept. of the Interstate Commerce Commission (Washington, 1918), p. 4.

the limited vision of the Munitions Standards Board to the broader range of the General Munitions Board. A single class of munitions was separated out on May 16, 1917, through the creation of the Aircraft Production Board, which proceeded in co-operation with the Signal Corps to devise and provide a new arm of the service.⁴² On October 1 by special act, a legally designated Aircraft Board was given the responsibility in this connection, and in the following summer, after the Air Service had evolved, Congress authorized and the Air Service organized another of the government-owned corporations, the United States Spruce Production Corporation.

By the early summer of 1917 the award of contracts for procurement purposes had progressed so far as to reveal the limitations of the military departments that Congress had permitted to exist, the inexpertness of contractors and manufacturers, and inherent difficulties in the machinery for oversight that the Council of National Defense had improvised. The voluntary committees of business men working with the council were made up necessarily of men who were drawn from the several fields of industry. It was a poor committee that did not contain within its membership men who had learned to know textiles or clothing, boots or food, or the metal trades, in the service of the greatest corporations dealing with these products. As the time came for making war contracts, committeemen were forced to pass upon awards to their own companies. It was inevitable that discontented and unsuccessful bidders should declare that favoritism governed awards, and that some public suspicion should arise, due to the possibility that bidders might as committeemen improperly award contracts to themselves.⁴³ Debate along this line added to the confusion that delayed the passage of the Lever Bill, and in this act on August 10 was contained a prohibition against the award of contracts by government officials to themselves. The committee system of the Council of National Defense became impracticable as this restrictive legislation impended. It was moreover apparent that the war would soon make it necessary to do more than merely sort out the bidders and the plants in connection with the procurement of supplies. There came a "change in the civilian conduct of the war with the control of priorities as its dominant feature". The General Munitions Board functioned as the basic unit in the change and was on July 28 merged into a new War Industries Board, of which Frank A.

⁴² *Rept. of the Chief Signal Officer to the Sec. of War*, 1919, p. 13.

⁴³ *Investigation of the War Department*, pt. 3, pp. 1130-1191.

Scott remained the head. In addition to military and naval members and the chairman, the new board included Baruch in charge of raw materials, Hugh Frayne, a representative of labor, Judge Robert S. Brookings, who soon specialized in the field of price-fixing, and Robert S. Lovett, a railroad expert, who shortly became a commissioner of priorities.⁴⁴

As the War Industries Board gained in strength and confidence it took on new functions. On August 25 three of its members, Baruch, Brookings, and Lovett, together with the Food Administrator, became a Purchasing Commission for the Allies.⁴⁵ By this means the bidding of the Allies for American commodities, and the expenditure of the American loans incidental thereto, were brought within the purview of the War Industries Board, side by side with those of the army that came in through General Palmer E. Pierce, and those of the navy which came up through Admiral Frank F. Fletcher.

The system of co-operative committees in the several fields of industry was revised during the autumn in order to comply with the provisions of the Lever Act as interpreted by the Attorney General on August 29,⁴⁶ and finally on November 28 all of Rosenwald's committees on supplies were formally dissolved.⁴⁷ In place of these committees, there arose an imposing series of War Service Committees of industry put together through the agency of the United States Chamber of Commerce. In these, of which nearly five hundred were created, the representatives of the industries involved were nominated by the trade associations, confirmed by referendum votes, and formally certified by the United States Chamber of Commerce to the War Industries Board as ready and able to speak for their respective industries.⁴⁸ From the steel and oil industries at the top, down to the shoe-lace, and chewing-gum, and corset makers, American industry was aligned, whether for the purpose of procuring goods for the government or offering their trades to be sacrificed in the interests of conservation.

To deal with these war service committees the War Industries Board created as needed new divisions and new commodity sections, under expert manufacturers or statisticians who were required to free themselves from actual business. As the pressure of

⁴⁴ Max Thelen, "Federal Control of Railroads in War Time", in *Annals of the Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, Mar., 1918, p. 17.

⁴⁵ *Official U. S. Bulletin*, Aug. 25, 1917, p. 2; Aug. 28, 1917, p. 4.

⁴⁶ *Congressional Record*, Dec. 16, 1919, p. 694.

⁴⁷ *Investigation of the War Dept.*, pt. 3, p. 1794.

⁴⁸ *Monthly Review of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics*, Jan., 1919, p. 47.

the procurement programme bore more and more heavily upon the total of production, this interrelation of government and industry became increasingly active. Frank A. Scott was forced by ill health to retire as chairman in October, and was succeeded by Daniel Willard, chairman of the Advisory Commission.⁴⁹ On January 16 Willard resigned for the announced purpose of returning to his railroad, and the President after a few weeks replaced him by Bernard Baruch. The letter of the President, March 4, 1918, entrusting the War Industries Board to Baruch, showed a disposition to make the board "the great co-ordinating factor of the government". Each of the other war boards or administrations, shipping, food, fuel, trade, and railroad, was concerned with a specific task. The War Industries Board was to be the "general eye of all supply departments in the field of industry". It was to determine all priorities of production and delivery for American or Allied use. It was to have a voice in the determination of prices, although the Price-fixing Board was an independent organization, and it was to assist in conserving resources, converting them to new uses as well as creating them outright.

The period of delay between the retirement of Willard and the appointment of Baruch as his successor was the darkest period in American participation in the war. The railroad system was clogged; the shortage of fuel was limiting every variety of war production. The submarine was at the crest of its performance, while the promised new ship-yards were at best a promise.⁵⁰ An experienced journalist despondently declared that "We are likely to have fewer new merchant ships on January 1st [1918] than if we had never created the Emergency Fleet Corporation".⁵¹ The aircraft programme was said to have failed. The growing lack of confidence in the effectiveness of the war government was shown by the rise of repeated demands for some sort of war cabinet or munitions ministry. It was not yet clear that the half-dozen war boards or administrations constituted this, for the War Industries Board, which was the central feature of co-ordination, was undergoing reorganization. When Senator Chamberlain declared in a public speech before the National Security League, January 19, that the war government had broken down, the storm of criticism

⁴⁹ David Lawrence, "The New Boss", in *Saturday Evening Post*, Aug. 3, 1918, p. 24.

⁵⁰ A summary of actual dead-weight tonnage delivered to the Fleet Corporation may be found in *Emergency Fleet News*, Jan. 1, 1919, p. 1.

⁵¹ William Hard, "'Expedition' for Ships", in *New Republic*, Dec. 1, 1917, p. 114.

broke out into the open. The President denounced the statement as untrue; and when the Chamberlain Bill for the creation of a munitions ministry was brought into Congress, he countered it with the demand expressed in the Overman Act for a grant of more sweeping powers whereby, for the period of the war, he might be able to break away from the restrictions of the old government, enlarge, merge, or abolish existing bureaus, and transfer appropriated funds as well as authorized functions from one department to another in his discretion.

Within the limits of the army, sweeping changes had already been made by the President in his capacity of commander-in-chief. The functions of the General Staff were reclassified, and related powers that had lost force through diffusion were concentrated in a few great offices. General Goethals became chief of the Storage and Traffic Service on December 28,⁵² while Edward R. Stettinius became surveyor general of purchases, and chief of a Purchase and Supply Division.⁵³ A little later, on April 16, 1918, these two divisions were merged under General Goethals as the Purchase, Storage, and Traffic Division of the General Staff.⁵⁴

When it became clear that no legislation similar to the Chamberlain Bill could pass Congress to impede the actions of the President as commander-in-chief, Willard was replaced by Baruch, and the War Industries Board entered upon the dominant period in its career.⁵⁵ When on May 20 the Overman Bill granted to the President the sweeping powers he demanded, he immediately released the War Industries Board from its dependence on the Council of National Defense, making it a separate and independent war administration.⁵⁶

The structural function of the War Industries Board, which it never fully performed, but towards which it was continually devel-

⁵² General Orders, no. 167, War Dept., Dec. 28, 1917; *Army and Navy Jour.*, Feb. 16, 1918, p. 939; *Washington Post*, Jan. 8, 1918, p. 2.

⁵³ G. O., no. 5, War Dept., Jan. 11, 1918; *Army and Navy Jour.*, Feb. 23, 1918, p. 978; *Washington Post*, Jan. 28, 1918, p. 3; *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Jan. 26, 1918, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *Rept. of the Chief-of-Staff*, 1919, pp. 117-147; General Orders, no. 36, War Dept., Apr. 16, 1918; *Army and Navy Jour.*, May 18, 1918, p. 1441; A. L. Scott, "Procurement of Quartermaster Supplies during the World War", in the *Historical Outlook*, Apr., 1920, pp. 133-138.

⁵⁵ *Second Ann. Rept. of the Council of National Defense*, 1918, p. 127. The functions of the W. I. B. are defined in the President's letter of Mar. 4, 1918. *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Third Ann. Rept. of the Council of National Defense*, 1919, p. 5. With this separation the period of greatest importance of the C. N. D. as an "administrative laboratory" was ended.

oping, was that of clearing the requirements of the military programme in such priority as might best serve the military need, conserve the military productivity of the nation, and maintain the civilian population in a condition of efficiency. The Requirements Division of the board began to operate, with Alexander Legge as chairman, toward the end of March. Here in the theory of procurement, the army, navy, allies, Shipping Board, and Railroad Administration presented their tables of prospective requirements. In the Requirements Division the contracts involved were given clearance in accordance with the system of priorities of the Priorities Board, under the direction of Judge Edwin B. Parker. This board continued to develop and present, as information became available and needs apparent, comprehensive lists of priority, showing the relative importance of industries in the national defense.⁵⁷

In cases of procurement in which the price had a vital relationship to either the production of the goods or the civilian consumption of the surplus, the deliberations of the Price-fixing Committee were drawn upon. Robert S. Brookings as chairman of this body drew his authority directly from the President rather than through the War Industries Board. Much of his data came from the Federal Trade Commission. The committee itself was a representative body including the chairman of the War Industries Board, the Federal Trade Commission, the Tariff Commission, together with the Fuel Administrator and representatives of army and navy, labor, and agriculture. So far as food prices were fixed, they were established through the Food Administration.

As the military programme was expanded through the summer of 1918, the activities of these co-ordinating agencies were progressively increased. On March 20 the President summoned to conference at the White House the chiefs of the six greatest war agencies. Thereafter these met on Wednesdays with considerable regularity; the public press provided the informal group with a name—"the war cabinet".⁵⁸

Other subsidiary functions were undertaken by the War Industries Board as needed. It was necessary to organize commodities sections to assist in the steady flow of goods, and to stimulate the conservation of all of them. Upon the Conservation Division fell the burden of this work, which its chairman, A. W. Shaw, had begun

⁵⁷ *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1918, p. 1; *32d Ann. Rept. of the Interstate Commerce Commission*, p. 4.

⁵⁸ *American Review of Reviews*, Apr. 21, 1918, p. 351; *Washington Post*, Mar. 20, 1918, p. 2; *ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1918, p. 2; *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Mar. 20, 1918, p. 1; *ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1918, p. 1; *London Times*, Mar. 29, 1918, p. 4.

near the beginning of the war through the Commercial Economy Board of the Council of National Defense. The Conservation Division in consultation with the commodities sections, and the appropriate war service committees of the industries involved, worked out schedules of self-denial, curtailing the less essential industries, and producing economies in others through the elimination of non-essential lines. With the assistance of the Priorities Division, which could control the supply of steel as well as the priorities of transportation, fuel, and labor, it was possible to force compliance with the conservation programme. But the evidence shows that the industries concerned, with few exceptions, enforced the programme by voluntary rule.

With all the economies made possible through acute conservation, it was still difficult to meet the procurement needs. In May, 1918, Charles A. Otis organized a Resources and Conversion Section, under which he built up a system of regional advisers and local war-resources committees for the purpose of stimulating the conversion of industrial plants from non-essential manufacture to the filling of military needs. When the conversion of resources proved inadequate, Samuel P. Bush put together the Facilities Division,⁵⁹ in which, through the co-operation of all the agencies of government, plans were made for the actual creation of new facilities for war manufacture.

From an early period in the war the army and navy advanced to contractors for government account a large portion of the purchase price, in order to meet their needs for active capital. There were many other contractors, however, whose needs lay outside the limits of existing law. With the government in the field floating one Liberty Loan after another, the gross resources of available capital became dangerously small. In January, 1918, the Federal Reserve Board organized a series of capital issues committees in the federal reserve districts⁶⁰ to give advice respecting priority of importance among the numerous private appeals for funds. Congress was asked to legalize and strengthen this policy, with the result that the capital issues committees were specifically legalized on April 5, and the War Finance Corporation was created with a working capital of \$500,000,000, and with authority to raise more funds through the issue of bonds.⁶¹ It was intended that the War Finance Corporation should lend these funds not to the manufac-

⁵⁹ *Official Bulletin*, Aug. 27, 1918, p. 3.

⁶⁰ *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, issued by the Federal Reserve Board at Washington, Feb. 1, 1918, IV. 73.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1918, IV. 364.

turers directly, but to the federal reserve banks in order to cover loans made by these banks for the creation of new facilities for war

By April, 1918, most of the distinct agencies of the war government had been created, and many of them were overlapping in their earnestness, and duplicating each other's work as well as that of many of the peace-time departments of the government. Out of one of these conflicts of operation there was developing an agency for co-ordination that began to produce physical results early in the summer. On May 24, 1918, at the time of the separation of the War Industries Board under the Overman Act, the President wrote to Chairman Baruch requesting the preparation of a general conspectus or survey showing the state of progress from time to time in all the fields of activity, military or civilian.⁶²

The conspectus desired by the President was entrusted by Baruch to Dean Edwin F. Gay of Harvard University. Gay had been associated with somewhat similar attempts early in the year. It had been discovered before the end of 1917 that the control of shipping was vital to the success of the war, and that it might be improved or hindered according as there was co-operation or overlapping among the Shipping Board, the War Industries Board, and the War Trade Board.

The United States Shipping Board, responsible for the operation of the ships it commandeered, requisitioned, or built, was bound to study the needs of commerce.⁶³ In February when the shipping crisis was at its crest, the Shipping Board created a Bureau of Planning and Statistics in charge of Gay.⁶⁴ The War Trade Board was at the same time making overlapping studies concerning the control of imports and exports by license, both as to the essential character of the imports and as to the probable destination of the exports. It was wise to conduct this business so as to keep ships sailing with full cargoes, as well as necessary ones. Professor Allyn A. Young and later W. M. Adriance had organized this work, and in February, 1918, it came within the field of interest of Gay, who was designated as the Shipping Board's representative on the War Trade Board, to "devote his attention principally to the consideration of import problems in their relation to the allocation and

⁶² Z. L. Potter, "The Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics", in *Quarterly Publications* of the American Statistical Association, Mar., 1919, p. 275; Wesley C. Mitchell, "Statistics and Government", *ibid.*, p. 227; *Washington Post*, June 13, 1918, p. 1.

⁶³ Horace Secrist, "Statistics of the United States Shipping Board", in *Quarterly Publications* of the American Statistical Association, Mar., 1919, p. 236.

⁶⁴ *Second Ann. Rept. of the U. S. Shipping Bd.*, 1918, p. 74.

conservation of ships".⁶⁵ In the Council of National Defense there had been established at the beginning of the war a division of statistics under Dr. Leonard P. Ayres. A portion of this division was taken into the General Staff and commissioned as the statistical branch, in March, 1918; and the remainder was transferred about June 1 to the newly independent War Industries Board, and became its Division of Planning and Statistics under Gay. Thus, by June 1, Gay was already directing three independent bodies of statistical co-ordination. The Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics was his new agency for the preparation of the periodical conspectus of war activities, in the course of which it exerted quiet pressure to eliminate unnecessary duplication. By the end of the war it was performing real work, and on December 2 it was named by the President as the "authoritative and exclusive source" of economic data for the peace conference.

Between June and September, 1918, the war government reached its full development, upon the basis of "work or fight". This meant, as understood by both the civilian population and the war government, that all activities should be continued or abandoned with reference to the winning of the war. Before it could be attained, it was necessary that labor be brought within the limits of control. Labor in the World War was as much an arm of the military service as industry or capital or trade. The fighting forces were merely the cutting edge of the instrument, whose weight and depth and driving force depended upon the degree to which labor, industry, capital, and trade, were mobilized behind them. The co-operation of labor in this war was offered from the start through the mechanism of the American Federation of Labor, and Samuel Gompers, its chief. As early as March 12, 1917, it produced a general programme of co-operation and fought consistently to counteract the propaganda of the non-war Socialists, whose spokesman, Morris Hillquit, openly declared that "the country has been violently, needlessly, and criminally involved in war".⁶⁶ In close co-operation with the Committee on Public Information,⁶⁷ which the

⁶⁵ *War Trade Board Journal*, no. 7, Mar. 1, 1918, p. 3.

⁶⁶ *Milwaukee Leader*, Apr. 7, 1917, p. 1.

⁶⁷ George Creel was made chairman of this body, and, although commonly regarded as a sort of censor, he interpreted his function as that of procuring proper publicity and the creation of a sound public opinion based upon the facts. Certain powers connected with the censorship of cables were subsequently entrusted to him. The censorship of the press under the Espionage Act, Trading with the Enemy Act, and Sedition Act was entrusted largely to the Postmaster General. *Official Bulletin*, Oct. 27, 1917, p. 3; Creel, *How We Advertised America* (1920).

President organized on April 14, it used the resources of publicity to insure unanimity of patriotic conviction. When non-war agitators organized their propaganda society, the People's Council for Democracy and Terms of Peace,⁶⁸ the Federation organized, as a flying wing to manoeuvre against it, an American Alliance of Labor and Democracy.⁶⁹

Nearly every one of the war boards or administrations found itself forced to establish a labor division and some sort of labor tribunal within its special field.⁷⁰ Commissions and wage boards were numerous and varied. As the winter of 1917-1918 approached, with the conviction general that only through conservation could the war be won, the Department of Labor underwent a searching reorganization in the development of a series of war labor services. A commission of citizens representing the American Federation of Labor on the one hand and the National Industrial Conference Board on the other, brought forward a programme for a National War Labor Board as a supreme court for labor controversies.⁷¹ The assignment of ex-President Taft as one of the chairmen of this board gave a measure for the importance of its problem. A month later a War Labor Policies Board under Professor Felix Frankfurter undertook the task of laying down general rules for the government use of labor.⁷²

The practical problem involved not only the use of labor but also the selection of men for military service. On May 17, 1918, the provost marshal general of the army ruled that deferred classification under the draft should not be allowed to registrants engaged in unimportant work.⁷³ His list of non-essential occupations produced a scurrying of men into real jobs. The completion of the organization of the war boards in the next few months made it possible for the national will to have a chance to be effectively carried out. On August 1, 1918, the United States Employment Service took over the monopoly of recruiting unskilled labor for industry. On the last day of August, Congress, having accepted

⁶⁸ *New York Call*, June 3, 1917, p. 7.

⁶⁹ *Milwaukee Leader*, June 18, 1917, p. 2; *New York Call*, July 31, 1917, p. 4; *New York Times*, Sept. 2, 1917, p. 3.

⁷⁰ *Third Ann. Rept. of the U. S. Shipping Bd.*, 1919, p. 85.

⁷¹ *Washington Post*, Apr. 10, 1918, p. 3; *Congressional Record*, Apr. 16, 1918, p. 5121; *Official Bulletin*, Apr. 16, 1918, p. 8; *Survey*, Apr. 27, 1918, p. 100.

⁷² *Monthly Review of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics*, June, 1918, p. 1418.

⁷³ *Second Report of the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War on the Operations of the Selective Service System to December 20, 1918*, pp. 75-85; *Selective Service Regulations* (second ed., 1918), p. 85.

the programme of eighty divisions for the campaign of 1919, extended the draft ages to include eighteen to forty-five. A few days later the priorities division of the War Industries Board established a minute classification of industries in the order of their military importance and announced that the less important industries need not expect to receive fuel, steel, transportation, or labor until the most important were fully satisfied.⁷⁴

By September, 1918, the organization of the American war government was complete. By the side of the normal civil agencies with restricted powers, it comprised a series of boards and administrations exercising dictatorial authority over economic and social matters.⁷⁵ It marked, in the term of eighteen months, a genuine attempt at a complete transition from the doctrine of individualism and free competition to one of centralized national co-operation which was properly symbolized in the pregnant phrase—"work or fight".

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

⁷⁴ *Official Bulletin*, Sept. 9, 1918, p. 1.

⁷⁵ *Handbook of Economic Agencies for the War of 1917* (monograph no. 3 of the Historical Branch, War Plans Division, General Staff, 1919) is an alphabetical guide to nearly three thousand separate agencies.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS

The Idea of Progress: an Inquiry into its Origin and Growth. By J. B. BURY, Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of King's College, in the University of Cambridge. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1920. Pp. xv, 377. 14 sh.)

PROFESSOR BURY has given us a penetrating analysis, from the point of view of its origin and significance, of one of the fundamental assumptions or preconceptions of modern thought; an assumption taken so much for granted that we commonly ignore its existence. This is perhaps why, in spite of its manifest importance, it has been largely ignored by historians. Much has been written about "progress"; but on the "idea" of progress there is little of value except a penetrating essay by Brunetière and the thorough but somewhat mechanical survey by Delvaille (*Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Idée de Progrès*). Delvaille was prone to identify the modern notion of progress with any or all conceptions of change and improvement; so much so that he finds a kind of theory of progress in the Christian ideal of a future life. This was to defeat the very purpose of such a study by stretching the concept of progress to the point where it included its antithesis. Delvaille's book, as Professor Bury justly says, lacks discrimination.

This is just the chief merit of Professor Bury's book, that it discriminates with fine precision between what is essential to the modern conception of progress and what only superficially resembles it. The modern conception of progress rests on the belief that man can, by taking thought, add a cubit to his stature, or else that a cubit will be added whether he takes thought or not. It rests upon the assumption (1) that nature operates uniformly; (2) that man is, in some measure at least, the product of nature; and (3) either (a) that man can, by mastering the secrets of nature, shape his own destiny in harmony with his desires, or (b) that a natural process of evolution will inevitably lift him, whether he wills or knows it or not, to ever higher levels. Professor Bury shows with succinct perfection that some or all of these assumptions were foreign to classical and medieval thought. Classical thought was incurably pessimistic with respect to the future possibilities of the human race, conceiving that there is no new thing under the sun and that "time is the enemy of man". Medieval thought was equally pessimistic about man, conceiving him so little capable of progress or improvement that it had to bring in Providence, and the specially designed machinery of Church and Empire, to save his soul alive out of

hell. The modern idea of Progress was therefore impossible until the Cartesian and Newtonian philosophy established the notion of uniform natural law, and Locke's criticism of innate ideas, seemed to make man the product of an environment that could be modified and indefinitely perfected with the increase of scientific knowledge. The great aim of the eighteenth century was to shape the ideas, the conduct, and the institutions of men in harmony with "nature"; that is, to discover, by reason, as Voltaire thought, or by consulting the instincts of the heart, as Rousseau thought, or by studying the customs and institutions of men, throughout the world and in the past—by all of these means to discover those ideas and institutions that were most universal and hence most in accord with the "nature" of man. "What I have sought", said Montesquieu, "is man in general." This is what the eighteenth century did—it went about with the lantern of enlightenment in search of man in general, convinced that the perfectibility of particular men depended upon their adopting the ideas and the institutions that were suited to man in general. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars gave most people a marked aversion for man in general. "I have seen Frenchmen, Italians, Russians", said Joseph de Maistre, "but as for man, I declare I never met him in my life: if he exists he is unknown to me." This scepticism was deep seated in nineteenth-century thought; and accordingly, if it did not abandon the dream of progress, it relied for it rather more upon an impersonal historic process, in which the "real was the rational and the rational was the real", than upon the deliberate effort of man to shape his own destiny.

It is possible that Professor Bury has not brought out this difference between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ideas as sharply as it deserves; but his exposition of the significance of the idea of Progress in the history of European civilization is so lucid that it leaves nothing to be desired. It is no accident that the belief in Progress and a concern for "posterity" waxed in proportion as the belief in Providence and a concern for a future life waned; the former belief—illusion if you prefer—is man's compensation for the loss of the latter. "The hope of an ultimate happy state on this planet, to be enjoyed by future generations, has replaced, as a social power, the hope of felicity in another world." Professor Bury might have quoted the pregnant phrase of Diderot: "La postérité pour le philosophe, c'est l'autre monde de l'homme religieux."

CARL BECKER.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: the Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals. By T. F. TOUT, M.A., F.B.A., Professor of History in the University of Manchester. Volumes I. and II. [Publications of the University

of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XXXIV.] (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xxiv, 317; xvi, 364. \$7.00 each.)

THE importance of administration in English history has long been obscured by the prevailing tendency to regard Parliament rather than government as the central theme of national development. And yet it was known to Stubbs, even better to Maitland, that the administrative system contained in the king's household was a seat of power, which was ever the special object of baronial and parliamentary attack. It was also apparent that the king's council was the embodiment of the domestic as well as the feudal principle of government. What then was the king's household and its place in the state during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? It remained for a French scholar, M. Déprez, in a suggestive treatise on the small seals, to point the way to this productive field of research. The study of seals led to records, and the records to official departments, wherein rested the *curial*, in distinction from the public or national, administration. Among several contributions of note, that of Professor Tout, *The Place of Edward II. in History* (1914), gave a forecast of the great work, of which two of the prospective four volumes are now before us. With no claim to the field of diplomatics, it undertakes first a comprehensive survey of the administration connected with the household, and then an intensive study of the inner offices and their methods of business. It opens a new view of English history, and as an authority upon its special subject the work stands alone.

In the discovery and treatment of material the problem in hand differs entirely from that in France, where under an autocratic monarchy a single unified chancery was evolved. The English system, on the other hand, was complex, wherein the king, as if driven from one line of entrenchment to another, set up various departments independent of each other, so that the records of exchequer, chancery, privy seal, and wardrobe are the product of diverse and often conflicting usage. A most valuable feature of Professor Tout's book therefore will be found in the luminous exposition of sources and authorities as set forth in a descriptive chapter on documentary material. Apart from its immediate purpose this should serve as a supplement to every existing guide to the public records. Certain illustrative documents also have been newly printed, among them the earliest wardrobe account (1224-1227), and a household ordinance of 1279. If there be any lack in the use of sources it seems to lie in the Memoranda Rolls of the Exchequer, which every investigator laments cannot be read thoroughly without the aid of printed calendars.

In general the household is depicted as the original home of all departments of administration. By steps barely traceable there went forth first the treasury and exchequer, and later the chancery. But that did

not preclude the king's chamber, the early treasure-room of the household, from continuing its function of receiving and disbursing a considerable part of the royal revenue. The real discovery of the book comes with the wardrobe, which rose from a subdivision of the chamber to be the principal financial department of the household. More mobile than the chamber, it followed the king on his campaigns and so became the special treasury of military expenditures. As the keepers rendered account, an intimate knowledge of its operations is made possible. After the methods of the age, these accounts are precise in detail and full of instructive minutiae, but because of the confusion of arrearages with current items all totals and summaries are misleading. The sums thus handled averaged as much as £50,000 a year in the time of Edward II., but it was impossible for the king himself ever to know the exact state of his income.

• Still more remarkable is the revelation of the wardrobe as a secretarial department in connection with its custody of the privy seal. It was a unique feature of English administration that, instead of a reduplication of the great seal, for the convenience of an itinerant sovereign a lesser seal was adopted. As the chancery was by degrees removed from court, and as it became highly formalized in its operations and even put under constitutional restrictions, the utility of the minor seal was increased, until the two seals were expressive of rival systems. A certain confusion is now eliminated by the discovery that the original keeper of the privy seal was the controller of the wardrobe, who was also known as "secretary" under Edward I. In support of the theory first advanced by Déprez and subsequently disputed, new evidence is adduced to show that there was a method of enrollment of letters of the privy seal (vol. II., p. 80). It is remarkable however that no rolls of the sort have survived, and in view of the fact that letters of the privy seal are more frequently mentioned as kept in files, while writs like the subpoena were expressly objected to on the ground that they were not enrolled (*Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84), we are still free to believe that any enrollment of privy seals was either a temporary or an exceptional expedient. In the case of lesser lords, it is true, letters of both seals were commonly enrolled, but that proves nothing with respect to the king, who alone maintained two separate offices.

With clearness and originality there is apt to be excessive positiveness. In points of controversy the author occasionally falls into the temptation of exaggeration by over-stating an opposing view in order the more sharply to challenge it. Thus the latest historian of the council hardly went so far, in word or intent, as to represent that body as "an executive office" or "a branch of the administration", nor is it to be admitted that the system perfected only in Tudor times was to this extent anticipated (vol. I., p. 11; vol. II., p. 147). Still less satisfaction is felt with the view of Professor Tout himself that "Advisory and

executive functions approach most nearly in the permanent king's council which was *always at his side* to help him in dealing with problems of government. . . . But the real function of the council was to give advice." This appears to ignore the essential fact that the council was at an early date withdrawn from court, and that, while there remained councillors with the king, the principal branch of the organized body was given a home among the courts at Westminster. Its participation in administration and judicature was not the less real by being in the form of advice. The Tudors afterwards reversed this order by reviving and strengthening its connection with the household.

Far from being wholly institutional, the work is replete with biographical notices of bishops, barons, chancellors, keepers, and clerks. It reveals the wardrobe as the particular training-ground of a virtual civil service and an incipient bureaucracy. In the revolutionary period of Edward II. it traverses familiar ground. The net results of the baronial opposition were the depression of the wardrobe, the temporary revival of the chamber, and the removal of the privy seal from court. The further development of the small seals under Edward III. and Richard II. promises to be no less interesting, and the completion of the work to the revolution of 1399 will be eagerly awaited.

JAMES F. BALDWIN.

Codice Diplomatico dei Re Aragonesi di Sicilia, Pietro I., Giacomo, Federico II., Pietro II. e Ludovico, dalla Rivoluzione Siciliana del 1282 sino al 1355, con Note Storiche e Diplomatiche. Per GIUSEPPE LA MANTIA. Volume I., Anni 1282-1290. [Documenti per servire alla Storia di Sicilia pubblicati a cura della Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria. Prima serie, Diplomatica, vol. XXIII.] (Palermo: Boccone del Povero. 1917. Pp. ccxv, 698.)

THE records of the Aragonese dominion in Sicily were once extremely rich, combining as they did the administrative traditions of two of the earliest and most fully developed bureaucracies in Europe, yet such have been the effects of war and transfer and neglect that relatively little remains in Sicily itself. At Barcelona, on the contrary, the archives of the crown of Aragon are, for the last two and a half centuries of the Middle Ages, among the fullest in Europe, as scholars of other countries have begun to learn particularly through the publications of Finke; and all who have had occasion to examine their long series of registers and *cartas sueltas* can testify to their admirable order and no less admirable administration. One could guess in advance that this rich store is the most important source of Cav. La Mantia's stout volume, in spite of his long researches at Palermo and in other Sicilian repositories. The great gap results from the loss of the registers of the Sicilian administration, save for a volume of 1282-1283 which had

the good fortune to be carried to Catalonia, where it was transcribed by Carini and published in 1882, and certain fragments of 1353-1355 discovered by La Mantia himself. His earnest labors to collect the materials for the intervening years will be appreciated by all students of the period.

It is not the editor's fault if his volume brings to light less that is new than does such a collection as the *Acta Aragonensia* of Finke. On the Sicilian side the period of the Vespers and the critical years which follow have been the subject of research from early times to the recent substantial monograph of Otto Cartellieri, while Carini took the freshness away from much of the material in Spain. Only documents of special importance are reprinted, but all are carefully analyzed, with elaborate annotation and citation of modern writers, who are also treated at length in the introduction. One is disposed to criticize the reproduction of no. 13 (*cf.* no. 15) from Rymer's text of 1727, when a photograph could easily have been obtained from the Record Office for collation. There is the usual considerable number of forgeries, chiefly genealogical, which plague every student of the Sicilian charters of the Middle Ages. Legal procedure is illustrated, as well as general diplomatic and military history, and several documents throw light on commercial relations. Perhaps the most interesting texts are two detailed accounts of the receipts and expenditures of the admiral of Aragon for 1283 and 1285-1287, preserved in the archives of the cathedral of Valencia, whence they were printed by Huici in an out-of-the-way Spanish review in 1914-1915. The editor is to be thanked for republishing these, with a more careful text and fuller annotation (nos. 222, 241), as well as a summarized statement of the account, the whole affording an illustration of the enormous amount of valuable information which is still locked up in the fiscal documents of the Middle Ages, and causing us to lament the loss of earlier Sicilian accounts. The receipts cover supplies as well as money, and one item (p. 600) is "from various pirates for the right of the fifth (*quinta*) of the spoil and other property acquired by them in the exercise of piracy".

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Les Étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime. Par J. MATHOREZ, Membre du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques. Tome I. *Les Causes de la Pénétration des Étrangers en France; les Orientaux et les Extra-Européens dans la Population Française.* [Histoire de la Formation de la Population Française.] (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1919. Pp. viii, 437. 35 fr.)

ACCEPTING as conclusively demonstrated by the cumulative evidence of anthropology, ethnology, and archaeology the basic complexity of the French race, M. Mathorez waives the conventional obligation to "begin at the beginning", adjourns the consideration of origins, and,

confining himself to the period following the emergence of the modern nations, addresses himself to a corollary problem, that of showing how the basic conglomerate has been affected by the addition of extraneous racial elements. For such a task he is amply qualified by prolonged and profound research in this special field, the results of which have from time to time appeared in monographs. The present volume is the first of a series which, when completed, will undoubtedly constitute one of the most important and authoritative works on French demography in recent years. Citations in the greatest variety and profusion, from departmental and municipal archives, local histories, family registers, memoirs, university rolls, police records, and a hundred and one other sources, witness to an encyclopedic range of investigation.

"La population française est essentiellement alluvionnaire", says the author (p. vii). The evidence already accumulated and here presented is sufficient to establish the thesis. In this first volume we have traced in minute detail the streams of immigration from eastern Europe, and from non-European races—the more or less continuous flow of Poles, Hungarians, Russians, Greeks, and the intermittent infiltration of Saracens, Moors, Turks, Armenians, Persians, Syrians, "Gypsies", Indians, negroes, and Orientals. From the greatest variety of motives they come: in pursuit of trade; as soldiers of fortune; seekers after learning and culture; on errands of religion; fleeing from persecution; in the train of prince or ambassador; or simply "for to admire and for to see". And each element makes its contribution to the race and its life, and leaves somewhere its mark, in language or lineaments or custom. For France is hospitable, and the French temperament is receptive and assimilative. "The French have never been xenophobes, and very rarely have they manifested nationalism in the special sense which the word has acquired in the nineteenth-century political vocabulary" (p. 132). "There never has been a period of fifty years in which the inhabitants of the country have not undergone a foreign influence which resulted in modifying their tastes and ideas" (p. 129). As to the extent and permanence and the ethnic effects of this influence the author reserves judgment, pending a fuller induction (p. 151). Elsewhere, however, he seems to give a hint of his conclusion: "A people that possesses in so high a degree as ours the sentiment of national unity will have no fear that its genius and traditions will be transformed by the intrusion of some hundreds of thousands of foreigners"; "their invincible faith in the immortality of their fatherland assures them that they cannot be subjugated by even a continuous infiltration of alluvial elements" (p. 132)—no chauvinistic flourish, but sober judgment, corroborated by the observation and experience of everyone who pretends to a knowledge of France and the French.

But however jealously guarding the peculiar treasure of her genius, France has long stood in need of these *alluvions*. "Indispensable to the

vitality of our country", says Mathorez; and, further, "If the kingdom had not continually received foreigners who became merged into the population, one would readily have perceived a considerable diminution in the subjects of the king" (p. 3). There is no more arresting sentence in the entire volume; nor any portion of his work more thought-provoking than that in which the author discusses depopulation under the Old Régime. A people who increased but a million and a half, less than six per cent., in four hundred and fifty years (1328-1778), only 3300 a year! was plainly in need of constant recruitment from without (pp. 16-21). The earlier centuries were seemingly unaware of the drift, or accepted a high mortality with a fatalistic shrug. The eighteenth century had fewer illusions about the "ways of Providence"; philosophers, economists, officials, and churchmen sensed the danger, sounded a warning, and sought for a remedy. A hundred and fifty years before Bertillon, Levasseur, and Leroy-Beaulieu, this spectre of a declining birth-rate was agitating Condorcet, Montesquieu, Mirabeau, and Buffon. No doubt there were optimists then as now, who argued from the continuity of history "France has always been; she will continue to be"; or who counted upon the miraculous gift of assimilation, the "power of France to make French whatever comes to her". *Eh bien*; the problem still remains, and to-day the danger is more acute than ever! It were well for the optimists of the present to ponder the warning of Leroy-Beaulieu: "Dépopulation prochaine ou dénationalisation prochaine de la France, s'il ne se produit un revirement prompt et décisif de la mentalité française, voilà la dilemme; voilà la destinée qu'on peut regarder comme inéluctable" (*La Question de la Population*, 1913, p. 365).

THEODORE COLLIER.

The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: a Study of their Politics, Civil Life, and Government, 1558-1580, from the Fall of the Old Church to the Advent of the Counter-Reformation. By JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S.J. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xi, 387. \$7.50.)

THIS is apparently a scholar's book, and, if we regard the preface as the serious opinion of the author, to his thinking one much needed in a dry and thirsty land where little cultivation had been attempted. Father Pollen informs us that he is attempting to lay down principles, to provide fundamental points of judgment for students and readers, and it is therefore essential to view his volume from a somewhat different point of view than that of a narrative history. The soundness of his assumptions, the critical value of his judgments, are certainly for us to consider. From this point of view, his title and his first sentence will surprise many students. He begins his story with "the fall of the Old

Church in 1558". Obviously the Catholic Church did not fall under Henry VIII.! Does he infer that the Reformation did not begin under Henry? Does he presume that no events of real importance took place before 1558? Does he propose to treat the reign of Elizabeth as the real breach with Rome, and the acts of Henry as an internal reformation within the Church itself? If so, he is laying down a principle in Catholic history which will be new to many and the significance of which will reach far. It is perhaps as well to call attention to the fact that this book bears the official imprimatur of the Catholic Church in England. If this is to be the position of "the English Catholic Church" in regard to the history of the Reformation, it is an exceedingly important position. The first sentence confirms this: "When Elizabeth came to the throne, she found herself face to face with the venerable Church which St. Augustine had founded close on a thousand years before, which had grown with the people and had become an integral part of the national life". Needless to add, there is not a word in that sentence which has not been actively controverted, not merely by Protestants, but by Catholics.

Father Pollen continues his story to the year 1580—"to the advent of the Counter-Reformation". He proposes therefore to regard the militant movement of Allen and the Jesuits as a literal counter-reformation of the Church in England. He tells us that this period marks "the return to life of the Old Church". He infers therefore that what was attempted in 1580 was what actually succeeded. He really proposes to date the continuous history of the Catholic Church now in England from the militant movement inaugurated by Parsons; certainly from the secular movement inaugurated by Allen. His own studies have made clear to us that he realizes, as others have, that in 1580 there was, in the old sense of the word, no Catholic organization in England at all. There were no bishops; no recognition of papal authority in any formal way; and there was instituted at that time merely the missionary organization of the Jesuits and the few seculars. If this be the "return" of the "Old Church", the importance of the acceptance of such "principles" and "conclusions" will be obvious to the least experienced.

If that be his notion of the Old Church, many will question it. And why, again, should he write of the *return* of what obviously does not *continue*? If in Father Pollen's opinion the continuity of life of the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages was not interfered with by the acts of Henry VIII. and by the reform legislation of Edward VI., it is difficult to see the basis of his contention that the real destruction of the Church was accomplished by Elizabeth. That a very real continuity of life among English Catholics persisted from before the reign of Henry to the present day, there are few who will be prepared to deny. The men who believed in the Pope in England in the reign of Elizabeth were numerous, and an actual continuity of Catholic life was a fact.

Father Pollen attempts to show that throughout this period the Church disappeared for about twenty years. Surely there is some difficulty here in his principles, some further need of definition. The majority who have studied the organization of the English Church under Elizabeth have concluded with no great difficulty that the final organization accepted by English Catholics does not date from Elizabeth's reign at all. The historical movement which led actually to the establishment of bishops is more likely subsequent to 1610 than preceding it, and under any circumstances is not, by the majority of secular Catholics, dated earlier than the Wisbech Stirs of the last decade of Elizabeth's reign—a good fifteen years subsequent to the success of the "Counter-Reformation", if that is what Father Pollen means by the word "advent". Certainly, if the life of the Old Church began again in 1580, the secular movement for the institution of bishops becomes a detail of relative unimportance; the true work was already performed. The majority of students have not accepted such conclusions. Protestants and Catholic alike have seen the institution of bishops not established until 1623, and decline to accept the institution of a formal organization of Catholic laymen until the normal Catholic episcopal organization had come into existence.

The real question raised by Father Pollen seems to be: "What is or was Catholic organization and parties in England during the reign of Elizabeth?" If we take the broad sweep of the story and count as Catholics all those who thought of themselves at that time as Catholics, we shall have a very different story to trace than that thus sketched for us by Father Pollen. His title again states, and his preface confirms it, that his book is a study of the "politics, civil life, and government of the Catholics in England". One would expect to find an internal history of Catholic parties with the relationship of Catholic individuals to each other and a reasonably lengthy examination of the extent to which the older episcopal organization, or parish organization, was continued secretly through this period. There is, no doubt, in the book much information which bears on these points, but it cannot be honestly said that Father Pollen has addressed himself consciously to the solution of these issues. He has provided a readable account of the history of these twenty years, dealing with the rising of the North, the Bull of Excommunication, conflicts with foreign Catholics, and the like, from the point of view of the general premises just mentioned. An internal history of Catholic organization such as Father Pollen might write would be exceptionably valuable, but this book does not contain it. One is also led to question somewhat the ultimate designation of the book when one finds Father Pollen feeling it necessary to remind scholars to beware of the summary printed in the *Calendars of State Papers* and to read the manuscripts themselves. The criticism of the editing of the *Calendars* is again gratuitous, if true. The importance of such a volume as

this, announcing such premises and conclusions, from the pen of as well known an author as Father Pollen, is impossible to overstate, but Catholics as well as Protestants will do well to examine what his true contentions are.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Henry Fox, First Lord Holland, his Family and Relations. By the Earl of ILCHESTER. In two volumes. (London: John Murray; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. xv, 365; xi, 391. 32 sh.)

It is not great statesmen always who make political history or shape political standards; and the importance of Henry Fox is well known to anyone familiar with eighteenth-century England. Thus a well-rounded life of the man who with Sir Robert Walpole shares the distinction of having shown the greatest talent in parliamentary management in the days of the unreformed House of Commons fills a patent void in our historical records. The reviewer's own work¹ may perhaps have adequately portrayed his importance, and little fresh light is shed on the Newcastle ministry of which Fox was a main pillar, but the former work was necessarily meagre in its account of the less prominent periods of his career, for a study of which Lord Ilchester has drawn profitably from the Holland House and other manuscripts, inaccessible to the American scholar. The present work is the sixth that has appeared from that marvellous storehouse.

Unlike the reviewer's book, Lord Ilchester's volumes are strictly a biography. One might feel at times that Fox's associates are little more than shadows in the background of the hero's portrait; but the character and activities of the statesman himself are interestingly unfolded on almost every page. The subject is also presented with studied impartiality; and one may even question the statement that "the world regarding Fox as Orford's disciple was prone to view his methods with suspicion". No one, not even Pitt, attacked the corrupt machine-methods of the time, and Ilchester has elsewhere placed the unpopularity of Fox on more solid grounds—his association with the hated Duke of Cumberland, his abandonment of a promising career in order to fill a lucrative position of secondary importance, and, later, his identification with the ministry of Bute. Lord Ilchester, like every good Britisher, is an admirer of Pitt, and deals gently with that staunch patriot's political sins and shortcomings; but Fox himself is, after all, the best *exposeur* of his rival's limitations; and his comparison of Chatham with Sunderland (vol. II., p. 311) is one of the many interesting gleanings from the Holland House manuscripts.

¹ [*Henry Fox, First Lord Holland: a Study of the Career of an Eighteenth-Century Politician*, by Thad W. Riker (two volumes, Oxford, 1911); see *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XVII. 823-824. Ed.]

There is still much to be learned about Fox's early life. Little is known of his youth, or his first marriage (Ilchester even doubts its reality, but wrongly chaffs the reviewer instead of G. E. C.'s *Peerage* for "christening" the lady "Penelope"), or his relations with Walpole, his political teacher. One is a little more surprised that not more is added to our knowledge of Fox's own management of the Commons—especially his work of corrupting it for the Peace. But his activities at the Pay Office, where he (quite legitimately, be it said) harvested a fortune out of an expensive war, are described fully and instructively. In this connection Lord Ilchester makes the interesting point that Fox's determination to keep his position notwithstanding Bute's retirement was actuated largely by the fear that if an enemy became head of the Treasury the intricate machinery for adjusting his accounts might be interfered with under the new paymaster. It should be added that the author acquits him of having used the War Office for personal enrichment.

Despite his garbling of Admiral Byng's defense (which the author has discovered) Fox displayed singular honesty of a certain type. "His promise was inviolable, and men trusted him." His devotion to his family was also proverbial; and much is justly made of his loyalty to his friends—not only his most pleasing trait, but one that stands out the more clearly from the ingratitude of his own henchmen. (It is interesting to notice that Fox came to single out Bute as peculiarly fair and trustworthy.) Some pages are devoted at the close of the book to Fox's taste in art and letters; and the author has discovered that it was his son Stephen, and not Charles James, with whom Voltaire became acquainted. No details of Fox's own meeting with Voltaire have yet come to light.

Restrictions of space prevent even a selection of the new bits of information afforded by these volumes; but the author has certainly accomplished an exhaustive undertaking, and inaccuracies are negligible. The style, though hardly smooth, is not displeasing.

T. W. RIKER.

Geschichte des Neuern Schweizerischen Staatsrechts. VON EDUARD HIS, Privatdozent der Rechte an der Universität Basel. Band I. *Die Zeit der Helvetik und der Vermittlungsakte 1798 bis 1813.* (Basel: Helbing und Lichtenbahn. 1920. Pp. xix, 691.)

THIS volume covers a period which has hitherto been studied more thoroughly in its political aspects than for its legal and constitutional development. The Helvetic Republic was a short-lived experiment born of the French Revolution. The Swiss patriots who called it into being were imbued with imported ideals unacceptable to the mass of the people and ill adapted to the historic situation. A unit state constructed out of unwilling members of an age-long confederation became impossible, and

Napoleon's Act of Mediation restored the old federal system with numerous improvements. The fall of Bonaparte was followed by a period of reaction, then modern liberal movements began again about 1830, leading to the present federal system in 1848.

How much the Helvetic and Napoleonic era contributed to the modern state is a question the answer to which forms a part of the author's task, but his labors are more fully devoted to the sources of the prevailing political theories and to the forms which those principals assumed in the consecutive constitutions which ruled between 1798 and 1813. The story is presented with great elaboration in nearly seven hundred pages, fortified with extensive notes and citations.

The first chapter gives a rapid review of the external constitutional history of the period, showing the relation of the Swiss movement to the other written constitutions of the eighteenth century, and depicting the men and measures which introduced the changes in the confederation. The work then proceeds to consider one by one the great principles of constitutional construction in the twenty and more chapters which follow. This plan causes a chronological retreat for each subject, but without unnecessary repetition. For example, the theory of the balance of powers is traced in the cantons of the old confederation, then in the writings of Locke and Montesquieu, in the American states and the Union, and finally in the constitutions of the French Revolution and Directory. The adaptations of the prevailing theory to the Helvetic Republic and the Napoleonic modifications, both in France and Switzerland, are thus explained in the light of the political thinking of the time on that one theme.

In the same manner declarations of rights, popular sovereignty, representation, the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, equality before the law, religious liberty, freedom of the press, right of assembly, right of petition, the obligations of taxation, education, military service, and other topics are displayed in their eighteenth-century setting. The brief historical reviews of Swiss conditions often reach further back and are particularly satisfactory in the chapters on religion and citizenship. The modern institutions of Switzerland cannot be properly appreciated without a long look into the past.

The author makes no claim that the Helvetic Republic was the beginning of modern Swiss politics, but argues that it opened the way to a new conception of the state as an active force for progress. Hitherto it had been simply the power which retained things as they were, its duties fulfilled in holding on to the past. The unit state was such a political mistake, and made more unbearable by the greedy actions of the French revolutionary missionaries, that reconciliation to the idea of government with progressive duties was long postponed. The men who engineered the Republic had to go into retirement or, like Pestalozzi and Fallenberg, devote themselves to the reform of education, but some

of them lived to witness the movements of 1830 which heralded the liberation of the voter and the enlargement of the functions of government.

J. M. VINCENT.

Lord Grey of the Reform Bill, being the Life of Charles, Second Earl Grey. By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 413. \$7.00.)

THE difficulty before a reviewer in connection with this book is to explain why it cannot be classified readily. It is not a biography of Lord Grey; or at least such an imperfect biography, that it would be unfair to judge of it as in that category. Nor is it a history of the Reform Bill; or at least it is such an incomplete history that it would be invidious to place it in contrast to the well-known standard works on that subject. Being then neither a biography nor a history, its classification must be sought in the circumstances of its origin. Every prime minister of the nineteenth century, save Lord Grey, has earned an authentic, and in some cases what passes for an official biography, within a few years after the close of his career. Lord Grey is singular in having so far been neglected by a political biographer. His character and achievements have been gauged adequately; but they have never been brought within a separate binding, having Lord Grey's name on the outside. It was to end this singularity that Mr. Trevelyan was asked to undertake this book.

The result may be best described as a volume by Mr. Trevelyan with Lord Grey's name on the outside. For the proportion of the text of 369 pages bearing directly upon Grey is too slight to give unity to the whole, and too scattered for focusing into any but a vague image. A little reflection upon the making of the book suggests the conclusion that Grey was rather a shadowy figure in Mr. Trevelyan's mind—shadowy within the living panorama in which Grey himself lived—an era which Mr. Trevelyan sees otherwise with vividness. For Mr. Trevelyan inherits with passionate partizanship the stern, uncompromising Liberal-Radical tradition of the nineteenth century, a tradition which interprets the dark days of Tory reaction and the gloomy ending of the Georgian epoch with an embittered dissent from the orthodox Tory view. It is not the purpose of this criticism to take issue with Mr. Trevelyan upon the merits of the political creed which he proclaims, and which he reads into the period he has surveyed so pointedly. But it is perhaps necessary to explain to intending readers of the book that Mr. Trevelyan writes within the narrow vision of his creed, so that his work has all the intensive force and all the obvious shortcomings of an angry and protesting sectarian, determined to contrive a moral at the expense of a rival tradition. For this is what Mr. Trevelyan's volume really is: an

indictment of Tory administration during the era in which Grey lived—an indictment conceived in the unmeasured violence of a political antagonist.

Anyone whose political convictions are of the same order will find his own views of the period from 1789 to 1832 abundantly fortified by this latest survey. For Mr. Trevelyan, although the unpublished correspondence of Grey gave him little scope for a distinctive contribution from new material, has made excellent use of most of the published works of the last fifteen years—particularly of the three notable books of Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, with their extensive research into the Home Office Papers. Anyone, again, who desires to understand the Liberal-Radical interpretation of this period, particularly its detestation of Pitt, will find this book peculiarly forceful. Anyone anticipating a work of judicious scholarship will probably share the reviewer's disappointment, for the general effect is to make the tradition of Burke and Pitt, of Castlereagh, Canning, and Wellington, appear contemptible rather than intelligible. There will be difference of opinion as to whether or not this was the best service to render to the memory of Grey. Also there will be difference of opinion as to whether or not Mr. Trevelyan's over-emphasis of the personal responsibility of the leaders of Tory reaction does the best service to a present school of statesmanship which, on its historical side, is perhaps too ready to attribute to a few distinguished Tories the original failure to solve the problems of industrial dislocation and class antagonism at their first critical appearance after the Industrial Revolution.

C. E. FRYER.

Brief History of the Great War. By CARLTON J. H. HAYES, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 461. \$3.50.)

THIS is the best single-volume history of the Great War which has so far appeared, and it is one of the very few which deserve serious consideration by professional students of history. It is written with a high degree of scientific responsibility, and not for mere purposes of journalism or propaganda. It covers the entire period of the war from the Serbian note to the Treaty of Versailles with reasonable fullness, and there are not many places where it can be criticized for the amount of space assigned to the various major events. Finally, it is written in a thoroughly readable, not to say spirited style.

Of course whether this volume or any other like it will seem of first-class historical value, a few years from now, remains entirely in the lap of the gods. Not merely will our judgment on a great number of happenings be subject to drastic revision as time inevitably changes our viewpoints—e.g., as to many Balkan, Slavic, or economic matters—but we also are now manifestly at the mere beginning of a long succession

of "revelations", official and personal, which, while they may not swerve our judgment as to the greater things, will assuredly modify current statements as to many important secondary matters. The published apologiae of such worthies as Ludendorff, Tirpitz, etc., are of course mere forewords to many more significant rejoinders by the *advocati diaboli*, while we have hardly as yet received any of the elaborate and less contentious material we shall surely obtain from high British, French, Italian, not to say American, sources. Certainly, too, all our chancelleries will pretty soon become less jealous in safeguarding what were once confidential despatches. The access to power of a strongly anti-Wilsonian administration in this country, or of a pronounced Labor ministry in Britain, would probably be followed by the release of a great mass of diplomatic and even military correspondence, the publication whereof the present custodians would loudly deprecate.

Even as things stand, Professor Hayes seems to have sent away his last proofs before he could make use of such interesting commentaries as Bernstorff's *My Three Years in America*, Czernin's defensive memoirs, or Sir Philip Gibbs's *Now it Can be Told*, with its light upon the seamy side of the war. To take very ordinary events, it does not seem probable that the whole truth about the *Lusitania*, the resignation of Mr. Bryan, the exit of Dr. Dumba, or the inwardness of the Zimmermann note to Mexico has yet been told in this or in any other book. Nor, if we cross the Atlantic, do we feel that we are at the bottom of such problems as why "Tino" of Greece was allowed to stay so long in Athens; why Rumania was cast away in 1916; how far the Teutonophiles around the Tsar intrigued for a separate peace in 1916-1917; what was the part played by the Vatican in the various attempts to rescue Austria from the maelstrom of war; or what was the real story of the rather elaborate peace negotiations in Switzerland during the winter of 1917-1918. As for military matters (to select a random example from a legion) it is still a matter for prolonged argument whether Nivelle was an over-rated braggart or a skillful though unfortunate general.

Such points Professor Hayes in no wise attempts to settle finally, although he usually suggests the current orthodox explanations. However, though it is likely enough that many of his statements are subject to future amplification, they will very seldom need correction. Two thousand years hence sundry pundits will doubtless descant learnedly upon the First and Second Marnes, and upon the dramatic achievements of Ferdinand Foch. The military and political outlines of the Great War can never be essentially different from those the author has given them, and the present age cannot be asked to wait for the philosophic retrospects of a Grote or a Mommsen. It may be safely stated that few histories of our Civil War written about 1867 have stood the ordeal of later revelations and criticism, so well as this history is likely to go through the next four decades.

The story of the war is told in fifteen rather long chapters, interpreted by ten large and thirty-nine smaller maps. The first chapter contains a small section taken from the author's well-known *Political and Social History of Modern Europe* and suggests rather familiar lines of thought, but when the narrative is fairly started the author cuts loose from his earlier undertaking, and writes not a well-balanced textbook, but a really spirited history calculated to appeal to the oft-abused "general reader". The economic factor does not receive the pronounced stress possibly to be expected from a leading member of the so-called "Columbia school", and indeed industrial and economic aspects of the war might well have been developed at somewhat greater length. Such chapters as those treating of the Russian collapse and the great Ludendorff drive in 1918 stand about every test whether considered as scientific or as very well narrated "popular" history.

Almost inevitably the least complete part of the volume is that dealing with the participation of the United States. Professor Hayes had to choose between stating opinions as to Mr. Wilson's policies, our years of neutrality, the League of Nations, etc., which would be pretty sure to offend a large fraction of his readers, whatever views he took, or giving us some rather colorless chapters. He chose the latter alternative, possibly wisely. Theodore Roosevelt, and his service in rousing the nation to its supreme duty at a time when our official leaders sounded no clarions, receives, I believe, only one, entirely passing, reference. It is a reasonable inference that the author is a profound admirer of Mr. Wilson and his policies, and that he is not unwilling to be called an "internationalist", but this is an inference not to be proved by specific texts. Nevertheless it is noticeable how full of freedom and verve is the treatment, *e.g.*, of Kerensky, and how gingerly is that of the "extraordinary opposition [to the League Covenant] from the Republican majority of the Senate". This merely illustrates the difficulty of speaking out one's full mind before one's own countrymen.

As an indictment of Hohenzollernism and its works, and a justification of the Allied and American advocates of "Peace through Victory" this book is invaluable, not because of its epithets but because of its careful and cumulative use of probative material. Thanks to the relatively ample space assigned to diplomatic and political events, and not merely to battles, it is a far more useful general guide to five momentous years of history, than the recent volume of Professor Pollard, about its only serious competitor. There are a few obvious errors, *e.g.*, about the area of Austria (p. 383), but they are of small import.

To sum up: this book must doubtless be rewritten say within five years, but at present it holds practically a unique place for fullness of information, fairness, balance, and accuracy.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

History of the Great War based on Official Documents, by Direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence: Naval Operations. By Sir JULIAN S. CORBETT. Volume I. *To the Battle of the Falklands, December, 1914. Maps to accompany Volume I.* (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xvi, 488, 18 maps. \$6.50.)

ABOUT the ability and knowledge with which this book is written, there cannot be the slightest question. The field covers almost the whole surface of the earth, and describes in detail the simultaneous movements at high speed of ships and squadrons in the North Sea, the North and South Atlantic oceans, the Mediterranean, the North and South Pacific, the Indian Ocean, and the seas that skirt the eastern coast of Asia: and yet the pictures presented are consecutive and clear. The efforts of the author to produce a plain and interesting narrative are ably seconded by the publishers; for the make-up of the book is admirable in the highest degree, and presents a model that makes the work of most American publishers seem crude.

The narrative is arranged in chronological order, as far as possible, and naturally begins with the naval preparations, made before the war.

The author throughout evinces a high admiration for the work of the Admiralty, even before the war, and evidently seeks to impress his readers with the same feeling. In fact, in the opening sentence of his first chapter he says, "Amongst the many false impressions that prevailed, when after the lapse of a century we found ourselves involved in a great war, not the least erroneous is the belief that we were not prepared for it." Yet the statements that follow conclusively show that they were unprepared, though designed to show the contrary. That the author must have realized this himself is indicated by the following sentence on page 3, "It was not for want of study or foresight that we were found unprepared": and though the steps toward preparedness which the author details prove that there was no lack of study, they equally prove that there was a "plentiful lack" of foresight. They show that, although there were numerous committees at work (and at hard work), yet those committees looked ahead so little that, by the time any one of their tasks had been completed, the progress of invention and development had already made their decision inadequate. The committees seem to have been continuously behind the procession of events. In no case among the many mentioned does any committee or any decision seem to have endeavored to arrange to meet the conditions of even the approximate future. Among the many defects in foresight evidenced, the most remarkable are the failure to foresee the development of long-range firing, the submarine, and the aeroplane. The failure to realize the possibilities of the aeroplane must stand for many years to come as the most extraordinary single phenomenon in modern naval history.

A curious omission in detailing the steps of preparation is that of the names of Admiral Lord Fisher and Admiral Sir Percy Scott; for it was the work of these two men that varied the monotony of mere preparation in details (which engrossed the attention of the Admiralty) by supplying the invention needed for devising new and original plans. Sir Julian Corbett unconsciously shows that though much work was done by the Admiralty, it was done with a great lack of imagination and inventiveness. A possible reason is that navy officers, who had been trained in navy work, were put in subordinate positions in mapping out the important problems, and that the ultimate decisions were made by politicians.

That this was probably the case is shown by the difference in ability and results described, when the narrative leaves the Admiralty and goes on board the ships. Instead of dull and unimaginative routine, we see dash and brilliancy: instead of ineptness, we see skill of the highest order. Wherever we see the British navy officer doing what he has been trained to do, the narrative gives us pictures that glow and make our pulses throb. But in these same officers, put in the Admiralty and placed under politicians who control their appointments, and whose imaginations cannot possibly function correctly on naval possibilities for lack of knowledge (but who nevertheless have the *actual* power of decision), we see an almost incredible dullness.

Sir Julian does a great service to naval strategy by giving the weight of his authority to the doctrine that the primary function of the British fleet is to secure the command of home waters for the safety of British coasts and trade, and not merely to "seek out and destroy the enemy's main fleet". His narrative develops this doctrine quite naturally, and shows that fighting is objectless and resultless, unless it is done for a definite cause. Seen in this light, all the operations so brilliantly described in virtually all the waters of the globe appear, not like the meaningless shiftings of bits of colored glass in a kaleidoscope, but the harmonious and correlated movements of the parts of a gigantic organism. In this book literally, "all the world is a stage", and on this stage, a thrilling drama is enacted. The *dramatis personae* are not the little figures of men and women who slowly walk and turn, but ships and fleets filled with human beings trained to destructive tasks, that rush at enormous speed over enormous distances in calm and in storm, in cold and in heat, by night and by day, and decide by fighting of the most strenuous kind the destiny of the world.

In comparison with this book, any other book, even though it deal with mighty armies, seems modelled on microscopic lines. We thrill with the pictures of the fight near Heligoland in the North Sea, and see clearly the tragic fate of the *Cressy*, *Aboukir* and *Hogue*: then we watch the *Emden* on her daring raids over thousands of miles on the Pacific, until destroyed by the *Sydney* in the Cocos Islands. We watch the *Karlsruhe* on her equally dashing exploits in the North and South At-

lantic, till she suddenly vanishes from the surface of the sea after an unexplainable explosion within her. Then we note the gradual imprisoning of the *Königsberg*. Then we watch the unprecedented raids of Admiral von Spee, whose success ended with his victory over the too gallant Craddock in the ill-advised battle that Admiral Lord Fisher entered the Admiralty too late to prevent. Finally, we see the impulse of new life as Fisher re-enters the Admiralty, and the amazing trip on which he sends Admiral Sturdee in the *Invincible* and *Inflexible*, that culminated at the Falkland Islands in the sinking of von Spee's ships, the *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, *Nürnberg*, and *Leipzig*, and the escaping of the *Dresden*.

BRADLEY A. FISKE. •

Aus Meinem Leben. Von Generalfeldmarschall VON HINDENBURG. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1920. Pp. xii, 409. \$3.75.)

HINDENBURG the man, Hindenburg the citizen, Hindenburg the soldier, appear and reappear with varying distinctness and impressiveness in these shifting scenes of an active and eventful life. It was a spring day in the year 1859 when the eleven-year-old youngster bade his father goodbye at the entrance to the Cadet School at Wahlstatt in Silesia, and brushing a tear from his new army coat, stepped alone through the iron gate into the fascinating and forbidding world of the profession of arms. Seven years of rather rough bodily training and systematic discipline, calculated to develop self-reliance and initiative as well as proper subordination, brought him to the first landmark in his career, his graduation on the eve of the war of 1866, and his appointment as a second lieutenant in the 3d Guard Infantry Regiment. As commander of a platoon, he did his part in the battle of Königgrätz, receiving a slight wound and his first decoration, the cross of the Red Eagle. A few years of garrison duty carried him to the opportunities and ordeals of the war of 1870.

With the pick of Prussia's military manhood, still armed with the comparatively short-range needle gun, he charged through the long-range fire of chassepots, across the slopes of St. Privat; stood in the iron ring that closed in on Napoleon III., and by his capture dealt the death-blow to his tottering empire, at Sedan; watched and waited in the throttling, battering girdle that brought Paris, and with it the Thiers republican régime, to submission.

Returning to Germany in 1871, he served with troops until 1873, when he entered the War Academy at Berlin as a student officer. In 1878, being about thirty-one years old, he was transferred as a captain from the line to the General Staff and assigned to the headquarters of the II. Army Corps. This was the beginning of his service as a general staff officer, which, with little interruption, was to continue through the rest of his career. From the headquarters of a corps he went, in

1881, to that of a division, and from there, in 1884, to a company as its commanding officer.

After a year of duty as company commander, he passed from the General Staff into the Great General Staff, and soon afterwards to the rank of major. He now collaborated in the preparation of the first Manual of Field Service Regulations, and in addition to this or other important work, discharged the duties of instructor of tactics at the War Academy. In 1889, he drew up instructions for engineer troops in the field and for the use of heavy field artillery in battle. From these desk duties he was glad to go, in 1893, to the command of an infantry regiment. From 1896 to 1900 he was chief of staff of the VIII. Army Corps, and on account of his long service in this position was excused from the usual tour of duty as brigade commander. From 1900 to 1903 he commanded the 28th Division, and from 1903 to 1911 the IV. Army Corps. With no war or advancement in sight, he applied in 1911 for retirement, and it was granted to him.

On August 22, 1914, Liège had fallen, and jubilations over German successes were spreading over Germany, but the Russians were penetrating East Prussia. Von Hindenburg was asked whether he was ready for immediate active service. He answered that he was, and consequently, at an age when an officer of the United States army is supposed to be fit only for sedentary duty, was placed in command of the VIII. Army, to which the Emperor and the country looked for deliverance and safety from the horrors of a Russian invasion. His career from now on is the story of the war on the eastern front, until August 29, 1916, when he became chief of staff of the army. After that it is the story of the war. It can be followed in the work of von Ludendorff, better than in the one before us. Von Ludendorff is fuller and more definite, and his maps are more numerous and helpful. Von Hindenburg, however, throws a new light on more than one interesting question. He lets us know (pp. 128, 129) that when, in the summer of 1915, von Ludendorff held to his plan of attack, in spite of the fact that von Falkenhayn, chief of staff of the army, had in the name of the Emperor prescribed a different one, von Hindenburg saw what his duty was in the matter; and he would have us believe that he did that duty. But on this point he fails to carry conviction. From the collective evidence of von Falkenhayn, von Ludendorff, and von Hindenburg, it appears that the plan prescribed by von Falkenhayn was not carried out, and that its failure was due to the withholding of forces for use in an attempt to execute the plan of von Ludendorff.

That von Hindenburg and von Ludendorff were later called to take the place of von Falkenhayn, goes to show how the German military machine had deteriorated since the days of old von Moltke and William I. In our comparatively rough-and-tumble struggle of "armed mobs", a Union general was court-martialled and disgraced on an ill-founded

charge of a less serious infraction of discipline than that of which von Ludendorff was primarily guilty, and for which von Hindenburg was principally responsible.

When von Falkenhayn was relieved, the reasons for such action, says von Hindenburg, were not communicated to him by the Emperor (p. 148). It may be inferred that they were made known to him by some one else. However this may be, neither von Hindenburg nor von Falkenhayn has given them to the public. But the attendant circumstances and the subsequent course of operations on the western front make it apparent that the principal reason for the change was the Emperor's disagreement with von Falkenhayn over the general policy for the conduct of the war. Von Falkenhayn was for defensive action with a view to wearing the enemy out. The Emperor still believed, it seems, in the possibility of breaking through the allied lines. He therefore wanted a vigorous, smashing offensive, such as von Hindenburg and von Ludendorff had stood for on the eastern front. One attempt after another to give him such a success ended in failure, and in July, 1918, it became necessary to renounce all further attempts; to abandon the territory that had been gained, and surrender the initiative to the enemy; in other words, to fall back on the methods advocated by von Falkenhayn.

In this last stage of the war von Ludendorff issued a proclamation in opposition to the peace terms proposed by President Wilson. He believed, it seems, that it expressed the ideas of the German government. This paper was submitted to von Hindenburg for signature and was signed by him, without being first signed, as was usual in such a case, by von Ludendorff. After von Ludendorff had signed and issued it, he (von Ludendorff) learned that it did not agree with the views of the government. He promptly withdrew it, but it was too late. The mischief had been done.

Von Hindenburg makes no allusion to this document, but gives the text of a communication which he addressed on the same day, October 24, 1918, to the German Chancellor, calling for all possible reinforcement and moral support of the army (p. 396); in other words, for a *levée en masse*. It is only fair to assume that he had signed the von Ludendorff proclamation without knowing what he was doing. At any rate von Ludendorff, and not he, was held responsible for it. On October 26, the Emperor accepted the resignation of von Ludendorff and declined to accept that of von Hindenburg.

JOHN BIGELOW.

Deutschland und Amerika: Erinnerungen aus dem Fünfjährigen Kriege. Von Graf JOHANN HEINRICH BERNSTORFF. (Berlin: Ullstein und Co. 1920. Pp. xii, 414.)

My Three Years in America. By Count BERNSTORFF. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. 428. \$5.00.)

THE primary purpose of Count von Bernstorff in writing these memoirs is to deny the misstatements, and to refute the charges, concerning his diplomacy made in the writings of his critics and opponents, also those made before the committee of the United States Senate which investigated German propaganda, and before the committee of the German National Assembly which investigated the conduct of the war. That he is largely successful in accomplishing his purpose, save in one important respect noted below, is beyond question.

A comprehensive review of the relations between the United States and Germany before the war serves as a natural introduction to the principal theme. It is in the main a fair and unbiased presentation of the facts, interspersed with sound observations on the character of the American people. The author errs, however, in placing too high an estimate on English influence in shaping American opinion on many matters, cultural, political, and international.

German propaganda in the United States receives a thorough and critical discussion. The fundamental cause of its failure is attributed to a misunderstanding by the Germans of American national psychology. The outstanding trait of Americans is not, in the author's opinion, a cool and calculating business quality, but a great, though superficial, sentimentality. Germany made the mistake of trying to give the Americans the truth about the war, for which they cared nothing, instead of stirring their feelings with tales of suffering inflicted on Germany by the British blockade.

A lengthy endeavor is made under the caption, the So-called German Conspiracies, to convey the impression that no one connected with the German embassy was responsible for the many criminal acts committed here in the interest of Germany. Concerning himself Count von Bernstorff makes the following denial:

I have never taken part in any acts which were in conflict with the laws of the United States. I have neither instigated such acts, nor knowingly aided in their commission by supplies of money or in any other way. I have not in a single instance had previous knowledge of a really criminal act or of the preparations for such an act. I regularly learned of them first through the newspapers (p. 107).

Yet Albert Kaltschmidt, who was convicted on every criminal charge in an indictment of five counts, was paid \$25,000 by a New York bank from a joint account in the name of Heinrich F. Albert and J. Bernstorff. Other evidence, which cannot be adduced here because of limited space, indicates that the ambassador's denial is substantially false. With regard to Captain von Papen and Boy-Ed, both attached to the German embassy, the author conveys the wholly false impression that they had no share in any criminal acts, and pictures them, when recalled, as sacrificed to a defamatory and mendacious press.

In his chapter on the sinking of the *Lusitania* the author takes up

questions of international law and of German policy and these he treats at all times in a masterly manner. He states with cogency and force the case against the United States for submitting to a violation of its rights by England, while resisting the encroachments of Germany, but admits that had Germany not brought on herself the odium of invading Belgium and sinking freight and passenger ships, the course of the United States and of other neutrals probably would have been different, and to Germany's advantage.

In connection with his account of the *Arabic* incident he makes other frank criticisms of German policy, as in his note (August 24, 1916) to Berlin in which he points out that the German government in its submarine warfare committed the error of choosing a middle course, which lessened the effectiveness of the submarine, but did not avert the war with America.

The note from the German government (April 10, 1916) concerning the *Sussex*, which was torpedoed in the English Channel, is called the most unfortunate official document which ever went from Berlin to Washington. President Wilson believed it untruthful and his reply was given the form of an ultimatum concerning which Count von Bernstorff says:

It is my firm conviction that diplomatic relations would not have been broken in 1917 were it not for this ultimatum. In the increased tension of the situation caused by the exchange of notes over the *Sussex* I see one of the most vital causes of the war with America (p. 245).

American Mediation is the title for the longest and most important chapter in the book. It presents a large number of telegrams and reports to and from Berlin which are invaluable in forming an estimate of official German opinion late in 1916, a few weeks before the United States declared war. That Bethmann-Hollweg and other responsible German statesmen were striving for peace and made its attainment a fundamental aim of their policy is evident from these documents. The German Chancellor (September, 1916) urges Count von Bernstorff to hasten President Wilson's proposal for peace; a little later he advises the ambassador to persuade the President to act with the Pope, the King of Spain, and other neutrals in ending the war, predicting that such action could not be repelled by the Entente and would gain for the President a certain re-election and a renowned place in history.

For the historian and student of the war Count von Bernstorff's book has undoubted value. It contains many searching criticisms of Germany's policies, political and military, and many well-considered interpretations of events, founded on a thorough knowledge of international law and relations. It tells much concerning public opinion in the United States, reveals some phases of American diplomacy not appreciated by the American public, and narrates many instructive incidents. Its special and distinctive value is that it gives a lucid, comprehensive, and

detailed account of the relations between Germany and the United States, with a large number of illustrative documents; treats with a fullness of detail not found elsewhere President Wilson's attempt to mediate between the warring powers of Europe, and offers a weighty and convincing defense, fraught with logic and good sense, of the author's diplomacy while ambassador to the United States.

Since the above review was written, a translation of Count von Bernstorff's book has appeared (Charles Scribner's Sons). It is an excellent piece of work, exact and accurate, but not too literal. In spite of some rather clumsy sentences, it can be read with pleasure, because written in pure English, instead of the mongrel language of many translations, with the vocabulary English and the idioms German.

The excellence of the translation may be due in part to the style of Count von Bernstorff; for, unlike many German writers, he does not hide his thought behind dense and complicated entanglements of language, but sets it forth in clear, short, crisp sentences.

E. E. SPERRY.

The Inside Story of the Peace Conference. By Dr. E. J. DILLON.
(New York and London: Harper and Brothers. Pp. xi, 513.
\$2.50.)

THE title of this book is singularly non-descriptive. It has none of the qualities of narrative and every page betrays the fact that the author remained entirely outside the real workings of the Conference. It is in form a series of loose-jointed articles dealing ostensibly with such subjects as the City of the Conference, censorship, the personalities, aims, and methods of the peacemakers, Italian policy, Bolshevism, and the League Covenant. In reality it is little but the rather peevish reflections of a veteran correspondent who, snubbed by the Big Four, found solace in railing at their work in the company of Bratiano and the delegates of the smaller states. His chief complaint is that the Conference was dominated by the ignorant Anglo-Saxon "Duumvirs", Wilson and Lloyd George. The former, he believes, might have aroused the masses of Europe to support of his policy—a policy which Mr. Dillon, in his heart, evidently despises, for in his description of the Rumanian violation of the armistice he is obviously glad "to see the haze of self-righteousness and cant at last dispelled by a whiff of wholesome egotism". But Wilson lacked the courage and his interference ultimately served merely to confuse the settlement, which, the author insists, is based neither upon justice nor upon expediency. The French he attacks without discrimination, whether they oppose or yield to Wilson.

Such an attitude, involving wholesale condemnation of the Conference, is comprehensible, but the author's substantiation of his assertions is so prolix, confused, and apparently dependent upon the merest gossip, that it will hardly carry conviction with the critical reader. He is in-

consistent in his generalizations as to his particulars. Thus on page 274, "Sentiment in politics is a myth"; but on page 284, speaking of Italian policy, "Where sentiment actuates, reason is generally unimportant". He pictures Wilson again and again as the irresponsible master of the Conference, sharing power only with Lloyd George, and as often he emphasizes the defeats which the President underwent at the hands of Clemenceau. On page 185 he complains that Wilson refused to grant the Rhine frontier to France; but on page 188 we find, "whenever Britain or France's interests seemed to be imperiled by the putting in force of any of the Fourteen Points, Mr. Wilson desisted from its application". The author, who obviously never entered the room, pictures the Council of Ten in wholly imaginary fashion sitting around a table with Clemenceau at the head. He lays bitter stress upon the allegation that apart from Mantoux's notes there is no record of what was done by the Council of Four, evidently ignorant of the careful mimeographed reports. He takes as text for an onslaught on the tactics of the chief statesmen an apocryphal rebuke administered by Clemenceau to Bratiano (p. 236), the falsity of which the reviewer can attest. And if Mr. Dillon insists on substituting gossip for fact, it is a pity to take the point out of Clemenceau's witty epigram on Klotz (p. 423), which may or may not be authentic. Constant use of the *Chicago Tribune*, the Paris edition of the *Herald*, and the *Echo de Paris*, explains, perhaps, misstatements too numerous to list. It is not true that the Polish Commission was dismissed unheard (p. 105); nor that the leading statesmen were opposed to a plebiscite in Teschen (p. 191); nor that two American censors concealed from Europe the opposition to Wilson in the United States (p. 119); nor that when "Italy invoked self-determination she was promptly non-suited" (p. 313); nor was it in March, 1919, that "Wilson hit upon the expedient of linking the Covenant with the Peace Treaty" (p. 141). With all respect to Mr. Dillon's experience, he has written a misleading book.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Africa and the Discovery of America. By LEO WIENER, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures in Harvard University. Volume I. (Philadelphia: Innes and Sons. 1920. Pp. xix, 290. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR WIENER makes in this work another contribution to the rising tide of books relating to the earliest history of the New World. He approaches his subject along the less popular and, it must be affirmed, less certain path, that of philology.

The reviewer has always been suspicious of the "last word" treatise, and he was not a little shocked to find that Professor Wiener's studies

led him to conclude "that American Archaeology was to a great extent built on sand".

He tells us that he has undertaken to show in this his first volume—a second will relate to African fetichism—that the negroes, that is the Africans, have had a far greater influence upon the civilization of America, beginning with the discovery of Columbus, than has ever been suspected, and he proceeds to demonstrate this in a somewhat disconnected treatment, primarily from a philological standpoint.

It is unfortunate that one so well trained in this field of study should not have undertaken to present his material in a more logical and readable manner. He is not always convincing, and is often dogmatic.

The reviewer regrets that his space does not permit numerous citations. Let us note first, as an example of the author's treatment, the word "Lucayos", not one which originated with Columbus though it appears in his Journal entry of October 11. "The word does not occur again in any of the writings of the first voyagers to America." It however does appear on the early maps as "Jucayos" and "Yucayos", but of this the author appears to be ignorant. It is hardly convincing to derive "Lucaies" from the semiuncial writing of the word "Indies" as it appears on the Catalan map of 1375, which is cited as directly or indirectly influencing Columbus, though we may write or print the word in "Gothic type". The same point may be made as to the derivation of the word "Guanahani" or "Gwanahim" from "Giaua min." (Java Minor) as on the Fra Mauro map.

If there is any substantial reason for affirming that Columbus had with him other than a sailor's chart, a portolan chart on which islands to the westward were laid down, it has yet to be advanced. Why imagine that Columbus had the Catalan, the Fra Mauro, or the Albertin de Virga, or a derivative of either? Such maps were not then copied and passed around, so far as we have any knowledge.

Many of the author's analyses of words but remotely suggest that his theme is "Africa and the Discovery of America". In his treatment of his subject he has drawn for his first chapter from the Journal of the First Voyage and the First Letter of Columbus; in his second chapter from the accounts of the Second Voyage; in his third chapter we are introduced to a consideration of the original home of Tobacco, and this he traces to Africa, finding philological and archaeological support for his theories, while his fourth and concluding chapter deals with the origin of the several bread roots, including sweet potatoes, yams, etc.

The work contains an extensive list of sources quoted, and no fewer than twenty well-selected illustrations largely archaeological in character.

E. L. STEVENSON.

Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-1758. By J. S. McLENNAN. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1918. Pp. xi, 454.)

THIS weighty volume was printed in the spring of 1914, but the Great War held up publication until late in 1918. It will not interest a lazy reader. It is the kind of book that will be most acceptable to the historical scholar, to whom it will be not only an interpretation but also a source-book for the forty-five years of history of the seat of French power on the North Atlantic coast of America. The author states that his "work is intended to present in detail the economic and administrative history of the colony, as well as to bring that history into harmony with the wider outlook on the events of the time". He has studied an immense mass of documents in French and English documentary repositories, as well as those at Ottawa, Boston, and other places in America. He has verified the documents, or citations from them, which other authors have used, and when he himself cites the works of modern authors he does so by endorsement and because he believes their books, being so far trustworthy, are more accessible than the original sources. His own volume is replete, however, with the texts of most important documents and contains as well reproductions of numerous old views and prints. Specially important are maps and plans never before reproduced, such as large maps relating to the sieges of 1745 and 1758, taken from originals in the Section Hydrographique, Marine, at Paris, and a pleasing colored folded view of Louisbourg in 1731, from the original manuscript in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. Some of the chapters of the book have documentary appendixes, but particularly pages 315-439 consist of fourteen appendixes of documents, rosters, ships' lists, population tables, trade and economic data, and numismata. An index fills pages 441-454, but is unsatisfactory. Unfortunately there is no table of contents.

McLennan says with respect to his work: "Some of the views presented differ from those usually taken of this period and the events herein dealt with." The relative success of the French fisheries, as compared with those of New England; the lack of efficiency and armament in British outposts, and the slackness of some of their officers; the origins of the expedition of 1745 and the importance of Pepperrell in securing its adoption by the legislature of Massachusetts, are instances in which the views presented "differ" from those he held when he began his study of the original documents.

The first chapter recounts the manner in which Cape Breton Island was first settled; an appendix to it is a good anonymous French memoir of 1706, on the advantages of commerce and the fishery. The second chapter tells about the conflicting ideas regnant as to preferential settlements, the proposed removal of Acadians to Cape Breton, and the

decline of Louisbourg under maladministration in 1715. The third chapter shows the direction of affairs in 1716 by the Navy Board, in the Regency that followed the death of Louis XIV. The object of this administration "was to establish at Isle Royale a flourishing settlement based on its principal industry, the fisheries, and the development of the other resources of the Island, and an *entrepôt* at which the commerce based on these industries might be carried on with France, the West Indies, and Canada". In 1717-1718 conditions were desperate and food was almost gone. Drink was "the chief drawback to the prosperity of Louisbourg". Efforts to curb the evil made little impression. In 1719 Louisbourg was chosen as the capital. Chapter IV. is devoted to the disputes between the English and French over the Canso (Canso) fisheries, and an Indian attack there in August, 1720. Chapter V. deals with the economic status, illicit trade (1720-1728), smallpox epidemic, and famine (1723-1733 and 1737). In 1738, the codfishing industry had a value of three million livres. Chapter VI. describes in detail the finished fortification of Louisbourg, the conditions of population, and the variability of the climate. Between 1739 and 1743 food had again become scarce and the fisheries were a failure (chap. VII.). The outbreak of war in 1744 and the operations against Canso and Louisbourg, together with the state of the military resources of the latter, Pepperrell's influence and Shirley's activity in setting up the expedition of 1745, and a detailed account of the siege and capture of the town, are given in chapters VIII.-X. Notice should be taken of the documents relating to the capture of the *Vigilant*, etc., in the appendix to chapter X., as well as naval documents attached to chapter XI. The fisheries and commerce during Drucour's administration are recited in chapter XII.; the second English siege and capture in 1758, and Boscawen's relation thereto, with naval documents in appendixes, make up chapters XIII. and XIV. The demolition of the fortress and defenses was proposed by Pitt, February 9, 1760. The last chapter (XV.) is an analysis of the causes of the failure of French colonial administration and of the importance of sea-power in colonization.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies. By CHARLES HARTSHORN MAXSON, Assistant Professor of Political Science in the University of Pennsylvania. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1920. Pp. vii, 158. \$1.25.)

To the work done long ago for New England by Tracy's *Great Awakening* Professor Charles Hartshorn Maxson adds a study of the awakening of religious passion in the Middle Colonies, using not only the materials found in books and pamphlets, but also newspapers and manuscript sermons and records. The situation with which he deals

differed markedly from the homogeneity of race and ecclesiasticism found in New England. He has to study movements among elements of diverse tongue, Dutch Reformed, Irish Presbyterian, groups transplanted from New England, and Germans who were divided as Lutheran, Reformed, Mennonite, Dunkers, Moravian. His effort is to show that, apart from the rather late extension of the Edwards revival to Long Island and northern New Jersey, there were three contributory sources for the movement, all earlier than the New England revival. German, Dutch, and Scotch-Irish revival beginnings, independent in origin but affecting one another, made the country "ready to be swept by a wave of emotionalism, if only a leader could be found who was broad in sympathy, deep in emotional experience, and commissioned by a prophet's gift of utterance. This leader was found in George Whitefield." Mr. Maxson then proceeds to show the fusion of the various currents into an interconfessional movement under Whitefield's dominating influence, the triumph of evangelicalism in spite of various schisms, the work of Whitefield as a great Pacifator, and the transformation of the religious energies thus liberated into forces social, humanitarian, educational, and political.

Not all of these intentions are satisfactorily developed. We have abundant grounds for recognizing in the fervent missionary spirit of "evangelical" religion a source of humanitarian enterprises—German, English, and Scottish history demonstrate this—but Mr. Maxson has a meagre showing of results in America. We should like also to see the evidence that Princeton, Dartmouth, Brown, Rutgers, and the University of Pennsylvania were "direct fruits of the revival". It is maintained, not demonstrated, and when the Shepherd's Tent at New London is counted as proof of the revivalists' zeal for education our confidence is weakened. It was missing a good chance, also, not to do something more like demonstration with the interesting view that the Awakening prepared the way for the Revolutionary War by establishing community of feeling among Calvinist churches and uniting them against the English Church, creating a spiritual union prophetic of political union.

The leading value of the work is in its account of the initial influence of Frelinghuysen and the Tennents and the unifying rôle taken by Whitefield, and we can only regret that the initiators have not been explained. What we call the Great Awakening was American participation in an international and interdenominational movement, and it is of interest to discover the channels by which this energizing of religious sensibility spread from land to land. Frelinghuysen brought the enthusiasm from Holland, but Mr. Maxson does not particularize as to influences quickening him in formative years. The older Tennent had been a priest of the church in Ireland; what shaped him to his new career? The spiritual impetus was brought to the Middle Colonies from Europe

and Mr. Maxson surmises that a knowledge of German Pietism such as Cotton Mather shows may have contributed to the revival efforts of Edwards in 1734. This surmise is precarious in view of Edwards's silence on the point in the letters to Erskine where he shows himself aware of the international aspect of the Awakening, but it is probable enough that there were preparations for the seemingly sudden social change to powerful emotional experiences. Like most of his predecessors, Mr. Maxson exaggerates the emotional apathy and routine observances of the churches before the revival excitement. New England, however, was reading and republishing Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* and when Mr. Maxson characterizes the new evangelical piety of the Awakening as "the life of God in the soul of man", we remind ourselves that the work of Henry Scougal, from whom the phrase comes, was republished in Philadelphia in 1725 and again in 1730. Scougal's conception of religion was, to be sure, remote both from the revivalist conversion type and a passionless doctrinal orthodoxy, but the interest in it may imply that preparations for a time of vivid personal experience were not limited in the Middle Colonies to the preaching of Frelinghuysen and the Tennents.

The interesting chapter on Whitefield the Pacificator emphasizes amiable and generous traits of the great preacher and his willingness to correct his own errors. Enthusiasm for this hero, however, makes Mr. Maxson a partizan in the conflicts of the time. It is not a discriminating historian who speaks of Whitefield's critics as gnashing their teeth at him or pronounces Whitefield's attack on the tutor of Harvard College a censure well deserved. He reduces to passing mention certain hysterical and pathological phenomena. He speaks of "the excesses of a few under the frenzied leadership of Davenport", but in other references takes Davenport under his protection. Judging by his account we are to believe that revival methods in the Middle Colonies were relatively free from the extravagances which discredited and checked the movement in New England.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

History of Journalism in the United States. By GEORGE HENRY PAYNE. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1920. Pp. xx, 453. \$2.50.)

WHEN colleges and Chautauquas established educational gateways into the profession of journalism, they created a demand for instruction in the history of that profession. Obviously the preparation of a course of lectures on such a subject inevitably suggests the publication of a book. Such was the genesis of Professor J. M. Lee's volume on the *History of American Journalism*, which was published in 1917. Mr. Payne's book springs from a similar origin, since the author recently lectured upon this topic at Cooper Union.

In narration, this book compares favorably with its predecessors. The story is compact, but it moves to a lively tune, and is widely allusive. The personal human interest is widely kept in the foreground, and Mr. Payne reveals a keen perception of the dramatic values of his subject.

The index is satisfactory. There is a good bibliography, for which the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. James W. Davis. It covers twenty-nine pages. It is gratifying to find the local histories of nineteen states listed, and surprising that others are not mentioned at all. Among recent important books one must note the omission of John L. Heaton's *Story of a Page; Thirty Years of Public Service and Public Discussion in the Editorial Columns of the "New York World"* (Harper, 1913). Henry Watterson's reminiscences are also overlooked, though Mr. Payne quotes "Marse Henry" in the text.

There are nine appendixes, the most interesting of which are William Cullen Bryant's Index Expurgatorius of words, and Horace Greeley's letter declaring his political independence of Seward and Weed.

It is at times uncertain whether Mr. Payne is writing a history of journalism or of democracy. He visualizes the two as the legs on which civilization marches forward, and his story relates to political journalism only. Of journalism as a business, of commercial and industrial journalism, of religious and scientific journalism, this book shows no trace of remembrance. The figures which Mr. Payne projects upon the screen, as the dominant men of the profession, are crusading political and professional reformers and partizan editorial writers. He goes so far as to say that the greatness of journalism is due to the spirit of such men as Lundy, Birney, Lovejoy, and Garrison. Perhaps it is still open to debate whether journalism should be primarily concerned with the discovery and dissemination of news, or with the advocacy of beliefs.

This book would be described with more precision if it were entitled "Relations between Journalism and Politics in the United States from Colonial Times to the End of the Civil War Period".

In a sufficiently leisurely manner Mr. Payne surveys the beginnings of journalism in the colonies, and thereafter keeps rather closely to the well-beaten path that leads around Newspaper Row in New York City. This course is commendable if one is to write some interesting lectures, introducing to the study of journalism as a profession, but it is not likely to produce an adequate history of that profession, dealing justly with all sections of our country.

Here are 382 pages of text, and virtually one-half of them are devoted to journalism prior to 1800. The next sixty-five years claim 135 pages, and the story is well told, with the spot-light lingering on Cincinnati, Washington, and New York, chiefly on the last named. This arrangement of space leaves only fifty-eight pages for the period from

1865 to 1920, the period of Dana, Nelson, Watterson, and Ochs, of Pixley, Otis, Grady, Pulitzer, and Hearst, the period of the extraordinary development of Melville E. Stone's great news-gathering association, and of its rival, the United Press. Should not this emphasis be exactly reversed? Colonial journalism might be estimated in fifty-eight pages. After all, the Zenger trial looms larger in the history of law than in that of journalism. Two hundred pages would be none too many for the survey of the growth of journalism during the last fifty years.

In passing, it may be worth while to question whether Franklin's literary debt to Addison was important enough to justify a triple repetition of it (pp. 31, 32, 44). Among the typical journalists of our day, above-mentioned, Mr. Payne ignores Pixley, Otis, and Ochs. So far as this book is concerned, the latest event in the history of journalism on the Pacific coast is the murder of James King of William in 1855. Mr. Payne is aware that Hearst (upon whom his glance falls kindly) came from California, but Brisbane is barely mentioned, and Grady is equally evanescent, in a foot-note. Col. M. H. DeYoung, of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, will scarcely believe that a book on the history of journalism could be written without alluding to him, but Mr. Payne has done it. John W. Forney's name is twice mentioned as important, but no one can find in this book the reason why.

The question of the ownership of newspapers, either in the form of a chain of them possessed by one man (Hearst is not the only multiple journalist), or as a part of the battery of some syndicate, is not touched by Mr. Payne, nor does he consider the problem of advertisements. He makes no reference to Mr. Stone and the Associated Press, nor to the United Press. Recently, a well-known Socialist has published a furious indictment of the Associated Press and of leading newspapers in various sections of our country on the ground of alleged injustice, suppression of facts, and downright falsehood. No one would learn from Mr. Payne's book that there is a Socialist press, or a Labor press, or that anyone harbors serious grievances against the institution of journalism as now established and conducted.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

John Marshall and the Constitution: a Chronicle of the Supreme Court. By EDWARD S. CORWIN. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XVI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. ix, 242.)

The Fight for a Free Sea: a Chronicle of the War of 1812. By RALPH D. PAINE. [*Id.*, vol. XVII.] (*Ibid.* 1920. Pp. xi, 235.)

Pioneers of the Old Southwest: a Chronicle of the Dark and Bloody Ground. By CONSTANCE LINDSAY SKINNER. [*Id.*, vol. XVIII.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. xi, 304.)

The Old Northwest: a Chronicle of the Ohio Valley and Beyond. By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG. [*Id.*, vol. XIX.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. x, 220.)

The Reign of Andrew Jackson: a Chronicle of the Frontier in Politics. By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG. [*Id.*, vol. XX.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. x, 249.)

THE volumes in the *Chronicles of America* are attractive, though that is not their only claim to consideration. Those before me are a joy to look upon and a joy to handle. They are as a rule unusually well written. If history must be made pleasing, these volumes satisfy. It seems also that the abundance and appropriateness of the illustrations form almost a contribution. There is here a collection of well-selected engravings, of portraits, paintings, and drawings running through the fields of American history which general reader and scholar alike can appreciate.

The writer thinks also that the editors deserve commendation for their skillful division of the field of American history. They have shown cleverness and originality in the selection of topics for volumes, and have afforded opportunities for discussions not readily found elsewhere.

The volumes before the reviewer were all worth writing. The best from the point of view of critical scholarship is the first, Professor Corwin's *John Marshall and the Constitution*. The editors are not always as fortunate in the selection of authors as in the case of Professor Corwin. His studies in constitutional interpretation, long continued, enable him to speak with authority when he unfolds and analyzes the constitutional opinions of the great jurist who here furnishes his theme. Although Corwin has made large use of the monumental work of Beveridge in his hunt for facts, his scholarly training enables him to be more penetrating than the distinguished biographer, more incisive, and more authoritative as a critic.

Birth in the up-country would not account for Marshall's nationalistic views. Jefferson and Calhoun were both up-country men. The reading of Pope's *Essay on Man* may have had effect, and the joint acquaintance of Thomas Marshall and his son John with General Washington no doubt operated powerfully on the mind of the young soldier and lawyer. Professor Corwin is willing to admit that Marshall's investment in the Fairfax estate, "though it did not impart to his political and constitutional views their original bent, yet must have operated more or less to confirm his opinions" (p. 44) and "to keep alert his natural sympathy for all victims of legislative oppression" (p. 45).

Though an admirer and eulogist, in the way of biographers of John Marshall, Corwin nevertheless can give due honor to his great antagonist (see p. 55).

The author evidently thinks that the power of the court to overthrow legislative enactments on the ground of unconstitutionality was both intentionally conferred by the Fathers and deducible by inevitable logic from their language. His discussion of this theme, however, lacks the sweep and strength of McLaughlin's treatment in *The Courts, the Constitution, and Parties*. It is keen, however, and scholarly. It would seem that it would be worth while mentioning that Marshall's great teacher, George Wythe, was a staunch upholder of the doctrine of judicial supremacy, in *Commonwealth v. Caton* putting it forward with impressive language. Corwin's discussion of Marshall's method in *Marbury v. Madison* shows how the Chief Justice, by taking various questionable and untenable attitudes, found a way to lecture the President (Jefferson) and to establish this doctrine of judicial supremacy over the acts of legislative bodies. Indeed, Corwin presents Marshall's opinion (not by way of censure) as "a political coup of the first magnitude" (p. 66).

As a matter of fact Marshall refused to regard his office merely as a judicial tribunal: "it was a platform from which to promulgate sound constitutional principles". Marshall could have decided all of his great cases on comparatively narrow grounds but he believed in this mission and was a great debater. His weapon was the "*obiter dictum*—by whose broad strokes was hewn the highroad of a national destiny" (p. 123). The most brilliant passage in the book is that in which the author presents this view of Marshall's "profound conviction of calling" and the course and methods which it led him to pursue.

Professor Corwin's book is deserving of a more complete analysis than the limitations of space make possible here. Holding that Marshall's reading of the Constitution "may be summarized in a phrase; it transfixed State Sovereignty with a two-edged sword, one edge of which was inscribed 'National Supremacy' and the other 'Private Rights'" (p. 173), Professor Corwin describes and examines the famous cases and decisions. Criticizing the behavior and riddling the opinions of the Chief Justice in the Burr trial, Corwin says, "Marshall's conduct of Burr's trial for treason is the one serious blemish in his judicial record" (p. 111). *Gibbons v. Ogden* "is his profoundest, most statesmanlike opinion" (p. 137). Professor Corwin is very free and sharp in his criticism, but usually finds a way of claiming that the decision was not so bad after all, and is unshaken in his conviction of the magnificence of the service, abilities, and character of the famous jurist. And most will agree with him that "there is no fame among American statesmen more strongly bulwarked by great and still vital institutions" (p. 230), and

that "his judicial statesmanship finds no parallel in the salient features of its achievement outside our own annals" (p. 231).

Ralph D. Paine's essay on *The Fight for a Free Sea* is an account of the War of 1812. The title indicates Mr. Paine's interpretation of the second war with England. "'Free Trade and Sailors' Rights!' was the American war cry. It expressed the two grievances which outweighed all others—the interference with American shipping and the ruthless impressment of seamen from beneath the Stars and Stripes" (p. 3). On this, the orthodox theory, no wonder Mr. Paine has difficulty in making clear why we should have declared war on England alone, when the offences of France against American commerce were equally high-handed (p. 3) and finds it strange "that those States which had seen their sailors impressed by thousands and which had suffered most heavily from England's attacks on neutral commerce should have arrayed themselves in bitter opposition to the cause and the Government" (p. 8). As a matter of fact the less interest statesmen and citizens had in the "Fight for a Free Sea", the more eager they were for war. Back-countrymen and westerners, Indian-fighters, fur-traders, landhunters, expansionists, who believed that the territory from the Gulf to the "regions of eternal frost" should belong to the Americans—these were the men who took things into their own hands, for reasons of their own, and declared the war against Great Britain. However, it is Mr. Paine's function not to expound the causes of the War of 1812 but to tell the story, and this he does right well, particularly when he gets away from the fight these westerners were making for Canada, and comes into the field of his own enthusiasm, the story of the cleverness, skill, heroism, and service of American seamen. What the privateers did he has discussed in another volume of this series, *The Old Merchant Marine*. Mr. Paine narrates with conviction and interest the story of what a navy which had been "neglected and almost despised" was able to do to redeem American honor.

Writing in the midst of the Great War, the author could not avoid pointing out to us how "sons of the Canadian militia and the red-coated regulars of the British line, sons of the tarry seamen of the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière* stood side by side as brothers in arms to save from brutal obliteration the same spirit of freedom", nor to keep his pen from contrasting whenever possible the spirit of humanity and the generosity shown vanquished seamen on both sides in the sea battles of 1812 with the inhumanity and barbarity exemplified by the submarine commanders acting under the naval code of Germany.

In *Pioneers of the Old Southwest*, Miss Skinner writes in a fascinating way about the settlement of the "Back Country" of Virginia and North Carolina, and the founding of Kentucky and Tennessee. She is a good illustration, as to a certain extent Mr. Paine is, of a type of writer whom the editors of this series have selected. Miss Skinner is a

newspaper and magazine writer, dramatic and musical critic, and playwright, not particularly associated with the development of historical scholarship. However, assigned a topic which appealed to the story-writer's and dramatist's instinct, she has succeeded much better than would have been expected or than this reviewer thought she had done in the first examination of her volume. It is true that at times she has allowed the imagination rather free rein and has overdone "we think", "prefer to picture her", "what does she see when she looks at him?" and the like. The rhetoric may be occasionally a bit exuberant, but none can deny that she has presented a reasonably truthful and worthy story of the eventful days and stalwart people whom she describes. She has made good use of "the writings and journals of pioneers and contemporary observers", quoting from them with effect. The Scotch-Irish, with their "passion for a whole freedom", keeping the Sabbath "and everything else they could lay their hands on", pushing on through Pennsylvania, through the Shenandoah valley of Virginia, on to the Yadkin of North Carolina, met others who entered through Charleston, also bold and hungry after land. They made a religion of everything they undertook, and regarded civil rights as divine rights. It does not seem, however, that Miss Skinner ought even to be tempted to claim on the basis of the "Mecklenburg Declaration" that they were the first to declare for American independence (p. 7). The Scottish Highlanders, somewhat overlooked in American history, and the Germans, the Pennsylvania Dutch, the "second largest racial stream which flowed into the Back Country of Virginia and North Carolina", are also given their full place. These various racial elements, Scotch-Irish, Highland Scots, Germans, founded in the up-country a civilization very different from the somewhat aristocratic life of the tide-water, a difference due not alone to difference in racial origin, for men of English origin also poured into this region, but due also to the fight with the Indian, the wild animals, the obstacles of nature. The author, though general, is successful in the chapter portraying the "Folk-ways" of these people (chap. II.). She is more particular in her discussion (chap. III.) of "the Trader", "America's first magnate of international commerce", the pathfinder and forerunner.

Other chapters tell the relation of the Back Country to the French and Indian War, narrate the adventurous story of Daniel Boone, the wanderer, describe the history of the Transylvania Company, the ambitions and errors of Judge Richard Henderson. The early history of Tennessee is revealed in the careers of two friends, James Robertson and John Sevier. The climax of the story is reached in the account of King's Mountain. "King's Mountain was the prelude to Cornwallis's defeat." It "broke the Tory spirit". "It was the pivot of the war's revolving stage which swung the British from their succession of victories towards the surrender at Yorktown" (pp. 221-222).

The *Old Northwest*, by Frederick Austin Ogg, tells again and well the story of the territory north and west of the Ohio River from 1763 to the territorial organization of Minnesota in 1849. Mr. Ogg tells it in a moving way, with more than the usual emphasis on the "life and spirit of the people." It is the story of English efforts to handle the problem of Indian relations and the organization of the Western region; of Indian wars and Indian struggles to retain the lands which were bandied about from nation to nation and occupied by white men with slight regard to the red men's rights or ambitions; of the American Revolution as it affected the region south of the Great Lakes; of the War of 1812 and the activities of western militiamen; of the westward tide of immigration, the building and organization of territories and commonwealths.

The Indians did not welcome the transfer of the Western country from France to England, hence Pontiac's conspiracy. Even Benjamin Franklin, although, unlike many, he conjured up "a splendid vision of the western valleys teeming with a thriving population", thought this dream would not be realized for "some centuries" (p. 22). The proclamation of 1763, in restricting settlement of the Western region, angered those who did not defy it; the Quebec Act, by incorporating the region running south to the Ohio into the province of Quebec, in which French institutions were properly allowed to prevail, became a revolutionary grievance.

George Rogers Clark with surprising vision and undaunted courage wrested the northwest region from English military control in 1778 and 1779, and John Jay, with similar vision and courage in the statesman's field, broke instructions to make sure that Spain and France did not in the treaty of peace have this land turned into an Indian territory. The statesmanship of the American Revolution was at its best in laying plans for the development of the Western lands. The states surrendered them, the Congress pledged their disposal for the common benefit and their creation into republican states, and in the ordinance of 1787 laid down admirably fundamental principles and plans of government. Mr. Ogg strangely does not mention the significant ordinance of 1785 with its land system and provision for education. The defeat of Tecumseh and the War of 1812 removed both the "British menace and the danger from the Indians" (p. 160). Meanwhile settlers had been pouring into this land of opportunity. Men of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, into Southern Illinois and Indiana; men from New England, New York and Pennsylvania, into the region north of the latitude of Indianapolis. These settlers of different sectional and racial origins agreed on internal improvements, the tariff, opposition to the National Bank; they differed on the form of local government and negro slavery. In consequence of this juxtaposition of men of diverse sectional origins, "throughout the great era of slavery controversy the Northwest was prolific of schemes of compromise" (p. 183).

The next volume, also by Mr. Ogg, likewise has its beginning with the peace of 1763. For shortly after that event came to this country one Andrew Jackson, Scottish Presbyterian, and father of the President. Mr. Ogg thinks the preponderance of evidence points to the birth of Andrew Jackson in South Carolina.

The victim of British cruelty and of the misfortunes of war, he "always hated the British uniform" and later as President "an anti-British feeling colored all of his dealings with foreign nations" (p. 9). One more argument for the War of 1812 is seen in Jackson's eagerness to lead the expedition to take possession of West Florida and thus extend "in this quarter the boundaries of the Republic to the Gulf of Mexico" and confer "a signal benefit on that section of the Union to which he belonged" (p. 27). The Creek War and the dramatic victory at New Orleans made Jackson "the idol and incarnation of the West" (p. 44), a popularity increased by the Seminole War and the "Conquest of Florida", despite its irregularities. So when chosen in 1828, after being cheated, in his estimation, out of the election in 1824, he was, "as no President before him, the choice of the masses" (p. 113). He came into power "as the standard-bearer of a mighty democratic uprising which was destined before it ran its course to break down oligarchical party or organizations, to liberalize state and local governments, and to turn the stream of national politics into wholly new channels" (p. 114). The issue of nationalism against particularism is the theme of the chapters on "the Webster-Hayne Debate" and "Tariff and Nullification." The author, while maintaining that Webster's was "the logic of the larger phase of the situation" and that the Union for which he pleaded was "the Union in which, by the fourth decade under the Constitution, a majority of the people of the United States had come to believe" (p. 156), admits that "the facts of history were on the side of Hayne" (p. 155).

He recognizes the real grievances of the South in "the steadily mounting tariffs" which were working to her "economic disadvantage" (p. 143); her conviction that Northern manufacturers and Western farmers intended to maintain this unfair policy; and her knowledge that the President had no keen interest in the tariff controversy. Nullification was the recourse of South Carolina. On nullification, however, Jackson did feel keenly, so he announced his doctrine, "Our Union! It must be preserved", and made this doctrine effective. Circumstances, however, altered cases with "Old Hickory". So he sympathized with Georgia in her efforts to crush the Cherokees and winked at her nullification of John Marshall's decree. In harmony also with the western prejudices he destroyed the National Bank. There does not seem, however, to be anything "extraordinary" in a President's vetoing a measure on constitutional grounds, even when the court has spoken. Courts sometimes change their minds. Andrew Jackson was determined to be President. He indicated the theory of "executive independence" and

in so doing Mr. Ogg thinks he broke new ground. He "reshaped men's conception of the presidency and helped make that office the power that it is to-day" (p. 236).

In Mr. Ogg's volume the honest, virile, irascible, chivalric, iron-willed, patriotic "General" Jackson and his battles with Indians, law-breakers, red-coats, nullifiers, aristocrats, John Adams, John Marshall, and the Whigs stand out in fresh and strong lines again.

D. R. ANDERSON.

The Conquest of the Old Southwest: the Romantic Story of the Early Pioneers into Virginia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, and Kentucky, 1740-1790. By ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D., D.C.L. (New York: Century Company. 1920. Pp. xxiv, 395. \$2.50.)

ONE expects from Mr. Henderson a well-told story, and this volume realizes this expectation. In about four hundred pages there has been condensed a narrative of the advance of the Americans into the region of the southwest, particularly into Tennessee, that will interest the scientific historian as well as the lay reader.

This general praise of the book calls for the establishment of very definite limitations. Although in his title and subtitle Mr. Henderson claims to have covered the whole Old Southwest with the possible exception of lands bordering the Gulf, he has in general centred his narrative around two events, the Transylvania Company enterprise and the Revolutionary War in the modern state of Tennessee. The years and the territory lying just outside of the time and scene of these events have received scant treatment. The westward push of the Virginians into Kentucky, the intrigues of the land speculators, the question of the provincial soldiers' rights, the significance of the laying out of Louisville—this last event not even being mentioned—the claim of the Indiana Company in modern West Virginia, are all granted inadequate treatment. The Vandalia Company, around which played so much politics both in America and in the mother country, receives only half a page, whereas to the Transylvania Company are devoted two chapters without counting the two others depicting the activities of the company's agent, Daniel Boone. The struggle of Tennessee for statehood is treated at length, whereas the equally important effort on the part of Kentucky is granted a few paragraphs. Very significant events affecting the Old Southwest were taking place during these years in West Florida, but the name of that colony does not appear in the index.

Mr. Henderson adds another authority to be quoted in favor of the popular apotheosis of Daniel Boone, to whose story he devotes two chapters full of eulogy. Boone has been fortunate in his biographers, who have told his story in such a way that popular fancy has pictured him as the first man to visit the blue-grass region of Kentucky. Mr. Henderson, himself, names many who had preceded this doughty hunter,

but by no means all. From the end of the seventeenth century French and American hunting parties were frequent visitors to Kentucky and Tennessee, and had been so successful that it was said in 1767 that the game there was scarce. By 1768 the whole region was fairly well known to many English-speaking visitors and hundreds of boatmen had floated on the Ohio past its shores. Mr. Henderson mentions a few voyages (p. 120) and dismisses them with the following, "though interesting enough in themselves, [they] had little bearing upon the larger phases of westward expansion".

There are a few errors in the book that should be noted. Céloron de Blainville, and not Céleron de Bienville, was the French officer who was sent in to the Ohio valley in 1748. The Cherokee were never so favorable to the French as is stated on page 49. The traditional interpretation of the importance of Governor Spotswood's expedition to the mountains is retained. It is not yet proved that the British in the Northwest offered bounties for American scalps (p. 261). Unfortunately a line or more has been dropped by printer's carelessness at the bottom of page 193; aside from this, the book is very free from typographical errors.

From what has been said it is evident that there are grave limitations to Mr. Henderson's interpretation of Old Southwest history; but if the reader is interested in the Watauga settlement, in the Transylvania experiment, in the battle of King's Mountain, in the Indian wars of Tennessee, in the abortive attempt to establish the state of Franklin, and in a fine interpretation of the character and spirit of the frontiersmen, he will find the narrative very valuable.

C. W. ALVORD.

Adventurers of Oregon: a Chronicle of the Fur Trade. By CONSTANCE L. SKINNER. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1920. Pp. x, 290.)

THIS book is a delight. The author treats the dramatic scenes and incidents in the background of Oregon's history, achieving therein a wholly unusual degree of literary perfection. Thus she has produced a narrative which, for adult readers, deserves to take very high rank in its special field. That field the subtitles, eight in number, help to define although each of these again calls for some analysis. The titles are: the River of the West, Lewis and Clark, the Reign of the Trapper, the *Tonquin*, Astor's Overlanders, Astoria under the Nor'westers, and the King of Old Oregon. The period covered is from the beginnings of exploration to the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute in 1846, and the themes represented by the above chapter-heads are essentially two—Discovery and Exploration, and the Fur-Trade.

In her treatment the author exhibits a good knowledge of the facts, a comprehension of relations, critical insight, and a mastery of artistic arrangement rarely excelled. Her critical acumen is manifested not

merely in the correct analysis of documents, a common enough accomplishment, but in that higher intellectual gift which enables its possessor to interpret complex human situations. It is illustrated, for example, in the discerning criticisms passed on Hunt's leadership of the overland Astorians.

The fur-trade history is an exceedingly complicated subject, difficult to organize. Chapter III. of this book gives an admirable sketch of that history from "the first Indian who stepped forward to offer a beaver pelt to a man of our race in exchange for some trinket made in Europe", through the intricacies of the French, Hudson Bay, Canadian, and Missouri trading activities, to the inauguration of Astor's continental plan. The remainder of the book, practically, is on the fur-trade of the Oregon country.

This limitation of scope is fortunate, for at the few points where the author strays into the less exciting domains of diplomacy, politics, missionary enterprise, or emigration, interest declines and her grip on the original materials relaxes. The treatment of those topics suggests that they formed no organic part of her serious studies and are merely intrusive, disturbing elements in the narrative. The space devoted to them is almost negligible, but on account of the excellence of the main part of the book it is the more necessary to call attention to some of the misconceptions which mar these few paragraphs. When the author says (pp. 252-253): "On McLoughlin's advice, Whitman went to the Cayuse Indians about five miles west of Walla Walla, and Spalding established himself at Lapwai on the Clearwater among the Nez Percés", she ignores the results of Parker's survey which revealed the most eligible sites for missions. The agency of McLoughlin in distributing American missionaries over the country is strangely exaggerated, as when she says (p. 256): "Whitman and Spalding, McLoughlin had sent to different tribes, so that each tribe should have but one white leader of light and thus should not be confused by a divided authority", as if the missionaries, and their National Board, had no policy of their own! To say, as the author does (p. 262), speaking of the revised provisional government: "The new government was opposed by the British settlers and by Douglas. But McLoughlin supported it and contributed to its first exchequer", is to go contrary to two stubborn documentary facts: (a) the Canadian settlers' address, in which the British element declare in favor of a provisional government, and (b) the agreement of July 15, 1845, between the Hudson's Bay Company and the officers of the provisional government, which was signed, on the part of the company, by both McLoughlin and Douglas. Other similar faults could be mentioned, and there are a few slips in citations—*Gilbert*, for *Gabriel* Franchere, for example. She also cites the 1905 edition of Schafer's *Pacific Northwest*, which has been superseded at many points by the 1918 edition.

But, we repeat, the book is a delight.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

John Archibald Campbell, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1853-1861. By HENRY G. CONNOR, LL.D., Judge of the United States Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920. Pp. viii, 310. \$2.25.)

STUDENTS of American law as well as historians interested in the Civil War period will welcome this concise and fair-minded biography. As a member of the Supreme Court from 1853 to 1861, as a participant in the Dred Scott decision, as mediator between the seceding states and the Union government in the days preceding the firing on Sumter, as assistant secretary of war under the Confederacy, as commissioner at the Hampton Roads conference of 1865, as mediator again with Lincoln at Richmond at the close of the war, Campbell of Alabama had unusual opportunities to serve the cause of justice and of peace. After a short imprisonment in 1865 he spent the remainder of his life as a practising lawyer in New Orleans. The biographer's judicial experience gives him an advantage in the treatment of legal points, while his sense of restraint eliminates bias in the discussion of matters that ordinarily arouse the keenest controversy. The Campbell manuscripts have evidently been used, but the annotations unfortunately contain no specific references to unpublished sources. One of the most useful chapters is that which summarizes Campbell's career as a justice of the Supreme Court. His opinions, many of which were in dissent from his colleagues, were in line with the traditions of states' rights, strict construction, and the Jeffersonian emphasis upon individual liberty as opposed to governmental restraint. Thus he opposed monopolies, resisted the treatment of corporations as "citizens", favored the right of the people of Ohio to tax corporations in a manner which the majority of the court regarded as impairment of contract, and opposed the extension of federal admiralty jurisdiction over internal waters. He would not use the courts as centralizing agencies and consistently sought to uphold the common law and the principles of local self-government. In the chapter devoted to the Dred Scott decision (chap. III.) the distinction between Campbell's point of view and that of Chief Justice Taney is noted. Denying that Scott's absence from Missouri effected his manumission under Missouri law, Campbell avoided the "academic question" whether a freeman of African descent could be a "citizen"—a question which Taney emphasized. No light is thrown upon the oft-discussed question of "collusion" between the executive and the court in the Dred Scott case, and the portion of the decision which bears upon the unconstitutionality of the Missouri Compromise law of 1820 is touched but lightly, the author remarking (p. 72) that this question has only "historical interest". Chapter VIII. treats Campbell's argument before the Supreme Court in the Slaughter-house cases. Campbell opposed the monopoly set up by the Louisiana law and, in spite of

his states' rights convictions, insisted upon a sweeping application of the Fourteenth Amendment to protect all citizens from denial of privileges or property by state legislative act.

The author's method of treating the Seward-Campbell negotiations of March-April, 1861, is to incorporate Campbell's *Facts of History* in full, with accompanying notes and letters (thus imparting a source-value to his book), and then to quote the conclusions of Rhodes, White, Schouler, Botts, and Schleiden, the Hanseatic minister-resident at Washington. His concern is to clear Campbell, but he is nevertheless generous toward Lincoln and even toward Seward in the Sumter affair. When treating the Hampton Roads conference, however, the author neither incorporates nor summarizes Campbell's "Memorandum" prepared soon after the conference—an indispensable historical source which is difficult of access. Unfortunately even the reference to this document (note, p. 165) is incorrect. Various significant points in the conference are omitted while the author argues at considerable length to show that Lincoln did not actually make a "proposition" for the appropriation of \$400,000,000 as compensation to slave-owners—a point which would be easily conceded. The method of inserting quoted portions is at times confusing, and there are numerous inaccuracies of quotation, the meaning being spoiled in some cases (*e. g.*, pp. 29, 34) by the unintentional omission of words or phrases.

J. G. RANDALL.

The Railroad Builders: a Chronicle of the Welding of the States.

By JOHN MOODY. [Chronicles of America Series, vol. XXXVIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1919. Pp. x, 257.)

The Masters of Capital: a Chronicle of Wall Street. By JOHN MOODY. [*Id.*, vol. XLI.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 234.)

The Armies of Labor: a Chronicle of the Organized Wage-Earners. By SAMUEL P. ORTH. [*Id.*, vol. XL.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 279.)

THESE are three of the later volumes of a series of fifty distinct but associated monographs upon American history, published under the general editorship of Professor Allen Johnson, and of which many preceding volumes have already been reviewed in this journal. Economic movements have their part in the series; the three books immediately in view lie mainly in that field.

Both of Mr. Moody's contributions to the series are of a narrative rather than an analytical or critical character. They are either relations of conspicuous financial episodes or accounts of the origin, growth, and alliances of great banking firms and railway systems. This arrangement of material naturally causes some repetition, and it leaves to the reader the task of correlating the common features which have

characterized successive stages of our economic history, and which are incidentally illustrated rather than identified and explained by the author. Though these books fill an appropriate place in the series and serve a useful historical purpose, we fancy that many who read them will regret that Mr. Moody confined himself so largely to description, and did not so organize his materials as to make them fulfill a more definitely interpretative function. He was qualified to do this; for in the first half-dozen paragraphs of *The Masters of Capital* he gives a remarkably concise and illuminating summary of the evolution of speculative and concentrated capital in the United States, which might well serve as a syllabus for an entire volume.

Both books are written from the Wall Street standpoint. They are panoramas painted from a single position, portraying our vast agricultural and industrial empire from the perspective of a Manhattan skyscraper. That is perhaps the best single observation post one could choose, especially for a survey of organized capital and its masters. But in a country so large as ours magnitudes unavoidably lose their true proportions when viewed from any one centre. Forces which seem to originate in New York merely find that city a convenient focus; and the financial dictators of the metropolis are not the dynamic factors in our history that they seem to be to those who hover within the immediate radiance of their golden aura.

Particularly is this true of our railway builders. Were speculators like Gould and Drew, who merely manipulated stocks, or even more legitimate financiers like Commodore Vanderbilt, who combined with this the finding of funds for developing or restoring existing roads, really entitled to monopolize that designation? Surely the men of initiative and vision who first grasped the possibilities of new routes and territories, the engineers and technicians who created the American railway type, and the administrators who perfected our methods of operation, contain among their number those who are also entitled to this designation. And even among railway financiers were there not men of eminent service whose names are not recorded in Wall Street annals? Yet it is well that stress should be laid upon railway capital organization—a topic of so much recent and present interest—especially in a work intended for the general reader rather than for the research student or the economist.

A few statements should be queried. While William Kelly invented independently a pneumatic process for decarbonizing iron, a metallurgist would hardly say that he “discovered and perfected the Bessemer process well in advance of Sir Henry Bessemer”. There seems to us an erroneous implication in the statement that during the late war “all European countries, even including England, resorted to various currency expedients that amounted practically to inflation. The United States resorted to no such unscientific expedients as it had tried in the Civil War but met the demands of the hour by supplying an elastic

emergency currency under the terms of the new Federal Reserve Act". Personally we doubt whether the change of label on our two war currencies has been accompanied by a material change in their real character.

However, Mr. Moody has given us two interesting, authoritative, and impartial narratives describing dramatic and not unimportant episodes in our economic history. And his firm biographies and stories of great financial deals—accompanied as they are by a constant flow of informing comment—enable an understanding reader to deduce more than he specifically tells.

Professor Orth's volume, *The Armies of Labor*, possesses three excellent qualities: it is readable, concise, and comprehensive. It keeps close to its main purpose of being historical and descriptive. There is no direct attempt to interpret the labor movement in the terms of a social philosophy or in favor of any theory of social reform. The author evidently sympathizes with trade unionism and admires highly some trade union leaders. He decidedly favors the traditional and conservative, as distinguished from the new and radical, aspects of labor policy. The Americanism of his viewpoint has not been affected by the recent European and cosmopolitan ideology which has begun to influence, and is destined to influence still more in the future, all social movements in this country. But in surveying the past it is sometimes an advantage not to have the vision blurred by the cross-light of a perhaps too lurid sunrise.

As the subtitle suggests, this volume is a history of the labor movement as expressed through workers' organizations, rather than of labor conditions. It touches only incidentally upon wages, hours of work, and other features of the labor contract at different periods, or upon the details of labor legislation. Within these limits it covers the field, and indeed is in many ways a model of what a popular summary of a special topic in social or economic history should be. While the author cites mostly secondary sources, he is more than a compiler. He does not bring us new data or original theories; but even a student familiar with his sources will find the book worth reading.

All three volumes are well indexed and contain useful bibliographical appendixes. They are convenient in form and very attractive in typographical appearance.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

From Midshipman to Rear-Admiral. By Rear-Admiral BRADLEY A. FISKE, U.S.N. (New York: Century Company. 1919. Pp. xi, 694. \$6.00.)

It would hardly be possible to write a book of naval life covering a service of forty-nine years without making it entertaining, if only because of the inevitable variety and adventure and intimate knowledge of the great institution, the United States Navy. In this book there is

abundance of variety and adventure of the kind that is met in ships at sea, as well as the absorbing and impressive details of the management of the great United States Navy, and it is set forth with that peculiar combination of zest and force and clearness which marks all that Admiral Fiske has written.

But the narrative in this book is much more than one of adventure at sea, for it narrates a story of the efforts of expert naval officers to build an efficient navy and of successful and unsuccessful inventions, that is far more unusual and far more interesting than most stories of sea experience, and one finds the existence of many situations such as Herbert Spencer would have characterized as "pivotal" points, when a decision different from the decision adopted would have made a radical change in the history of the United States Navy and possibly of the World War.

Admiral Fiske was able to serve successfully and with high credit in all the grades of the most exacting profession that we know of, and yet to make more successful and important inventions of a naval and military kind than any other man who has ever lived. How he ever found the time to do it, and how he ever was able to keep up inventing, despite the continual discouragement he received, may well make us marvel. It may well make us deplore also that so much of a gifted inventor's time and energy was wasted in overcoming an opposition that should not have been exerted; and it may make us wonder how much Admiral Fiske would have accomplished, if government officials had been so wise as to try to utilize his talents, instead of trying to smother them. When one realizes the enormous value to nations that new weapons have always had, when one realizes the importance to Constantinople, for instance, of the secret of Greek fire, the importance to Prussia of the needle-gun, the importance to the Northerners of the *Monitor* in the Civil War, etc., one must deplore the foolish mistreatment of Bradley A. Fiske that his biography presents.

Great as was the service that Fiske did with his inventions, however, it may be doubted if it was really as great as that which he performed in getting our navy ready for the World War that has just ended. The present investigation of the navy by the Senate Naval Committee, even if it does not eventually show as deplorable a state of unpreparedness as Admiral Sims reported, has already developed the fact that the navy was not as prepared as it should have been. Whatever preparedness it did have must have been due largely to Admiral Fiske's efforts, supported by other progressive naval officers, for as his book sets forth, and as has not been denied, it was he who secured the legislation which preserved the organization of the Navy Department by which it was prepared for the war and handled during the war, and without which it would have been almost helpless, either to prepare or to operate. To make the matter more extraordinary, Admiral Fiske accomplished what he did in secret, in spite of the opposition of the Secretary of the Navy

himself to the organization established, in direct disobedience of the regulations for the government of the navy, and, therefore, at the risk of his commission as an officer. I know of no similar incident in any navy or army.

The crowning act of Fiske's life, up to the time when his narrative closes, was a failure from one point of view and a success from another. The act was the invention of his torpedoplane, by which the launching of a submarine torpedo from an aeroplane was made practicable, and the insistence on his part that this invention, and bombing aeroplanes as well, should be utilized in the Great War for sinking German ships with torpedoes and for preventing the German submarines from getting into the deep water in which they could submerge. Both Fiske's invention and his proposal were rejected by Secretary Daniels, as shown by the Secretary's letter dated May 20, 1918, reproduced in the book, and therefore may be called failures. But both were just about to be used when the armistice was signed, and both are now recognized as the means that should have been accepted when Fiske proposed them; while the torpedoplane has now been adopted as a major instrument of warfare. It is most amazing to find that the letter referred to, refused to permit Admiral Fiske to conduct experiments with torpedoplanes, stating that the Allies had discontinued such experiments, for causes stated. We know now that the opposite was true! Both, therefore, may now be called successes, even though they were prevented by High Authority from making that distinctly American and powerful contribution to the winning of the war, which we now know they could have made.

MINOR NOTICES

Some Sources of Human History. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York, Macmillan Company, 1919, pp. 128, \$1.25.) "The purpose of these outlines", says the author, "is to show some of the interests of human history to those who are neither specialists nor students." "The object has been to look over the country on each side of the beaten tracks of history teaching, and see some of the distant views and green fields." In "human history" Mr. Petrie includes the whole existence of man on earth, and in his first and longest chapter, *Unwritten History*, he sketches, as anthropologist and archaeologist, the rise of prehistoric man and of his art, noting especially the worth of roads and streets, and names and architecture as sources of our knowledge. A second chapter, *Byways of Written History*, deals chattily with sources for the story of man outside of Europe, with ancient science and its remains, with coins, papyri, weights and measures, and with authors whom the writer thinks neglected. A third, on *Habit, Custom, and Law*, illustrates the worth of these for history.

If the aim of the booklet be only to interest, it achieves its end. It admirably shows how diverse are the sources of history, and with what zest an expansive old scholar can with their help range over the whole past of man, giving free rein to fancy and to prejudice. But it concerns itself less with sources than with their interpretation, and it would not be easy to compile a book that less suggests the need to the historian of rigorous training and patient industry, of detachment and equity and long suspension of judgment. Its readers are more likely to lay it down with the notion that in history research is fearless inference, and one swallow quite enough to make a summer.

Phases of Corruption in Roman Administration in the last Half-Century of the Roman Republic. By Richard Orlando Jolliffe. (Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta, 1919, pp. xi, 109, \$1.25.) The period covered by this book is well chosen for the purpose which the writer has in mind, because in it he can make use of the detailed information to be found in the orations against Verres and in Cicero's letters, and especially of the intimate account which Cicero gives of conditions in Cilicia. In his four chapters the writer deals with the army and navy, and with client princes and embassies. Probably most readers will find the greatest amount of new information in the second and third chapters. Every student of Roman history knows that extortion, peculation, and bribery were common in the government of the provinces during the later years of the Republic, but the pertinent facts have never been brought together before in so complete and convincing a way. The reviewer would have liked to see the underlying causes of this corrupt state of affairs set forth somewhat more fully than they appear in this book. So far as the machinery of government goes, they may be found in the absence of an itemized legislative budget, in the fact that a system of strict accounts was not enforced, in the autocratic power of provincial officials, in the difficulty of bringing witnesses to Rome from remote points, and in the absence of a public prosecutor. The more fundamental reasons for the prevalence of corruption, however, lay in the fact that in dealing with other peoples the Roman conscience had become hardened by a long series of wars of conquest, and that the weaker peoples who came under Roman control had no adequate means of protection. The available sources furnish the author with a deal of information on four important episodes, *viz.*, the career of Verres, the Egyptian intrigue, Cicero's year in Cilicia, and the experiences of Ariobarzanes, and these incidents are analyzed with great acuteness. For his theory that Cicero was named as governor of Cilicia for the purpose of collecting the money which Ariobarzanes owed Pompey, the author makes out a very good case (p. 70 f.). The arrangement of the book is excellent, and the style good. To speak of a small matter, in the reviewer's opinion the "Conclusion" might better have been

omitted. We should like to see the author supplement this paper by a study of the same subject in the time of Tacitus and Pliny.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

The Transformation of Early Christianity from an Eschatological to a Socialized Movement. By Lyford Paterson Edwards, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology in St. Stephen's College. (Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Company, 1919, pp. 94, \$1.50.) The dissertation of Dr. Lyford Paterson Edwards is related to an historical problem, the transition from the eschatological form of early Christianity to that of a social institution participating in the world's historic tasks. The data employed are historical facts honestly acquired by the author's personal investigation. The data, however, do not fully represent early Christianity and the historical process of change is not exhibited fully or in sequence. Certain ideas and attitudes are selected and whatever of historic change is found is explained by principles popular with psychologists and sociologists. For example, the thousand-years reign of the saints was largely an expression of masochism and the decline of Chiliasm is to be explained by the transfer of the masochistic elements to other forms of expression, partly to the idea of the Catholic Church, more largely to the idea of purgatory and organized monachism. Chiliasm also was largely the psychic equivalent of the suppressed patriotism of Phrygia, Egypt, and North Africa under Roman rule—the escape of a repressed Freudian complex. The other explanatory means employed are crowd psychology, economic determinism, imitation (*à la Tarde*), and Veblen's Conspicuous Honorific Consumption. The appraisal of the book must be left to other scientists than the historian. Latin syntax and English spelling have not been mastered by Dr. Edwards.

Henry the Sixth: a Reprint of John Blacman's Memoir. With Translation and Notes by M. R. James, Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Provost of Eton. (Cambridge, University Press, 1919, pp. xvi, 60, 5 sh.) This little tract sets forth the cloistral virtues of the weak-minded grandson of the weak-minded Charles VI. of France. King Henry was the founder of Eton and of King's College, Cambridge, and this reprint and translation is obviously an *opus pietatis*. The new edition is carefully done, with preface, variant readings, notes; in short, it has as complete a critical apparatus as is possible for a memoir which is extant only in print. The unfortunate king is shown as a *dévôt*, a weak replica of St. Louis, without any of his commonsense or strength. Henry's pudicity—*pudicitia ejus*—is more than adequate. "For before he was married, being as a youth a pupil of chastity, he would keep careful watch through hidden windows of his chamber, lest any foolish impertinence of women coming into the house should grow to a head, and cause the fall of any of his household" (p. 30). A royal occupation! If Blacman, a Carthusian, is inaccurate, we have at least what Blacman thought admirable

in a king. The tract throws tiny rays of light on fifteenth-century manners. In any case it is well to have it put in print again, for by consulting it one may learn how little is to be learned from it.

G. C. S.

Der Anteil der Schweizer an den Italienischen Kriegen, 1494-1516. Von Ernst Gagliardi. Band I. *Von Karls VIII. Zug nach Neapel bis zur Liga von Cambrai, 1494-1509.* (Zurich, Schulthess und Co., 1919, pp. xiii, 909, 3.80 fr.) The decisive participation of the Swiss in the European wars of the period indicated gave employment to the talents of numerous historians who treated the various episodes in monographic or more voluminous form, but it is now a little over a century since the Italian wars here described were treated as a whole. In the meanwhile a great amount of documentary material has come to light and been recorded in print, and a few special students have elucidated much that was obscure. In these investigations the present author has already taken part in his book on the rise and fall of the Swiss Confederation as a world power in the sixteenth century, and now comes forward with a more extensive work on the Italian expeditions.

The title should not lead anyone to assume that the present volume is a purely military or regimental history in which the deeds of individuals or commands are displayed or glorified. On the contrary it is an elaborate description of the political conditions in Italy interwoven with accounts of the military enterprises sent into that arena successively by Charles VIII. of France, Maximilian of Germany, and Louis XII. of France. In the midst of this, Switzerland appears as the recruiting ground for European armies on all sides and a focus of political activities which had fateful results for the contestants and serious moral and political consequences for the Swiss.

Upon the familiar situation Dr. Gagliardi brings to bear a wealth of erudition which makes the work a part of European history, while for Switzerland itself it helps to lay foundations for the Reformation movement and the history of that confederation as a neutral state. His introductory chapters on the political, economic, and social conditions of the Swiss are clear-cut and illuminating, as are likewise his comments on those points as they appear from time to time in the body of the narrative. It is more than ever evident that Switzerland was not simply a wild spot where good soldiers were to be found, but was fully in the whirlpool of European politics, the centre of which was for the time being in Italy, whose activities are here so comprehensively described.

J. M. VINCENT.

The Manchester Grammar School, 1515-1915: a Regional Study of the Advancement of Learning in Manchester since the Reformation. By Alfred A. Mumford. (London and New York, Longmans, Green,

and Company, 1919, pp. xi, 563, \$8.50.) This volume has seventeen chapters with twenty-one appendixes of documents, tracing the history of the Manchester School for three hundred years. The author is more interested in the personal history of its benefactors, directors, masters, and graduates, than he is in detailed information regarding the school's management, support, system of education, etc., at various periods. This is somewhat disappointing to the American student. Apparently the important original records of the school, before 1724, are not extant, and this may account for the scarcity of information on the early period. On the other hand the volume is much more than a history of one school or even of the educational forces and agencies in Manchester. There is much of value on the educational and intellectual development of England in general, and comment on the larger factors of an economic, social, and religious character, which influenced the course of this development.

The titles of some of the earlier chapters will illustrate the point of view: *e. g.*, ch. III., Presbyterian Discipline, Learning, and Politics, 1643-1660; ch. IV., the Rise of Naturalism and the Liberalization of Learning, 1660-1689; ch. VI., Whig Benefactions and Widening Interests, 1689-1720; ch. VIII., Privilege, Patronage, and Public Service, 1749-1780.

The main thread of the story has to do with the struggle to democratize the school and to supplant the old classical curriculum with one which would more directly meet the new economic and social conditions ushered in by the Industrial Revolution. This portion of the book is better written and more informing than the earlier. There are, however, documents in the appendixes which throw light on the conditions in the seventeenth century.

The author admits (preface) that he has approached the subject "not so much from the point of view of an historian, critically studying past records, as from that of a naturalist" who wishes to know something of the circumstances of early development in order "to understand the conditions of growth of a living organism". Perhaps this accounts in part for the omission of many references to sources of information, much to be desired, and the lack of a bibliography. There are numerous illustrations of Manchester, the school and notables connected with it, and a good index. The book is a creditable piece of work, even if it does not measure up to the high standard of scholarship which other writers have set in their histories of similar schools.

M. W. JERNEGAN.

The Sovereignty of the British Seas. Written in the Year 1633 by Sir John Borroughs, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London. Edited with Introductory Essay and Notes by Thomas Callander Wade, M.B.E., M.A., LL.B. (Edinburgh, W. Green and Son, Ltd., 1920, pp. viii, 115, 7 sh. 6 d.) "And therefore the Sovereignty of our Seas being the

most precious Jewell of his Majesties Crowne, and (next under God) the principall meanes of our Wealth and Safetie, all true English hearts and hands are bounded by all possible means and diligence to preserve and maintaine the same, even with the uttermost hazzard of their lives, their goods and fortunes." With these words Sir John Borough, or Boroughs, closed his argument, prepared for Charles I. during his controversy with the Dutch over the North Sea fisheries, first published during the Commonwealth, on the eve of its Dutch war, and republished in 1739 during the difficulty with Spain over sea sovereignty. Avoiding the example of Selden in his more famous treatise, Borough dispensed with legal arguments and citations from Scripture and classical mythology, and based upon official documents his proofs of the antiquity of the claim to sovereignty over the British seas, and the recognition of that claim by other nations. He discretely avoided any delimitation of those waters, and gave a large proportion of his attention to the question of fishing rights, appending a disquisition, illustrated by the theme of the growth of Dutch prosperity, upon the value of fisheries to national development.

The introductory essay on the freedom of the sea covers the main features of the controversy down to Boroughs's time. Acquaintance with the results of the most recent research on the papal bulls of demarcation would have saved the editor from some inaccuracies on that subject, and it seems unfortunate to omit all references to the defense of sea freedom by sixteenth-century Frenchmen. On all matters relating to the British seas, however, Mr. Wade shows mastery of his sources. He has collated the existing manuscripts and editions with great care, and his notes supply the essential corrections and confirmations. The republication of this once famous pamphlet at this time and in this form is a useful contribution toward the understanding of the historical background of British sentiment concerning the freedom of the seas.

LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

The Day of the Crescent: Glimpses of Old Turkey. By G. E. Hubbard. (Cambridge, University Press, 1929, pp. xi, 242, 15 sh.) The author appears to have taken all of his material from a row of books which he discovered on a shelf at the British Foreign Office, a collection made by a diplomat of the nineteenth century. They are not so rare as he appears to believe. Since the days of Elizabeth the English public has been steadily interested in the Near East, and upon the appearance of every interesting book about the region has absorbed editions that were large for the time. As a consequence the large libraries of the western world have as a rule not only most of the writings drawn upon by Mr. Hubbard, but others of the same period of equal interest and value in reconstructing the Ottoman Turkish past. It is true, however,

that such old works about Turkey are little read nowadays, and therefore the present book will have a freshness of appeal to the general public at which it is aimed.

The author calls his work "a humble attempt to create a picture of the golden age of Turkey", but he later describes it more accurately as "a collection of picturesque sketches". He has certainly made no wide search for material, nor approached his subject in any critical way, nor attempted to give close unity to his scheme. His task has been almost exclusively the condensation of the writings of certain travellers and observers, mostly used in the English original or English translation. One noteworthy exception—Barbaro's Journey to Persia of about 1471, written in Italian—falls neither in time nor in geography within the general scope of the book. The author has not thought it necessary to follow a chronological order of arrangement, nor to harmonize the varying uses of Eastern names and expressions which he finds in his sources. He has tried, however, to supply accurately a limited amount of historical background and explanatory comment.

Under these conditions Mr. Hubbard has succeeded in presenting a vivacious, interesting, and thoroughly readable book. He drew extensively upon the Letters of Busbecq: here he might well have used Arnold and Forster's translation instead of that of 1694, which he has followed to the extent of using the Latinized forms Busbequius and Malvezius. Next in assignment of space is Baron Wratislaw, whose "adventures" are skillfully summarized. Other travellers followed are Dallam, Donado, Haji Khalfa, John Fox the gunner, Dr. Covel, George Sandys, and Bennetti. The sixteen full-page illustrations are mainly from the contemporary works of Nicolay, George Sandys, and Grelot. There is an analyzed table of contents, but no index.

A few errors may be noted. The English is occasionally original, as "unrelentless" (p. 10) and "unchartered seas" (p. 150). The Prince (or Voivode) of Wallachia in 1683 (not 1682) was not "Contacuzenos", but Cantacuzene. Janissaries and pages are not properly discriminated (p. 29). Aruj Barbarossa was dead long before 1533 (p. 145). Turkey had in 1669 many possessions farther west than Crete (p. 185). The illustration facing page 214 entitled "Eastern Entrance to Bosphorus (the site of the 'Black Tower') " is incorrect in the parenthetical alternative, for the "Black Tower" was in the wall of the Castle of Rumeli Hissar, from which the Black Sea is not visible.

A. H. LYBYER.

Jan Pietersz. Coen. Bescheiden omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië, verzameld door Dr. H. T. Colenbrander. Uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië. Eerste deel. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1919, pp. xix, 854.) The Royal Institute for Dutch India decided in 1918 to celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of the conquest of Jacatra (May 30, 1619), by

the publication of a work which should include the reports of Jan Pieterssen Coen, and documents relating to his life and work. Dr. Colenbrander was chosen to edit the work, which was projected in five parts as follows: I. Coen's letters to the Netherlands, 1614-1623; II. Coen's letters to different parts of India, 1615-1623; III. resolutions and decisions made at Bantam and Batavia, 1613-1623; IV. letters of the directors to Coen, 1614-1622, reports relating to Coen's work, 1623-1627; V. documents relating to Coen's second term of office as governor general, 1627-1629. The first part of the work now appears in a handsome volume, admirably printed on heavy paper with luxurious margins.

The content of the book has an importance which justifies this generous treatment. Coen is the outstanding figure in the founding of the Dutch empire in the East. After some years of service in the East India Company he was made director general in 1614 and governor general in 1617; the reports in this volume cover the period from 1613, when Coen arrived in Bantam, to 1623 when he returned to the Netherlands. In this decade the territorial establishment of the East India Company and some important elements of its policy were shaped, largely by Coen's influence, along the lines which they followed, in the main, in later history.

Coen had his eye on the whole field of Dutch interests in Asia, from Arabia and Persia to China and Japan. He described the conditions and problems, political and commercial, at every point of contact with the native peoples, and the struggle for mastery with European competitors, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish. To the constant demands of the directors at home for money and goods he sent answers describing in detail the sources of revenue and the processes of trade, the ships and how they were handled, the wares and how they were got, and explaining his own demands for help that would enable him to build up a healthy organization able to protect itself from the dangers menacing it both within and without.

Extracts from these reports have already been printed by De Jonge, in his *Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag over Java*, and by Tiele, in his *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel*. These extracts, making up altogether perhaps one-quarter of the material in the present volume, are printed here in their original context, with new material from the archives which seems to be for many purposes fully as important as that which has already appeared in print. Students who are not specialists in the period will await with interest a study of Coen's life and work, based on the documents, which is promised by the editor to appear in a later volume. Meanwhile, those who desire to consult the work for its contribution to their particular interests, will find its use facilitated by three indexes, one of persons, one of places and peoples, and one of ships.

CLIVE DAY.

English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne, 1702-1710. By William Thomas Morgan, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of European History in Indiana University. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, vol. VII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. 427, \$2.75.) In this book the author embodies the results of many years of painstaking and fruitful research. He has carefully studied "the new evidence that has become available in the last thirty years"—in the archives of England and Holland, in the recent reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, as well as in a mass of pamphlets and periodicals—and has reread, with a keen eye, all the older literature on the period, including the materials on which it has been based. Building on such secure and broad foundations he has succeeded in constructing a sound and enduring work. Particularly he has been able to show that Queen Anne was a much more assertive person than is commonly believed, and that, from the beginning, the Duchess of Marlborough exercised much less influence on the policy of her sovereign than most writers on the period have assumed. In this contention Professor Morgan has followed the lead of Archdeacon Coxe and Dean Swift, strengthening, with additional evidence, their views which have hitherto received small consideration. In the opinion of the reviewer, however, his attempt to clear Marlborough of responsibility for prolonging the War of the Spanish Succession is less convincing. On this perplexing period when personalities counted for so much, and when cabinet and party government were still in such an inchoate state, new lights are thrown; moreover, much fresh vivid detail is presented on the iniquitous methods of conducting elections which had come into vogue. On the other hand, the author's enthusiasm and thoroughness have tempted him to draw out unduly some of the intrigues and controversies of those graceless years, while his interest in tracking down questionable statements and opinions has led him to cite too indiscriminately all who have touched on his subject. In his exhaustive list, Miss Keith, Overton, and Lord Wolseley are apparently the only authors not included.

There are possibly a few points to which one might take exception. In the account of the rise of parties the essential distinction is not emphasized that the opposition, before the Restoration, was generally organized to overthrow the existing government, while afterwards its main object was to get control of the administration. The Newcomen engine (p. 21) was not of a type that would have been very helpful in the factory system. Although Mary and Anne were brought up in the Protestant faith, their mother Anne Hyde died a Roman Catholic (p. 28). Bishop Compton was not "deposed", but only suspended from the exercise of his episcopal functions (p. 30). The characterizations of most of the personages of the period are excellent, but it might perhaps be better to call Godolphin a boor rather than a "bore" (p. 48) since he rarely said anything. Also, it would be more accurate to say that

the Mutiny Bill and the appropriation of supply made annual instead of "frequent" sessions imperative. Yet it would be disproportionate to dwell too much on these matters in a work so uniformly well done.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Britain and Greater Britain in the Nineteenth Century. By Edward A. Hughes, M.A., Assistant Master at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, sometimes Major Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press, 1919, pp. 295, 5 sh.) To achieve a history of Britain and the British Empire in the nineteenth century within the compass of less than three hundred pages requires gifts of selection and self-restraint not too commonly found among scholars. But Mr. Hughes has fairly risen to the occasion. He has written a straightforward, lucid narrative, noting with admirable accuracy and comprehensiveness all the more important social and political "events" and finding it possible now and then even to discuss their why and wherefore. On the whole it is the best short history of modern Britain that has appeared.

But there is one serious defect that greatly impairs its usefulness. Not only is there no bibliography but there are no references whatever. Touching as he does on a vast range of complex matters, Mr. Hughes nowhere gives any clue to his sources of information or any guide to further investigation. Not that we distrust his sources. His accuracy and soundness of judgment are good evidence that he has spared no pains to get at the truth. Even small mistakes are rare. Lord Carnarvon did not, of course, bring about the federation of the Canadian provinces, and the St. Lawrence is not frozen for six months of the year, but such things are only slips and they are not characteristic. The trouble is not with the author's mastery of his subject but with his attitude toward his reader. Writing for undergraduates and for the general public, he might surely have assumed that he would awaken some curiosity. The omission of all mention of sources, primary or secondary, is so uniform that it is evidently a matter of deliberate judgment. But the judgment was certainly a wrong one.

On the whole perhaps Mr. Hughes has made his book too much an epitome of external, securely dated facts to appeal to the "general reader". Good as it is, it is not particularly dynamic or illuminating. But as a text-book for the college teacher who can supply the missing perspective and dramatic action it is excellent, and should be as useful in America as in Great Britain. For it is by no means insular, and its sane, well-balanced view of Britain's relation to the rest of the world is one of the best features of the book.

CECIL FAIRFIELD LAVELL.

Les Lois Françaises de 1815 à nos Jours, accompagnées des Documents Politiques les plus Importants. Par L. Cahen, Professeur Agrégé d'Histoire au Lycée Condorcet, et A. Mathiez, Professeur d'Histoire à

la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Besançon. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1919, pp. iii, 374, 5 fr.) This book was first published in 1906. In the main the new edition simply brings the original publication up to the eve of the World War. The new matter includes two additional documents upon the period of the Second Empire, three texts relating to the early stages of the Franco-Russian alliance, and about forty pages of documents belonging to the years 1904-1913. Nearly all of these new materials relate to the separation of Church and State, the Morocco question, and other international matters of great importance to France.

The work of the editors has been done with good judgment. Almost every document which one would expect to find in so small a collection is included. Wherever the length of a document precluded full publication the editors have almost invariably selected the most significant parts. The grouping into chapters is a skillful combination of the topical and chronological methods. Only in the matter of the finding apparatus is there occasion for adverse comment. There is no index and the system of numbering the documents could easily be made more convenient.

A few years ago an extensive use of such a volume in American college classes in history was scarcely practicable, because few of the students could read French easily. The situation ought to be different now. It is to be hoped that many teachers will act upon the presumption that the recent increase of interest in the study of French has removed the obstacle. Such teachers will find that this little book meets their requirements.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

John Redmond's Last Years. By Stephen Gwynn. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1919, pp. viii, 351, \$5.00.) The author of this volume, though belonging to a well-known Unionist family of Ireland, was an Irish Nationalist member of Parliament and as such a political follower of Redmond. The principal purpose of his book, as stated by himself, "is to record and illustrate Redmond's action during the period which began with the opening of the Great War".

The first four chapters deal with Redmond's career as chairman of the Irish party before the war, the Home Rule Bill of 1912, and the organization of the rival volunteer forces in Ireland. They fill more than one-third of the book and form a rather lengthy introduction to the main theme. In them Mr. Gwynn makes clear his conviction that the shuffling Irish policy of the Asquith government, its supineness in the face of loyalist treason in Ulster, aided and abetted by Unionist sympathy in England, weakened Redmond and parliamentarism in Ireland and played directly into the hands of the Irish extremists.

The author views Redmond's famous speech at the outbreak of the war, in which he assured the government of the whole-hearted loyalty of Catholic Ireland, as the "supreme action" of his life. Yet Redmond

lived to see the spirit of his pledge repudiated by the rising tide of Sinn Féin and his vision of a united, self-governing, and happy Ireland shattered by British official blundering and Ulster *intransigence*. That was the tragedy of his life, and to the unfolding of it Mr. Gwynn devotes the greater part of his book. What he has written is an extended commentary on Redmond's words: "Some tragic fatality seems to dog the footsteps of this government in all their dealings with Ireland."

As a contribution to history Mr. Gwynn's last chapter, the Convention and the End, is the most valuable. The author was a member of the Irish Convention, and what he tells us of its proceedings carries the weight of first-hand authority. Of value from the same point of view are also parts of the chapter entitled the Raising of the Irish Brigades, which treat of matters of which the author—he was Captain Gwynn of the Sixteenth Irish Division—has intimate knowledge.

Mr. Gwynn displays some of the qualities which a biographer ought to possess. He knew Redmond intimately and admired him greatly, yet he makes no attempt to represent him as unerring in judgment and supreme in every quality of leadership. He is always temperate in language, never indulging in that partizan vituperation which mars so much of what has been written on the Irish question. He enjoyed the important advantage of access to Redmond's papers. Yet his book has serious defects from the point of view of both the serious student of Irish affairs and the general reader. The former will often not know what importance to attach to statements and interpretations, since authorities are as a rule not cited. The latter will too frequently find himself beyond his depth, unable to follow intelligently the discussion of subjects which are not explained.

Handbooks prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, nos. 1-42. (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1920, pp. from 36 to 220 each, price 6d. to 5 sh. each.) The object of this series has been summed up as follows by Sir George Prothero, its general editor:

In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connexion with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious, and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, etc., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful. The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. . . . The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date.

The series is well done. We do not know just what was demanded of the editor or what latitude of control was allowed to him but we can see that his guiding hand has maintained a certain uniformity of treatment and moderation of tone. Polemics and propaganda are avoided. The historical portions are carefully made out and, as far as we have observed, their brief statements are seldom open to challenge. One can imagine that, for the overburdened statesman who had but half an hour to spare to get up an unfamiliar subject before he had to decide upon it in the Supreme Council, many of these tracts may have been most useful, more useful even, more up to date, and easier to carry about than would have been the corresponding articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. For the same reasons we can believe they will make acceptable works of reference in public libraries and newspaper offices.

On the other hand, the scholar, in looking over the series, will be less impressed, and even a cursory glance will suggest questions and criticisms. The need of some of the handbooks is not obvious, though the fact that we find pamphlets on such topics as "Holland" and "Spain" does not prove that British diplomacy harbored dark designs against either of these two friendly countries. The handbook on the history of the Eastern Question consists more than half of a documentary appendix. This may be right, yet one wonders if these treaties, etc., would not have been better placed in a general volume of such matter. One might multiply queries of this kind. To tell the truth, most of the handbooks are rather slight. So are many of their bibliographies, which, moreover, differ greatly among themselves in size and thoroughness. For instance, there are more than twice as many titles in the bibliography in No. 56 (Sakhalin) as in No. 55 (Eastern Siberia)—a vastly larger subject. The excellent handbook on the Åland Islands is a good example of condensed statement bringing out the most necessary points, but the brief bibliography hardly gains by the inclusion of three encyclopedias. Occasionally, too, comments are made as to the views of the authors given in the bibliographies. As this is done only occasionally, it is hardly fair. Why was it necessary to say, in connection with Professor Hazen's *Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule*, that "The writer is strongly French in sympathy"? He was not the only one. Finally, the series would be much more valuable to us if accompanied by the official maps prepared by the War Office, which are constantly referred to but which are not, as far as we know, offered to the public.

The Story of the Great War. By Roland G. Usher, Ph.D., Professor of History, Washington University, St. Louis. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1919, pp. xvii, 350, \$2.50.) The author writes for the uninformed of the adult population, and for children. He explains himself much in the simple way in which serious matter is "written down" for the young. He evidently feels very keenly the enormity of Germany's

sins against the rules of honorable war and wishes to make others feel it also. He rarely loses an opportunity to make the reader realize how much she hated, how much she coveted, and how ruthlessly she sought her ends. Many of the illustrations, taken from newspapers published in the most acute moments of the war, are full of extreme feeling. The book, therefore, does not tend to form cool and restrained views of the World War. Probably the author did not wish to form such views.

Its strong point is in its large amount of information presented clearly and directly. The chapters on the origin of the war contain much well-condensed information. The important campaigns are described with vividness. There is much about the methods, materials, and experiences of modern war, presented in an easy way. The campaigns of the American troops are described with more extensive treatment than a European writer would give them. We miss however an adequate account of the German efforts to influence American opinion, which might properly be kept before our people as a warning against similar efforts in the future. The reviewer has taken particular notice of some good black and white maps. To those who wish a vivid rather than a balanced "Story of the Great War" this book is commended.

An Introduction to the Peace Treaties. By Arthur Pearson Scott, Assistant Professor of History, University of Chicago. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. x, 292, \$2.00.) Mr. Scott's book is an excellent illustration of the value of perspective combined with careful study of documents, as opposed to the impressions of first-hand observation. At the moment when the market threatens to be flooded with dogmatic eye-witness accounts of the Peace Conference and its work, it is a relief to find an author disclaiming any "inside knowledge", and one who, possibly because of that fact, preserves a detached point of view, a sense of proportion, and a careful balance of judgment such as has not been conspicuous in much of the Peace Conference literature hitherto published. Mr. Scott's purpose is to summarize the conditions under which the treaties were made, and to state what the treaty provisions involve, with brief explanations thereof. It seems to the reviewer that he has succeeded admirably in a difficult task. Brief chapters on war aims and peace negotiations during the war are followed by a summary sketch of the Paris Conference and the framing of the treaties. The major portion of the book is devoted to an analysis of the Versailles Treaty, following its text closely but elucidating the issues at stake and the interests of the negotiating parties. The material effects of the various provisions are estimated and contradictory opinions summarized. The proposed settlements in southeastern Europe and Turkey are treated much more briefly in the same manner.

It is not to be expected that the book should be full of color, for the author rigorously excludes such questions as the Sixtus negotiations and does not permit himself the pleasure of personal characterization. Its

value is thereby in no way diminished. Minor errors are infrequent. Recent disclosures tend to mitigate the war-guilt of the Magyars, which the author, perhaps, over-emphasizes. Fiume with suburbs does not include a Slav majority. "Clémenceau" should be Clemenceau.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

East by West, Essays in Transportation; a Commentary on the Political Framework within which the East India Trade has been carried on from very Early Times, starting with Babylon and ending very near Babylon. By A. J. Morrison. (Boston, Four Seas Company, 1920, pp. 177, \$1.50.) In short chapters, sometimes of but two or three pages, the author sketches the striking characteristics of the political and commercial history of Oriental trade from the time of ancient Babylon to the present. The subtitle of the book, "Essays in Transportation", is quite misleading, for relatively little attention is given to that subject. The larger part of the little book is political history, in which as a framework the author sets the incidents of trade with the East. He deals almost altogether with particulars. Every page is sprinkled thickly with proper names. The author, in some introductory verse, acknowledges his obligation to the encyclopaedia, Smith's dictionaries, Grote, Finlay, Robertson, and Bancroft, and this list appears to characterize fairly his sources of information. The book was probably not designed and is certainly not adapted to fit the needs of a serious student, but may attract the casual reader by its rapid movement and informal style.

Foreign Rights and Interests in China. By Westel W. Willoughby, Professor of Political Science at the Johns Hopkins University, Legal Advisor to the Chinese Republic, 1916-1917. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1920, pp. xx, 594, \$7.50.) This is a very useful work for one who would know "the rights of foreigners and the interests of foreign States in China as they are to be found stated in treaties with or relating to China or in other documents of an official or quasi-official character". As a result of the interpretation of the most-favored-nation clause "in order to determine what treaty rights a particular nation has in China it is necessary to ascertain what privileges or immunities of a commercial or economic nature have been granted by China to any of the other Treaty Powers". So Professor Willoughby has brought together, in twenty chapters, the leading treaty stipulations on such subjects as extraterritoriality, foreign commerce, landholding, concessions and settlements, the open door, spheres of interest, China's foreign debts, and railway loans and foreign control. Six of the chapters deal with Japanese interests and ambitions in Manchuria, Shantung, and China in general.

As a work of reference the volume may be highly commended. For most purposes it needs little to supplement it. But as almost every chapter would require a volume in itself for a definitive discussion so

the careful student must still fall back upon the collections of treaties and upon such historical investigations as Morse's excellent three volumes on *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*. But from 1912, where Morse ends his discussion, Dr. Willoughby treats the subject in more detail than in the preceding period.

As Dr. Willoughby points out, "the general observation may be made that in China, to a peculiar extent, there is a difference between the regulations and orders that are formulated by the Government and the results that are actually obtained under them". And a similar distinction must often be made between the text of treaty engagements and the actual operation of the articles. For these reasons there is a certain amount of unreality in most of the works on China which deal with the written word without a thorough examination of the actual conditions. Therefore the historian, while grateful to Professor Willoughby for the very helpful compilation which he has offered him, must feel that his own needs would have been served better if more attention had been paid to the origin of the early engagements which served as precedents for all that has followed. Dr. Willoughby has, on the other hand, confined his comments largely to recent happenings. Such statements as: "In 1884 (May 11) Annam was definitely lost by China to France. In 1885 and 1886 Indo-China was lost by her to France", indicate a rather sketchy knowledge of a very interesting precedent in the relations between China and her neighbors.

The Columbian Tradition on the Discovery of America and on the Part played therein by the Astronomer Toscanelli: a Memoir addressed to the Professors Hermann Wagner of the University of Göttingen and Carlo Errera of Bologna. By Henry Vignaud, President of the "Société des Américanistes". (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920, pp. 62, 3 sh. 6 d.) Mr. Vignaud returns in this pamphlet to his well-buttressed theories concerning the purposes and plans of Christopher Columbus which he entertained before, during, and subsequent to his voyage of 1492. It is a memoir, he tells us, addressed to his distinguished critics and opponents Professors Hermann Wagner of Göttingen and Carlo Errera of Bologna, "who", he charges, "remain under the seductive charm of the fairy-tale that in 1492 the East was sought by way of the West". In the briefest possible manner he presents a summary of his own views concerning what he has chosen to call the "Columbian Tradition".

Mr. Vignaud, a veteran but vigorous historian of ninety years, well merits a place among those historical critics who dig deep into documents for first-hand information. He is fair to his opponents but very exacting of them. There can be no mistake as to his own position and the reason for his faith. He is much given to citing chapter and verse, and demands that his opponents shall do likewise; in other words he is much opposed to the loose speculation which has so long passed for reliable history concerning Columbus.

The problem of first importance in these traditions, as Mr. Vignaud sees it, is that having to do with the goal of the enterprise, and this leads him to give prominence to a restatement of his position, with a logic that is convincing, concerning the so-called Toscanelli documents. Here there is not involved, he thinks, the question of the authenticity of these documents—the letter and the map—seeing that their contents are foreign to the discovery of America, that is, to the purpose for which Columbus set out on his expedition, which was to find new islands or lands to the westward in the Atlantic, and not to sail to the East Indies by way of the West.

To the part taken by the son Ferdinand and the friend Las Casas in originating the "Columbian Tradition", and to the objects which doubtless were theirs in so doing, he gives careful and critical consideration. It was Las Casas himself who placed the prefatory letter at the beginning of the so-called Columbus Journal, stating that the sovereigns had enjoined him to go to the Indies, but to Las Casas "Las Indias" clearly meant the West Indies, as witness for example the title of his work *Historia de las Indias* treating of the discovery and conquest of the New World.

Mr. Vignaud cannot be accused of an attempt to lessen the fame of Columbus; on the contrary he contends, as before indicated, that Columbus had discovered the very lands which he had gone out to seek. Through his studies, his meditations, and his constant inquiries, he had "divined" the existence of America, and such a Columbus is more worthy of reverence and honor than the traditional Columbus trying to penetrate the East by way of the West.

E. L. STEVENSON.

Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1715-1717. (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1919, pp. x, 291.) It is an omen of promise for the future that the Massachusetts Historical Society has begun to issue in its series of publications the journals of the House of Representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay, a matter that ought long ago to have been attended to by the state itself. The first volume to appear covers the years 1715-1717, and is handsomely printed and bound in the characteristic style adopted by the society. As we understand the plan, the society is to print eventually both assembly and council minutes and the state is to aid the enterprise by taking five hundred copies of each issue, thus indirectly contributing about \$1200 to the cost of publication, the original cost having been met from the Dowse fund. This combination of state and society is much to be commended, as it assures good editing, a service that is not always satisfactory when the state fathers the enterprise alone. Satisfaction with the plan loses, however, some of its edge when we discover that the society is doing no more than reprint the printed journals, which begin with 1715, thus not only ignoring the earlier manuscript journals,

which go back to 1692, but failing also to collate the printed text with the original manuscript. The course followed is the easier of the two, for printers can set up from photostat copies, thus saving an editor much trouble and a society much expense. We presume, however, that Mr. Ford and the society have faced the larger problem and will in time give us the entire series of minutes from 1692 to the close of the colonial period, thus reproducing both manuscript and printed texts. No statement to that effect is made in the introduction and the matter is rendered uncertain by the numbering "Volume I.", which appears on the half-title page and in the binder's title; but to do otherwise would be to deprive the undertaking of much of its usefulness.

American Foreign Policy, based upon Statements of Presidents and Secretaries of State of the United States and Publicists of the American Republics, with an Introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler. (Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1920, pp. vii, 128.) This collection of documents is intended by the editor to comprise "those official statements by successive Presidents and Secretaries of State which, having been formally or tacitly accepted by the American people, do in effect constitute the foundation of American foreign policy. . . . They are the classic declarations of policy which, taken together, present a record of which the American people may well be proud". Naturally the selection begins with Washington's Farewell Address and includes Jefferson's statement as to entangling alliances. Then follow the various messages relating to the Monroe Doctrine: Monroe's, Polk's, Buchanan's, Grant's, Cleveland's, and Roosevelt's. Blaine, Hay, and Root contribute their ideas as to the Monroe Doctrine, that of the last named being in no sense official, as it is the well-known address as president of the American Society of International Law for 1914. The instructions to and reports from the American delegates to the Hague conferences are properly included. The Recommendations of Havana concerning international organization, and the commentary thereon by Dr. James Brown Scott, however, are in no sense the official expression of any policy of the United States. Reprinting them in this form strengthens the impression that this book is one of *tendenz* character. They are

now offered to the peoples of Europe and Asia as America's positive contribution to the solution of the problem of providing a form of international co-operation which will avoid the creation of a super-government and rest international co-operation upon respect and reverence for law. This is the path of progress to which the traditions of American foreign policy point and this is the path upon which the Government of the United States may well invite other nations speedily to enter.

Therefore, we are not surprised to find nothing in the volume emanating from President Wilson. Instead appears the rider to the Naval Appropriation Bill of 1916, which declared for disarmament and authorized

the President at the close of the war to invite all the great governments of the world to a conference for the consideration of a plan for a world court. The authorization still stands, and an appropriation of \$200,000 for the purpose is as yet unexpended. The various selections, therefore, ought to provide a convenient aid to those who desire to expound the planks of the Republican platform bearing upon the League of Nations.

J. S. R.

The Čechs (Bohemians) in America: a Study of their National, Cultural, Political, Social, Economic, and Religious Life. By Thomas Čapek. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. xix, 294, \$3.00.) Very few of us who have heard our grandmothers play that ancient companion to "The Maiden's Prayer", "The Battle of Prague", realize that it was an actual event, and one which was primarily responsible for the Czech (or Bohemian) element in the United States. In the seventeenth-century struggle between Catholic and Protestant which ended in the dispersal of the Protestant Czechs into all lands but their own began the first wave of Czech settlement in America. The Hussites, Thomas Čapek tells us in his comprehensive book, *The Čechs in America*, driven from their own land, sought homes not only in nearby Saxony and Hungary and Silesia, but the bolder spirits came to the new country.

The Čechs in America is a comprehensive, carefully arranged manual of all information about this section of our immigration, a section more important than we had heretofore realized. From the earliest Bohemians who fled here from religious persecution in the seventeenth century, to the latest flood of immigration, which, like all other immigration of our days, has industrial reasons behind it, he omits nothing.

He brings to our attention valuable qualities of the Czech, or, as it is easier to remember him, the Bohemian; the idealism, the persistence, the self-reliance, the intelligence, which he contributes to our commonwealth. It must be something of a shock to those of us who know the Czech mainly as the "Bohunk" of our industrial centres, to face the fact that Ellis Island records show him lowest in percentage of illiterates, and highest in percentage of skilled labor.

With the industry which he commends in his fellow-citizens, Mr. Čapek has dug from our records the surprising fact that the founder of the Philipse family, of the old manor of that name, as well as men who were grantees under Lord Baltimore, and wealthy merchants in Dutch New York, were Czechs. So were some of those Moravians whose settlement in Pennsylvania is still a factor in our land.

After the Moravian settlement in the eighteenth century, immigration, discouraged by the authorities of the mother country, practically ceased until 1840, when famine sent a new wave of the Bohemians to our shores. The revolution of 1848 added more; since then the immigration, steadily increasing and focusing in the Middle West, has been of the

peasant classes, agriculturalists and mechanics at first, but in the second generation taking, through the work of the public schools and high schools, the inevitable step upward into the office-working classes.

Mr. Capek covers thoroughly and by name the Czech leaders in trades, professions, religious thought, literature, and the arts. To anyone wishing, or needing, as in this day many need and wish, to be authoritatively and thoroughly informed on this subject, his book is indispensable.

There are many illustrations, an appendix giving a partial bibliography, and an index.

The Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase, 1803-1812. By Everett Somerville Brown, Ph.D. [University of California Publications in History, vol. X.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1920, pp. xi, 248, \$2.50.) Dr. Brown's monograph contributes little that is new to the subjects which it treats; but he is to be thanked for placing between two covers so thorough and painstaking a history of the constitutional problems created by the Louisiana purchase. Of the several aspects of that event—diplomatic, territorial, economic, constitutional—the last has hitherto received the least attention from historians. Yet the Louisiana Purchase was the first elastic test of the federal constitution, and the first acid test of Jefferson's sincerity in strict construction. William Plumer's account of the Senate debate on the Breckenridge bill for the government of Louisiana, from the Plumer MSS. at the Library of Congress, which Dr. Brown contributed to the *American Historical Review* (XXII. 340-364), is here reprinted as an appendix and made the basis of an excellent chapter. Other chapters analyze contemporary opinion of the status of Louisiana, the debate on the treaty, Louisiana's successful efforts to obtain a modification of the first territorial government, the constitutional questions created by East Florida's "self-determination" in 1810, and the question of admitting Louisiana to the Union. Dr. Brown has covered a wide range of manuscript and printed material, and handled it with a just sense of proportion and a keen scent for the significant. These qualities are, perhaps, all one has right to expect in a doctoral dissertation. I do wish, however, that aspirants for the three magic letters would not be so oppressed by the solemnity of their quest as to neglect the light and humorous aspects of their subject. In this case, Jefferson's constitutional qualms on the treaty, so provocative of Homeric laughter when handled by a Henry Adams or a Beveridge, become merely the dry bones of a discussion.

S. E. MORISON.

The Rise of Methodism in the West, being the Journal of the Western Conference, 1800-1811. Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by William Warren Sweet, Professor of History, DePauw University. (New York and Cincinnati, Methodist Book Concern, 1920, pp. 207, \$1.25.)

One of the most striking evidences of present-day interest in religious history is the publication from time to time of manuscript records not easily accessible to the investigator. For the Methodist denomination Professor Sweet has already rendered important services, particularly in his volume entitled *Circuit Rider Days in Indiana*, which contains the journal of the Indiana Conference from 1832 to 1844. This more recent book although less impressive in size contains a no-less important document, the journal of the Western Conference from 1800, when the more inclusive designation was substituted for that of the Kentucky Conference, which it had hitherto borne, until 1811, the last meeting before the division of the conference. The interval of twenty years between these two records, it is to be hoped, will some day be covered by the publication of the journal of the Ohio and Tennessee conference under the same competent editorship.

As in the *Circuit Rider Days in Indiana*, this volume contains several introductory chapters dealing with the early history of Western Methodism. The value of these is unequal. The first two give a brief and authoritative narrative of Methodist expansion from 1782 to 1811, based upon manuscript and printed sources with which the author is so thoroughly familiar. In the third and fourth chapters there is much repetition, many of the incidents having already been related in exactly the same phraseology in the introduction to the previous volume, while the same passage from Cartwright's *Autobiography* is cited in chapters two and four of this introduction. Written avowedly from the sectarian point of view and with evident sectarian pride, these chapters nevertheless bear the impress of the fairminded and critical historian. The writing of sectarian history in the light of new information is undoubtedly of value, but as a picture of Western religious life a book of this kind does not fall in the same class with comparative studies such as Miss Cleveland's volume on the *Great Revival in the West in 1800*.

The lack of an index, which is one of the most frequent hindrances to research in religious history, is much to be regretted in so well-edited a publication.

Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri: an Historical Sketch. By Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. (Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1920, pp. 137, \$1.25.) Old cities, like old people, delight in reminiscences. We should not be surprised, therefore, that Kansas City, which has long since passed the Biblical ten and threescore, likes to cast a glance back on the days of her youth. That the history of her early life arrested the attention of Father G. J. Garraghan is a privilege she cannot overestimate; well may she be proud of the monument he has raised in memory of her pioneer days. Deliberately he has limited his scope to the "Catholic Beginnings", and throughout he scrupulously remains true to his purpose: his book will have to be reckoned with when the time comes to compile a complete History of Catholicity in the United

States; at the same time, religious and civil history are naturally so closely interwoven that no treatment of the development of the Middle West can now afford to ignore Father Garraghan's work.

Westport Landing, the future Kansas City, started, like most early settlements of the Mississippi Valley, as a trading post on the Indian frontier; its first name, Chouteau, indicates sufficiently its St. Louisan affiliation; and there, like everywhere else, Catholic religion went hand in hand with pioneering. Whether it was at the mouth of the Kansas, or at quite a distance east of that place, that Father de Lacroix met the great Kansas chief White-Plume, is not clear; at all events, less than seven years after the establishment of the Chouteau post, Father J. A. Lutz visited the place and the Indian neighboring tribes (1828). Five years later Father Benedict Roux was sent by Bishop Rosati to resume the work. To the efforts and labors of this courageous and zealous priest the author quite deservedly devotes no less than fifty out of the one hundred and thirty-odd pages of his volume. His narrative then follows the work of the early Missouri Jesuits: Van Quickenborne, Hoecken, Aelen, and Point, down to the time of the coming to Kansas City of Father Bernard Donnelly. It is, then, a period of a little more than twenty-five years that the author covers in his book, of which he had, two years ago, given an earnest by the publication of several of Father Roux's letters. This correspondence, the reports of the Jesuit missionaries, and other papers stored up in the diocesan archives of St. Louis form the bulk of manuscript sources, mostly unpublished, which the writer, who is a trained historian, has wisely exploited and artfully woven into a well-planned and most charmingly written narrative. He very seldom nods. He did so, however (p. 22), apropos of the dates of Bishop Du Bourg's residence in St. Louis: the good prelate left Missouri, not in 1821, but some two months before. Page 74, Roux's Latin quotation must be *corde et animo*. The volume, very neatly printed and tastefully illustrated, reflects much credit upon the Loyola Univeristy Press.

C. L. SOUVAY.

The Paths of Inland Commerce; a Chronicle of Trail, Road, and Waterway. By Archer B. Hulbert. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1920, pp. xii, 211.) Professor Hulbert is well equipped for writing the story of the early development of the transportation routes of the United States, for he has already published sixteen volumes on the pioneer roads and canals, based upon personal observation and first-hand study. A more careful later volume on *Washington and the West* traversed some of the same ground in more thorough fashion. In the monograph under review the author has brought together the best results of his earlier labors and woven them into a connected and well-written

narrative of the part which trails, roads, canals, and natural waterways have played in our commercial development.

The interest of the author in his subject has at times betrayed him into extreme forms of statement, but on the whole he has maintained a fair balance. The statement that "every problem in the building of the Republic has been, in the last analysis, a problem in transportation" (p. vii), is a thesis which even he would probably be willing to modify in spite of the great importance of this factor. So, too, the wish to construct full, well-rounded periods has at times led to exaggeration, as in such phrases as "the great industries of the West" in 1800 (p. 69), "innumerable tons of flour, tobacco, and bacon" (p. 70), "the overflowing wealth of the [national] treasury" from 1811 to 1815 (p. 114), "fields without number" (p. 172), "no one can exaggerate the importance of this waterway [the Illinois and Michigan Canal] between 1848 and 1860" (p. 163). The importance of the Ohio canals, on the other hand, seems to be rather underestimated. It is, moreover, doubtful whether the Indians ever fared abroad "to trade" (p. 15). While inclined to emphasize the geographic factors, Professor Hulbert has also made due allowance for the economic factors and the individual contributions of inventors and men of action in determining and developing the routes of our early commerce.

E. L. BOGART.

The New South: a Chronicle of Social and Industrial Evolution. By Holland Thompson. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XLII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1919, pp. ix, 250.) This small volume on a large subject has two notable characteristics. One is its catholicity of spirit. The author nowhere defines the "New South"; on the other hand he points out the variety of political opinion and of economic interests that have arisen since 1876. At no point is he defensive or denunciatory, nor does he take pains to indicate phenomena that are isolated or exceptional. The impression left is that the term "New South" simply embraces an ever-widening variety of political and economic life. The other characteristic of the book is its descriptive value. Only the first three chapters, which trace political movements from the close of Reconstruction through the Populist movement, can be considered strictly historical, and these are interpretative rather than narrative. The remaining chapters discuss from the angle of an observer the development of agriculture and industry, labor conditions, the race problem, educational progress, and current social tendencies. In them the author manifests the insight and sane judgment so notable in his previous volume *From Cotton Field to Cotton Mill*, a study of the transition in North Carolina, and in the present volume most of his illustrations of general movements are taken from that state.

The principal limitations of the book proceed from the necessity of

condensation. Consequently some important matters are omitted, notably the reclaiming of poor and waste lands in recent years. The rise of state control over railroads and large corporations, the changes in tax systems, and the development of state administration are not touched, nor the conditions which gave rise to the early primary laws. That the origins of industrialism were vitally related to the humble rôle of the region in national politics, and in many instances to a quasi-humanitarian spirit on the part of the capitalists, is nowhere suggested. Yet as a brief and suggestive survey of the rise of a civilization the book is unsurpassed. Unfortunately the bibliography is very brief and does not include the titles of many serial publications, monographs, and general works of a helpful nature.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

The Agrarian Crusade: a Chronicle of the Farmer in Politics. By Solon J. Buck. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XLV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920, pp. xi, 215.) While it is undoubtedly a phase of American history which should not be overlooked, to take the subject of the "farmer in politics" out of the general mass of material bearing upon the course of the country since the Civil War and make it the subject of a separate treatise cannot yield very noteworthy results. For a title the editor has chosen "The Agrarian Crusade," which covers the Granger, the Greenback, the Farmers' Alliance, and the Populist movements. Every one of them was based on class selfishness and flourished amid poverty and ignorance. The eccentric fandangoes which the leaders of the movements cut in a number of state and national campaigns are things the farmer of this day, one of the wealthiest and solidest figures in our citizenry, would like to forget. Fortunately such fatuities never did possess the minds or beguile the steps of any considerable number of the cultivators of our soil and the gleaners of our harvests. The farmers who sat at Horace Greeley's feet as they read the *Weekly Tribune* had their "isms", but praise be, they did not contribute the men who strode into our politics to be remembered because of their want of socks, their long beards, their speeches about pitchforks, bloody bridles, and crosses of gold.

A reading of Mr. Buck's altogether temperate little essay about these personages leads one to marvel at his patience in dealing with them and their antics. His account of how the Grange was formed by some government clerks in Washington during Andrew Johnson's administration, and how it, after a good while, grew, is valuable. The "Greenbacker" business might have been amplified. While this particular lunacy was not solely for the farmer, it was set before the country, by such as Ben Butler and George Pendleton, to get their votes. Leaders would mislead them into being repudiators and inflationists by the use of paper money at this time just as they were besought to espouse the silver cause at a later period. Nowhere in it is to be found anything which is to the

credit of our American farmer except in the case in which he withstood such priests and apostles, and this, often and generally, except on the advancing frontier of Western settlement, he did.

Mr. Buck finds a little that is good to say for his "agrarian" movement. The Grange, with its local branches, being open to men and women together, added something to the joy of living in many communities. Men were raised up out of their sordid surroundings, their wives lost some of the hopelessness into which they sank at drear tasks in their isolated homes. They also were taught the reading habit. They began to subscribe for propaganda and class papers. In union they gained a sense of power which, if it was not always used wisely, was uplifting. They also developed a desire for more laws, more government. *Laissez-faire* was to be replaced by a policy which would set the state at work to improve the common lot. Out of it all, Mr. Buck thinks, came the recent "progressive" movement—the "Progressive Party" of 1912, which "vanished from the stage" in 1916, only "when both the old parties were believed to have become progressive".

ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER.

The Budget and Responsible Government. By Frederick A. Cleveland and Arthur Eugene Buck. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. xxxiii, 406.) While this volume in no full sense belongs to the field of history, the authors have entitled part I. of their work Historical Background and Interpretation of the Recent Movement for Administrative Reorganization and Budget Procedure (pp. 3-129). In these pages, however, "interpretation" bulks far larger than historical matter, which is largely introduced as illustrative material. Quotations from the words of Wilson, Hughes, Roosevelt, Taft, and Root are used by the authors to support their contention that our government has lost its responsiveness to the popular will, that we have accepted the idea of the control of the many by the few. The development of this lack of responsiveness—our government through standing committees, our irresponsible party machines and political bosses—can scarcely be said to be placed in historical perspective though historical allusions are frequent. The effort to cure this basic evil in our administrative machinery is drawn in outline, but for a thorough knowledge of the growth of the movement the reader must look elsewhere. For an understanding of its significance and its relation to present problems he will find help here.

A History of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad. By Howard Douglas Dozier, Ph.D., Professor of Economics, Dartmouth College. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. xv, 197, \$2.00.) The main theme of this monograph is the construction and linking up of the numerous railroads running near the seacoast from above Richmond to below Savannah. Illuminating treatment is given to the

launching of the early lines, to the handicap of steamship competition so long as their tracks were unconnected, and to the prosperity rewarding the improvements and economies consequent upon the consolidation. The brief discussions of early traffic and rate problems and of the organization of the Atlantic Coast Despatch for the carriage of perishable freight are particularly interesting.

The consolidation of the Atlantic Coast Line system was a remarkably intelligent piece of work. The book, however, fails to tell whose conception it was; and neither the index nor apparently the text contains the name of Henry Walters. The later chapters, in fact, are notably lacking in the mention of personnel. Other faults lie in the construction of sentences and paragraphs, in the omission of dates of publication from the bibliography, and in occasional errors of statement. On page 69, for example, is a misleading paraphrase from Mills's *Statistics of South Carolina*. Mills merely says, "Tobacco and indigo have each been staples of Carolina", and this is quite true. Dozier says, "Tobacco and indigo had each in turn been the staple of the state in early times", which is not true; for neither of these was ever the staple of South Carolina, and in their sequence there as minor staples tobacco did not precede indigo. Finally, it is regrettable that although the preface is dated 1920, the statistical tables end with 1915 or 1916, and near the end of the text it is intimated that the year 1907 falls within the "last decade". The book, nevertheless, is in general a substantial and well-considered contribution.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

Talks with T. R.: from the Diaries of John J. Leary, Jr. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. xiv, 334, \$3.50.) It is Roosevelt the tribal chieftain that is revealed in this book, loving his friends and being served by them with devotion, hating his enemies and wishing that life were long enough for them all to be punished. It is the bitter leader of the opposition in the closing years of his life, with the party he hated in power and a leader whom he openly despised in office. The picture is less attractive than that of the writer of the letters to his children, or of the state papers that have been included in Mr. Bishop's selection, but it seems to present with fidelity one of the poses of the most versatile statesman of our day.

The compiler, Mr. Leary, is one of the group of newspaper men who surrounded Roosevelt in his later life. He tells of the difficulties of the anti-Roosevelt papers in keeping their writers loyal to editorial policy because of the spell that Roosevelt cast over nearly everyone who entered his circle. The "newspaper cabinet" was invariably treated with confidence and advised of matters that were not yet ready for the public. Mr. Leary kept private notes of these informal conversations and now presents them for a period of about four years. There is no utterance that has been noted earlier than 1916; most of them have to do with the

war and its various aspects, and through the whole collection run the consistent themes of Americanism and contempt for Wilson.

Few new facts are given to the world, but there are many expressions of opinion that will enliven sober histories in the future. Those who wondered how and why Roosevelt supported Hughes in 1916 will note with interest that in moments of depression the Colonel called his candidate the "bearded lady" (p. 52). The attack upon Wilson for his appeal for votes in 1918 appears in a new light when it is revealed that Roosevelt prepared and suppressed a similar statement asking for republican votes, suppressing it only "on the ground that it left the way open to attack" (p. 330). The absence of an index makes the book more difficult to use than it need have been.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The Monroe Doctrine and the Great War. By Arnold Bennett Hall, J.D., Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Company, 1920, pp. xiii, 177, 75 cents.) This small volume professedly makes a popular appeal. In seven chapters the author sets forth the foundations, the formulation, and the various "enunciations" of the Doctrine. The narrative is generally clear and in most respects quite conventional. Mr. Ford's classic exposition of the authorship of the Doctrine could have been used to advantage. Like nearly every one who has written upon this subject during the past twenty-five years, the author finds the so-called "Secret Treaty of Verona of 1822" an important basis for Monroe's pronouncement. The text of this document, reprinted by the late Professor Freeman Snow in his *Treaties and Topics in American Diplomacy* from Elliot's *Diplomatic Code*, is unquestionably spurious. Doubts were cast upon it at least as long ago as 1855 by Schaumann in von Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch* for that year. The author regards Washington's Farewell Address as essentially one of the foundations of the Doctrine, yet he claims that while the Monroe Doctrine is alive and vigorous, the policy of Washington, summed up as one of isolation, is obsolete because based upon a transitory situation. It might be insisted that the original Monroe Doctrine comes nearer this description, for the "reputed designs of the Holy Alliance" were, if they ever existed, abandoned by the time Monroe sent in his message, and the so-called non-colonization principle of Adams was set forth as a plain statement of fact. The reader might desire proof of the statement that Jefferson meant only secret alliances by those that were "entangling", and he might well challenge the assertion that the "old alliances were formed for the purpose of waging war".

The justification for the title of the present work lies in a single chapter which is a résumé of several of the arguments in favor of the League of Nations with which the average reader has by this time become fairly familiar. Of these Professor Hall is an enthusiastic advo-

cate: the League "is an effort to found a constructive peace policy upon the realities of today as distinguished from the ostrich-like naïveté of those who seek to base great national policies upon effete theories of isolation which are negatived by the most obvious facts of modern life" (p. 142). Finally, in the League or out of it, the Monroe Doctrine of the future, as of the past, will, he thinks, "be a policy of self-defense" to the United States.

J. S. R.

Official History of 82nd Division American Expeditionary Forces, "All American" Division, 1917-1919. Written by Divisional Officers designated by the Division Commander. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1919, pp. vii, 310, \$1.75.) In the winter following the armistice, while the Eighty-Second Division was awaiting transport home, Major (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) G. Edward Buxton, jr., was detailed to prepare its history. Brother officers lent all possible assistance by conference and by excursions with him over the main battle area and by reading and approving his manuscript. On his own part, the author shows high competence and complete freedom from vainglory. It follows that in tone and substance the book is just what such a book should be.

The composition and career of this National Army Division, which properly styled itself the "All American", was remarkably typical of America's participation. After six months of training at Camp Gordon, near Atlanta, Ga., it reached France in May, 1918, when its aid seemed likely to be needed in the defense of the Channel ports and it took training station behind the British front. In June, however, it moved for front-line experience to the fairly quiet Lagny sector near Toul. In August it was shifted to the neighborhood of Pont-à-Mousson, where in September it formed the southern pivot of the St. Mihiel drive.

All this, though it comprised some sharp fighting, proved to be but practice-work. It was in the middle stage of the Meuse-Argonne offensive, October 6-21, that the division met its destiny. The vivid tale of these tremendous days on the western edge and at the northern end of the Argonne Forest fills the greater part of the book. Here are in detail, heavily documented from the division's records, all the characteristic episodes of open warfare: the night approach in driving rain through (not over) improvised and congested roads across the shell-torn recent battle-grounds; the day-break jump-off; the charge up and over wooded heights; the flanking of machine-gun nests, Corporal York's famous exploit being of course set forth especially; the rolling barrage and controversy over its proper rate of advance; *liaison* and the lack thereof resulting in the inevitable "fog of war"; the attempt to establish a bridge-head; the advance from forest into open country where the Kriemhilde-Stellung must be penetrated; exposed flanks and untenable salients; barbed wire, phosgene, fox-holes, and pill-boxes;

friendly tanks which never came, and hostile airplanes which brought machine-guns in full action; complaints to the divisional artillery that its shells were bursting in its own infantry's ranks, and proof that the charge was untrue; rain, mist, and mud; illness, casualties, and exhaustion; and finally, when power to advance had been utterly spent, the holding of a salient for ten days by battalions décimated well nigh to platoon dimensions, until at the end of the month relief and replacements eventually came.

It is perhaps because the general theme is one of success that the most impressive chapters are those telling of adversity. One of these relates the efforts of a battalion of the 326th Infantry to get a bridge-head across the Aire River north of Marcq. A persistent search by night failed to find a ford, but when troops in process of crossing on a makeshift foot-bridge were fired upon and jumped into the river they discovered a ford unawares. When this was utilized for the advance, however, such a storm of machine-gun fire was met that the survivors had to retreat as they best might; and this particular bridge-head, apparently, was never established. Other such chapters tell of the making and abandonment of an untenable salient in the Kriemhilde-Stellung by the 325th Infantry, and of the grim holding of the line by the attenuated and exhausted units.

Supplementary chapters from other pens than Colonel Buxton's relate, among other things, the history of the division after the armistice and the experience of its artillery, engineer, medical, and signal units.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

The Government of the United States, National, State and Local. By William Bennett Munro, Professor of Municipal Government in Harvard University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1919, pp. x, 648, \$2.75.) The introductory collegiate course in government has become well-nigh standardized throughout the country. It had its origin, somewhat over a decade ago, in a realistic revolt against the attempt to initiate underclassmen into the art of government through discussions of sovereignty and of the classifications of states. It proposed to begin with facts and with the facts at home; it became essentially a description of the governmental mechanism of the United States. Professor Munro does not break with this norm.

This essential conformity is illustrated in the use of history. Professor Munro informs us in his preface that it is his purpose "not only to explain the form and functions of the American political system, but to indicate the origin and purpose of the various institutions" (p. vii). In his opening chapter on English and colonial origins he emphasizes our indebtedness to colonial institutions. But these, he as quickly points out, were relatively matured; below them was "the heritage of the whole Anglo-Saxon Race". The story of the development of that heritage necessarily goes untold. The consequence is that the underlying ele-

ments of our governmental system remain quite unexplained genetically. Although this text contains rather more of running historical explanation than its predecessors, one might be inclined to quarrel with a method of approach which attempts an inclusive and detailed description of structure, as contrasted with a method which, concentrating on fewer and relatively more fundamental phases of government, could put them against a background far-reaching enough really to explain their evolution through the centuries.

But texts need not chart the courses themselves. Professor Munro's book, for example, draws only occasional and limited comparisons with the institutions and practices of other countries, these being pointed mainly at the English constitutional system. Yet the reviewer understands that nearly half of the introductory course at Harvard, of which Professor Munro declares (p. vii) his text to be a by-product, has been given to a survey of certain European governments, while lectures which have not hesitated to wander far afield have contributed elements of synthesis and interpretation.

Regardless of the turn which the introductory collegiate course in government may take in the future, we shall continue to need descriptive texts along traditional lines.

Las Veladas Literarias del Virrey del Perú Marqués de Castellodorus, 1709-1710. Por José Revello de Torre. [Publicaciones del Centro Oficial de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla, Cuaderno IV.] (Seville, Tip. Zarzuela, 1920, pp. 20.) The author of this monograph has based his work on documentary sources found in the National Library of Madrid and in the General Archive of the Indies at Seville. Sr. Torres, an Argentine, has been for a year or more at work in Seville; he had visited other archives in Spain before he settled down in that of the Indies, to make the extensive investigations into sources for Argentine history in which he is now engaged.

His monograph is interesting. Among the political and military documents which fill the Spanish archives there is comparatively little bearing upon either economic or social questions; therefore the picture which Sr. Torres presents, of the literary salons over which the Marqués de Castellodorus presided, is refreshing because it is unusual and also because it is beautiful. The monograph brings before the reader brilliant scenes—in the viceroy's "crystal gallery", where assembled an aristocratic and talented company, the gallants of which were competent to strike an attitude before a new chandelier and make it an excuse to sing the marquis's praises in ten-foot verse!

I. A. WRIGHT.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association will take place in Washington on December 28, 29, and 30. Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University is chairman of the programme committee, Dr. Thomas Nelson Page is chairman of the committee of local arrangements, and Dr. H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, is its secretary. Sessions will begin on the morning of the 28th, but the presidential address of Professor Edward Channing will be given that evening, together with that of Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, president of the American Political Science Association, the latter organization meeting at the same place and dates. A joint session of the two societies, with papers relating chiefly to foreign politics, especially relations with Hispanic America, is expected. There will also be a joint conference with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and with the Agricultural History Society, and a meeting of the conference of historical societies. Ancient and medieval history, modern European history, American history, and the history of science will be the themes of individual conferences. There will be a special "luncheon conference" at the Library of Congress on the opportunities for historical research in the city of Washington, and conferences, at luncheons or dinners, of those specially interested in economic history, in the history of the Far East, in the history of Latin America, and the like. A subscription dinner, with attractive speakers, is planned as one of the chief social events. The headquarters will be at the New Willard Hotel.

PERSONAL

Professor Franklin B. Dexter of Yale University died in New Haven on August 13, at the age of seventy-seven. He was for eleven years professor of American history in Yale University, and for forty-three years assistant librarian. His largest publications concerned his university, and included six volumes of *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Yale College, 1701-1815*, a *Documentary History* of the university, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, and his *Itineraries and Correspondence*. He also edited the earlier volumes of the *New Haven Town Records*. Extensive and minute as was his knowledge of Connecticut history, he was far from being a mere antiquarian, but wrote of New England antiquities with a large comprehension of general history. He was a man of great benevolence and personal charm.

August Fournier, professor of history in the University of Vienna, died in May at the age of sixty years. He is chiefly known for his ex-

cellent biography of *Napoleon I.* and for other works on the same period.

Professor Allen M. Kline, hitherto dean and professor of history and political science in the University of the Pacific, has been made professor of history in Middlebury College.

It was by error that we stated in our July number, p. 758, that Professor Kent R. Greenfield of Delaware College had been appointed professor of history in Yale University; the appointment was to the position of assistant professor.

Professor Christopher B. Coleman of Butler College, Indianapolis, has been elected professor of history in Allegheny College, at Meadville, Pa., and has begun work there this autumn.

Dr. Arthur C. Cole, of the University of Illinois, has become a professor in Ohio State University. Dr. George A. Wood has been made assistant professor of American history in the same institution.

In Indiana University, Assistant Professor William T. Morgan has been promoted to be associate professor of European history. Associate Professor Kohlmeier will be on leave of absence during 1920-1921. His place will be filled for the year by Professor William O. Lynch of the Indiana State Normal School.

Dr. Marcus W. Jernegan has lately been given the full rank of a professor of history in the University of Chicago.

Dr. James G. Randall has been appointed associate professor, Dr. F. C. Dietz, of Smith College, and Dr. Theodore C. Pease have been appointed assistant professors, of history in the University of Illinois. The latter has been charged with the editing of the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library, in succession to Professor C. W. Alvord.

Dr. Carl Stephenson of Washington University is to be assistant professor of history in the University of Wisconsin during the coming year. Miss Martha L. Edwards, formerly of Lake Erie College, has been made assistant professor of history in the University of Wisconsin, in charge of correspondence study in that field.

Mr. Theodore C. Blegen has been appointed assistant professor of history and economics in Hamline University.

Professor R. G. Usher of Washington University has been granted a year's leave of absence from that institution, during which time Professor T. M. Marshall, formerly of the University of Colorado, now professor in Washington University, will act as head of the department. Professor E. M. Violette, of the State Normal School, at Kirksville, Mo., will serve as acting professor of history at that university during Professor Usher's absence.

Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher has resigned from the faculty of Ohio State University and accepted a position as professor of American history in the University of Texas.

Dr. Clarence Perkins, of Ohio State University, has been made professor and head of the department of European history in the University of North Dakota.

Dr. Alfred H. Sweet, hitherto acting assistant professor of English history in Cornell University, has been elected assistant professor of history in the University of Colorado; for the present year, in the absence of Professor James F. Willard, he will be chiefly occupied with continuing Dr. Willard's work.

Professor Frank A. Golder, of Washington State College, who during the summer session has been teaching in Stanford University, sailed for Europe in September on a commission from that university in the interest of the Hoover War History Collection.

Professor K. C. Leebrick has resigned from the University of California to accept the position of head of the department of history and political science in the University of Hawaii. During the present semester Professor E. D. Adams of Stanford is giving a series of lectures on nineteenth-century history at the former university.

GENERAL

General review: R. Basset, *Bulletin des Périodiques de l'Islam*, 1914-1918 (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, November).

Viscount Rothermere has given an endowment of £20,000 to the University of Oxford for the support of a professorship of American history to bear the name of his son, Captain Harold Harmsworth, who was killed in the war while an Oxford undergraduate. It is one of the conditions of the endowment that the occupant of the chair shall be a citizen of the United States.

Under the editorial charge of Professor Hermann Oncken of Heidelberg, and the fostering care of the publishers Perthes of Gotha, the *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*, founded in 1822 and conducted successively by Heeren and Ukert, Giesebrecht, and Lamprecht, takes a new lease of life despite the discouragements of the last few years, and plans many valuable historical volumes for the service of the new Germany. Several of these volumes are already in type, or finished in manuscript. We note the following, of which at least the first volumes are to be expected before long: a history of Prussia in the nineteenth century (3 vols.), by Professor Felix Rachfahl; for Bavaria, a continuation of Riezler, from 1726 to 1871 (3 vols.), by Professor Karl Alexander von Müller; for Austria, a continuation of Huber, from 1648 to 1705 (first volume), by Oswald Redlich; a first volume for Styria (to 1282), by Professor Karl Pirchegger; for Carinthia, a first volume by Jaksch von Wartenhorst; for Hamburg, two volumes (1815-1914) by Dr. Ernst Baasch; for Bohemia, a volume running from 1526 to 1576, by Bertold Bretholz; for Hungary, five volumes, by Alexander Domanovszky and

David Angyal; for Switzerland (1848-1914), a continuation of the late Johannes Dierauer's work, by Professor Hans Schneider of Zurich; for the Netherlands, a seventh volume (1795-1839) of the German translation of Blok; two volumes on Norway, by Professor Halvdan Koht of Christiania; three volumes on Poland, from 1772 to 1914, by Dr. Otto Forst-Battaglia of Vienna; for France (1848-1914), four volumes, by Professor Paul Darmstädter of Göttingen; for Italy after 1300, and for Venice from 1200 to 1500, volumes by Professor Alfred Doren of Leipzig and H. Kretschmayr of Vienna, respectively. Dr. Alexius Ivić, archivist of Agram, will continue Jireček's *Geschichte der Serben*. Professor Godée Molsbergen of Batavia will prepare two volumes on the history of South Africa. Among plans respecting the history of the New World, we note that Professor Ernst Daenell of Münster expects to bring out in 1921 the first (1660-1775) of his volumes on the history of the United States; and that there will be volumes on the history of Canada by Professor Adolf Hasenclever, on the discovery of America by Captain Dr. Friederici, on Mexico by Professor Eduard Seler, on Central America by Professor Karl Sapper, on the West Indies by Dr. Wahrhold Drascher, and on Brazil by Professor Hermann Wätjen.

The Congress of Spanish-American History and Geography held at Seville in 1914 appointed a committee to arrange for a further congress two years later, but this was rendered impracticable by the war. It is now proposed to hold the congress early in 1921 in connection with the Spanish-American exposition at Seville. The programme contemplates four sections: on pre-Spanish America; on the history of America; on the geography of America; and on the history and geography of the Philippines, commemorative of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the archipelago. Papers are to be presented in Spanish and should be submitted to the committee not later than December 31, 1920.

Number 17 of the *Proceedings* of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland (1919), presents the discussions which took place at the meeting held at Trenton and at Philadelphia, in the one case of the History Teacher and the League of Nations, in the other of History Teaching as Propaganda in dealing with After-War Problems: its Use and Abuse.

A committee of which M. Édouard Driault, editor of the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, is chairman, is making elaborate preparations to commemorate, on May 5, 1921, the centenary of the death of Napoleon I. The committee proposes to organize Napoleonic exhibitions, lectures, visits to the battlefields of 1814, commemorative ceremonies, and an international historical congress. M. Driault's address is 3 Avenue Mirabeau, Versailles.

Ernest Seillière, a member of the Institute of France, has published during the past three years a series of three volumes: *Le Péril Mystique*

dans *l'Inspiration des Démocraties Contemporaines; Les Étapes du Mysticisme Passionnel, de Saint-Preux à Manfred*; and *Les Origines Romanesques de la Morale et de la Politique Romantiques* (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1918-1920). The volumes are marked by literary charm and undoubtedly form a masterly contribution to the history of literature, but their chief purpose and interest are in the elaboration of a new thesis in the philosophy of history. The author traces in literature from the days of ancient Greece to the present, especially in the writings of influential political thinkers, the erotic element. He finds that the increasing glorification of this element is closely linked with the growth of the democratic tradition. The conclusion is implicit that the present chaotic conditions are the natural fruit of these two parallel forces of evil. The conclusions are vigorously combatted by Professor Albert Mathiez in reviews of the first and third volumes in the *Annales Révolutionnaires* (July, 1918, pp. 564-566; March, 1920, pp. 162-163).

In Germany, too, novel philosophies of history are being evolved, as witness: *Individuum und Welt als Werk: eine Grundlegung der Kulturphilosophie* (Munich, Reinhardt, 1920, pp. 276), by G. Burckhardt; and *Der Untergang des Abendlandes: Umrisse einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte*, vol. I., *Gestalt und Wirklichkeit* (Munich, Beck, 1919, pp. xv, 615); vol. II., *Welthistorische Perspektiven* (announced), by Oswald Spengler. A careful and extended review of the latter work by Rudolf Eisler will be found in the *Revue Politique Internationale* (January, 1920, pp. 81-102).

An interesting volume is *The History of the Art of Writing*, by W. A. Mason, director of art education in the Philadelphia Public Schools. The author traces the evolution of the art from the period of Egyptian hieroglyphics to the invention of the printing-press (Macmillan).

Students of military history will find that Marshal Foch's *Principles of War*, translated by Hilaire Belloc and published in this country by Messrs. Holt, is a substantial contribution to knowledge in their field.

The student of the history of the higher education in Europe will value a lecture on the history of the learned degrees, read last February before the Spanish Royal Academy of History by Dr. Eduardo Ibarra y Rodríguez of the University of Zaragoza, published with the title *Origen y Vicisitudes de los Títulos Profesionales en Europa, especialmente en España* (Madrid, Tip. Renovación).

The *Columbia University Oriental Studies* are soon to include part I. of *Moslem Schisms and Sects: being the History of Various Philosophical Systems developed in Islam*, by al-Baghdādī, translated from the Arabic by Dr. Kate C. Seelye.

Jus Connatum and the Declaration of the Rights of Man, by Julius Goebel (pp. 1-18), a reprint from vol. XIX. of the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, traces the history of the conception of "nat-

ural law" from the time of Greek thought to the period of greatest influence, at the close of the eighteenth century.

Messrs. Allen and Unwin announce a *History of Social Development*, a translation by Elizabeth C. Lake and H. A. Lake of the work of Dr. F. Muller-Lyer.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. H. Rivers, *History and Ethnology* (History, July); R. H. Murray, *The Idea of Progress* (Quarterly Review, July); F. Friedrich, *Versuch über die Perioden der Ideengeschichte der Neuzeit und ihr Verhältnis zur Gegenwart* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXII. 1); W. Bauer, *Das Schlagwort als Sozialpsychische und Geistesgeschichtliche Erscheinung* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXII. 2).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: J. A. Maynard, *A Second Bibliographical Survey of Assyriology, Years 1918-1919* (Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, March); T. Lenschau, *Bericht über Griechische Geschichte, 1907-1914* (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, CLXXX.)

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has published *The Code of Hammurabi* and *Selections from the Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, ed. P. Handcock, and the first of six volumes of *The Library of Photius*, abounding in information concerning lost classics, and now translated for the first time into a modern language, by J. H. Freese.

The Hittites, by A. E. Cowley, sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library (Oxford University Press), illustrated, is composed of the Schweich Lectures delivered before the British Academy in 1918.

A new series of *Fontes Historiae Religionum ex Auctoribus Graecis et Latinis* has been initiated by Professor Carl Clemen with a volume of *Fontes Historiae Religionis Persicae* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1920).

In *Early Judaism*, a forthcoming volume from the Cambridge University Press, L. E. Browne, fellow of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, attempts to show the relation between the failure of Judaism and the political and religious doctrines prevalent in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C.

Of *Das Antike Mysterienwesen in Religionsgeschichtlicher, Ethnologischer, und Psychologischer Beleuchtung*, by K. H. E. de Jong, a second edition has appeared (Leiden, Brill, 1920, pp. viii, 448), thoroughly revised and considerably enlarged.

The well-known Danish-Jewish writer, Georg Brandes, has issued the first volume of a study of the career of *Cajus Julius Caesar* (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1920, pp. 540).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Hein, *Sumerer und Indogermanen* (Mannus, XI. 1); R. von Pohlmann, *Des Attischen Reiches Herr-*

lichkeit und Untergang (Lehren der Geschichte, XVII. 6); E. Karne-
mann, *Philipp II. und Alexander der Grosse* (Internationale Monats-
schrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst, und Technik, November); G. Costa,
Politica e Religione nell' Impero Romano (Rivista Italiana di Sociologia,
July, 1919); E. G. Sihler, *In the Era of Diocletian* (Biblical Review,
April); G. Ferrero, *La Ruine de la Civilisation Antique*, III. (Revue des
Deux Mondes, June 1); G. Wilke, *Ueber den Beginn der Bronzezeit in
Mitteleuropa* (Mannus, XI. 1); H. Peake, *The Finnic Question and
some Baltic Problems* (Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, July,
1919).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

St. Optatus and the early Donatist writers are dealt with by Paul
Monceaux in the fifth volume of his *Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique
Chrétienne depuis les Origines jusqu'à l'Invasion Arabe* (Paris, Leroux,
1920, pp. 350).

Christian Monasticism in Egypt to the Close of the Fourth Century,
by W. H. Mackean, is to be published this autumn by the Society for the
Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which has also published a transla-
tion into English of the *Ethiopic Didascalia*, useful for the history of the
early Church, with introduction and notes by Dr. J. M. Harden.

Mr. Oscar D. Watkins, in *A History of Penance* (Longmans, 2
vols.), accompanies his historical exposition with the text of the original
authorities on whom he relies, discussions of their importance, and gen-
eral summaries of the results of his investigations, which relate to the
whole Church down to A. D. 450 and to the Western Church from 450
to 1215.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Causse, *Essai sur le Conflit du
Christianisme Primitif et de la Civilisation* (Revue de l'Histoire des
Religions, March); L. M. A. Haughwout, *Steps in the Organization of
the Early Church* (Anglican Theological Review, May).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Theodore Haarhoff's *Schools of Gaul* (Oxford University Press) is
indicated by its subtitle as a study of pagan and Christian education in
the last century of the Western Empire.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Herzfeld, *Das Strafverfahren
Gregors VII. im Lichte der Ideen Augustins und Gregors I.* (Historische
Vierteljahrschrift, XXVII. 3); Canon A. T. Bannister, *Church Life in
the Later Middle Age* (Edinburgh Review, July); P. Guilhaume, *Re-
marques Diverses sur les Poids et Mesures du Moyen Age* (Bibliothèque
de l'École des Chartes, LXXX.).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

For the *Histoire Universelle du Travail*, Professor G. Renard and G.
Weulersse have written *Le Travail dans l'Europe Moderne* (Paris,
Alcan, 1920, pp. 524).

W. Mitscherlich, whose earlier study, published in *Schmoller's Jahrbuch* prior to the war, was a pioneer work on the subject, has now published a more extended study of *Der Nationalismus Westeuropas* (Leipzig, Hirschfeld, 1920, pp. xv, 374).

Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century, by Henry Osborn Taylor, a scholarly survey of the period of the Renaissance, is announced by the Macmillan Company for October publication.

The Görresgesellschaft has added two new volumes to its collection of materials on the Council of Trent, *Acta ad praeeparandum Concilium et Sessiones anni 1562 a prima (XVII) ad sextam (XXII)*, ed. Stephan Ehses, and the *Epistulae*, ed. G. Buschbell, from March 5, 1545, to March 11, 1547 (Freiburg i. B., Herder).

Abbé A. Leman has recently published a volume on *Urbain VIII. et la Rivalité de la France et de la Maison d'Autriche de 1631 à 1635* (Paris, 1920); and Dr. Rosario Russo has ready for press an elaborate work, based on a wide variety of archival materials, on the history of the Holy See during the Swedish period of the Thirty Years' War.

Mr. A. Weiner, lecturer in history, Kings College, University of London, has compiled a collection of *Select Passages illustrating Commercial and Diplomatic Relations between England and Russia* (pp. 76) which is published by the Macmillan Company.

From vol. VIII. of the *Proceedings* of the British Academy a careful paper by Lieut.-Col. F. De Filippi on *The Relations of the House of Savoy with the Court of England* has been reprinted and may be obtained from the Oxford University Press.

For early publication Messrs. Longman announce what promises to be an interesting social study, *The Relations of French and English Society, 1763-1793*, by C. H. Lockett.

Professor E. Hubert of Liège has edited a volume of *Dépêches Inédites, 5 Janvier-23 Septembre 1792, de Mercy-Argenteau et Blumendorf* (Brussels, Lebègue, 1919, pp. 219). These reports of Blumendorf, the Austrian agent in Paris, to Count Mercy at Brussels have already been utilized to a considerable extent in the works of Glagau and Count Pimodan. A volume on the relations of *Austria e Piemonte nel 1793* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1918, pp. xvi, 154) is by G. De Antonio.

A vivacious account of European society at the beginning of the nineteenth century may be found in *An Irish Peer on the Continent, 1801-1803*, edited by Thomas U. Sadleir (Williams and Norgate), a collection of letters written by Miss Catherine Wilmot, a young woman who accompanied Lord and Lady MountCashell on a Continental tour in the years mentioned.

C. Depuis has made a valuable contribution to the diplomatic history of 1814 in *Le Ministère de Talleyrand en 1814* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp.

409). Fortunately much of his archival research had been completed prior to 1914.

The work of S. Baron on *Die Judenfrage auf dem Wiener Kongress* (Vienna, Löwit, 1920, pp. 211) is based in part on unpublished materials. More recent events are covered in *Notes on the Diplomatic History of the Jewish Question* (London, Jewish Historical Society of England, 1919, pp. x, 133), which contains pertinent extracts from treaties and other official documents compiled by L. Wolf.

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has resumed the publication of *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871*, which was interrupted by the war. The eleventh volume (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1920) covers the period from July 1 to August 6, 1866, thus including the preliminaries of Nikolsburg. Professor F. Oetker has written for the general reader *Die Emser Depesche, ihre Vorgeschichte und ihre rechtlich Politische Bedeutung* (Würzburg, Kabitzsch and Mönnich, 1920).

My Diaries: being a Personal Record of Events, 1888-1914, by Wilfred S. Blunt (London, Marvin Secker, 2 vols., 1919, 1920), sets forth a view of the war as an Eastern war, a view which is the result of the writer's interest in Africa and Asia rather than in Europe.

Die Internationale 1914 bis 1919 (Halle, Niemeyer, 1919), by R. Fester, includes a survey of the first International (1864-1876) and of the second International from its foundation in 1899. The volume is the first of a series on *Das Ausland im Weltkriege*.

The Oxford University Press has brought out *The Declaration of London, February 26, 1909: a Collection of Official Papers and Documents*, edited by James B. Scott, with an introduction by Elihu Root; also *Treaties for the Advancement of Peace between the United States and other Powers, negotiated by William J. Bryan*, with an introduction by Dr. Scott.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Edward Armstrong, *Machiavelli as a Political Thinker* (History, July); E. Griselle, *La Maison d'Autriche et la Politique Française au Traité de Westphalie, Notes Diplomatiques rédigées après l'Année 1652* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXIII. 2); F. Kaphahn, *1648 und 1919: ein Historischer Vergleich* (Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XV. 2); H. Zwingmann, *Johann de Witt und Ludwig XIV., 1663* (Historische Vierteljahrsschrift, XXVII. 2); E. Wertheimer, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Deutsch-Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Bündnisses von 1879* (Deutsche Rundschau, March); Rear-Admiral Degouy, *L'Escaut et le Rhin* (Revue des Deux Mondes, July 1); F. Wieser, *Die Revolutionen der Gegenwart* (Deutsche Rundschau, March); J. Lescure, *Le Mouvement Ouvrier depuis l'Armistice jusqu'en Mars 1920* (Revue d'Économie Politique, May); H. A. Gibbons, *The San Remo Conference* (Century, September).

THE GREAT WAR

The London *Times* has just published the last number of *The "Times" History of the War*, of which the first number was issued in August, 1914. The whole work consists of twenty-one volumes, covering all phases of the war in so far as they could be covered in narratives nearly contemporaneous. The illustrations are of extraordinary variety and value.

Messrs. Hutchinson of London will publish, in two illustrated volumes, as a companion to Field-Marshal Ludendorff's *War Memories*, a work entitled *The General Staff and its Problems: the Secret History of the Relations between the High Command and the German Imperial Government as revealed by Official Documents*.

General H. von Kuhl, chief of the General Staff of the German first army, later in charge of Crown Prince Rupprecht, has published *Der Deutsche Generalstab in Vorbereitung und Durchführung des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920), in which he defends the General Staff against the charges of driving the country into war and of undervaluing the strength of their opponents. He allocates the responsibilities to England, France, and Russia. Of especial interest is the emphasis which he places on the work of Moltke's successors at the head of the General Staff, especially of Schlieffen. Another work on the period is by Richard Wolff on *Die Deutsche Regierung und der Kriegausbruch: eine Darstellung auf Grund der Amtlichen Deutschen Vorkriegsakten* (Berlin, Hobbing, 1919). H. Martin has also written *Die Schuld am Weltkriege* (Leipzig, Grunow, 1920).

Discussions of propaganda in the war are contained in *Les Chefs d'Oeuvre de la Propagande Allemande* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. 280) by G. Drouilly and E. Guerinon; in *L'Offensive Morale des Allemands en France pendant la Guerre, l'Assaut de l'Ame Française* (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1920, pp. 360) by L. Marchand; and in *Nachrichtendienst, Presse, und Volksstimmung im Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920) by Nicolai.

General Lanrezac, who in August, 1914, commanded the French Fifth Army, immediately on the right of the British Expeditionary Force, now publishes a clear historical account of its operations supported by orders, instructions, reports of conversations, etc., and presents a skillful criticism of the French plan of campaign, in a volume entitled *Le Plan de Campagne Français et le Premier Mois de Guerre* (Paris, Payot).

Mr. George H. Perris's *The Battle of the Marne* (London, Methuen) is an account by a war correspondent who was at the French general headquarters during two years of the war; it is based on many French and English sources.

The fifth volume of General Palat's *La Grande Guerre sur le Front Occidental* (Paris, Chapelot) is entitled *La Retraite sur la Seine*, and

carries its very competent narrative and criticism from August 24 to September 4, 1914.

Messrs. E. P. Dutton and Company are the American publishers of *Sir Douglas Haig's Despatches, December 1915-April 1919*, official communications to the British government, on whose historical importance it is unnecessary to dwell.

Professor Gilbert Murray's *Our Great War and the Great War of the Ancient Greeks* (London, Thomas Seltzer) carries the analogy between the two periods of history of which he writes even to the personalities involved.

Contributions on the Belgian phase of the war are contained in B. Schwertfeger's *Belgische Landesverteidigung und Bürgerwacht (Garde Civile)*, 1914 (Berlin, Hobbing, 1920); O. Nippold's *Die Verletzung der Neutralität Luxemburgs und Belgiens* (Zurich, Orell Füssli, 1920, pp. iii, 114); F. Quiroga, *Les Allemands en Belgique, 1914-1918* (Paris, Belin, 1919, pp. 382); R. Henning's *Les Déportations de Civils Belges en Allemagne et dans le Nord de la France* (Brussels, Vromant, 1919); and in J. Schmitz and R. Nieuwland's *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Invasion Allemande dans les Provinces de Namur et de Luxembourg* (Brussels, Van Oest, 1919, pp. 182), which is the first volume of a series. This volume relates only to events in August, 1914, and is a collection of accounts by eye-witnesses, reports, and depositions as well as a record of the contemporary observations of the authors.

General Malleterre has written a concise summary of the history of the war in *De Sarajevo à Versailles, Toute la Guerre Illustrée en un Volume* (Paris, Lafitte, 1920, pp. 240), which contains an extraordinary number of illustrations. A list of all engagements with date, place, and units engaged, with a list of all generals commanding in chief, has been issued by the German General Staff under the title *Die Schlachten und Gefechte des Grossen Krieges, 1914-1918* (Berlin, Sack, 1920, pp. 420). The eighth volume of A. Gauvain's *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 480) carries the narrative forward to November, 1915. Louis Madelin has brought out in book form his articles on *La Bataille de France de 1918* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 380) which first appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. G. Guitton, a member of the 415th infantry regiment in General Gouraud's army, is the author of *La Poursuite Victorieuse, 26 Septembre-11 Novembre 1918* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 256).

The *Mémoires* (Paris, Payot, 1920) and the *Mémoires, Défense de Paris* (*ibid.*) of General Galliéri have been published. The manuscript of the latter was written by his own hand in June, 1915. Marius and Ary Leblond have published *Galliéri Parle: Entretiens du "Sauveur de Paris", Ministre de Guerre, avec ses Secrétaires* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1920, 2 vols.). A volume on *Sarrail et Galliéri* (Paris, Fournier, 1919)

is by General Percin. General Sarraill has written *Mon Commandement en Orient, 1916-1918* (Paris, Flammarion, 1920, pp. 424), and General Dubail, *Quatre Années de Commandement, 1914-1918* (vol. I., Paris, Fournier, 1920, pp. 310).

Mention has been made in earlier issues of the *Review* of the discussion in progress in France over the conduct of the war by the French high command. Continuations of this debate are found in J. Bardoux's *La Marche à la Guerre, Deux Devoirs, Deux Tranchées* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 345); General Percin's *1914: les Erreurs du Haut Commandement* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1920), which is the first volume of a proposed series; * * *s *Le Plan XVII., Étude Stratégique* (Paris, Payot, 1920); Abel Ferry's *La Guerre Vue d'en Bas et d'en Haut* (Paris, Grasset, 1920), which bears the legend "L'Âme de 1793 est en bas: la Bureaucratie est en haut"; Capt. R. Recouly's *La Bataille de Foch* (Paris, Hachette, 1920), which uses Foch papers to describe the final campaign from the point of view of headquarters; and Mermeix's *Le Commandement Unique* (vol. I., Paris, Ollendorff, 1920, pp. 270). Together these volumes make no small contribution to the history of the conduct of the war from the French side.

The similar discussion in progress in Germany has also received notice. One of the more recent items therein is *Kritik des Weltkrieges: das Erbe Moltkes und Schlieffens im Grossen Kriege, von einem Generalstäbler* (Leipzig, Kohler, 1920, pp. xi, 246). General von Auffenberg-Komárow, quondam Austro-Hungarian war minister, and later commander of the fourth army in Galicia, has published *Aus Oesterreich-Ungarns Teilnahme am Weltkriege* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1920, pp. 393), which is, however, mainly devoted to his military command. One of the most interesting revelations was bound to be that of General Liman von Sanders which he has published under the title *Fünf Jahre in Türkei* (Berlin, Scherl, 1920). Naturally the interest of the volume is primarily political rather than military.

Eastern phases of the war are described in *La Campagne des Dardanelles: Documents Diplomatiques et Carnet de Campagne* (Paris, Chiron, 1920, pp. iv, 175) by X. Torau-Bayle; *La Victoire des Alliés en Orient, 15 Septembre-13 Novembre 1918* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 252), by C. Photiadès; and *The Desert Campaigns* (London, Constable, 1918) and *How Jerusalem was Won* (*ibid.*, 1919) by W. T. Massey, the official correspondent of the London papers, whose thrilling narrative is to be completed in a third volume.

Rear-Admiral Daveluy has begun a study of *L'Action Maritime pendant la Guerre Anti-Germanique* (vol. I., Paris, Challamel). P. Ardoin is the author of *L'Escadre Allemande du Pacifique* (*ibid.*) and of *L'Emden, ses Croisières et sa Fin* (*ibid.*). The wide range of topics involved is systematically surveyed in *Notre Marine Marchande pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 384).

The applications of the Treaty of Versailles are studied by J. Godart in *Les Clauses du Travail dans le Traité de Versailles, 28 Juin 1919: les Décisions de la Conférence de Washington, November 1919* (Paris, Dunod, 1920, pp. 229); by H. Poeschel in *Die Kolonialfrage im Frieden von Versailles, Dokumente zu ihrer Behandlung* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920, pp. xii, 246); by Dukagin-Zadeh Basri Bey in *Le Monde Oriental et l'Avenir de la Paix* (Paris, Perrin, 1920, pp. xxxvi, 214); and by A. Gérard in *L'Extrême Orient et la Paix* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 224).

A welcome publication is the *Atlas Universel de Géographie conformé aux Traités de Paix de 1919 et 1920* (Paris, Hachette), edited by F. Schrader under the auspices of the French Ministry of War. The work will comprise twenty-six parts issued in the loose-leaf form. The first part appeared in June and it is intended to complete the work by the close of 1921. The price, including index and binder, is fixed for advance subscribers at 240 francs.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Fester, *Verantwortlichkeiten* (Deutsche Rundschau, May, June); Capt. C. Delvert, *L'Offensive du 16 Avril 1917: Déposition d'un Témoin* (Revue de Paris, May 1); Maj. R. C. Cotton, *A Study of the St. Mihiel Offensive* (Infantry Journal, July); General Mangin, *Comment Finit la Guerre, III.-VI.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15, June 1, 15, July 1); XXX, *La Fin d'un Légende: la Mission du Maréchal Foch en Italie, Octobre-Novembre 1917* (*ibid.*, July 15); A. F. Pollard, *The Navy in the War* (Quarterly Review, July); Rear-Admiral Degouy, *Ludendorff et la Marine* (Revue de Paris, May 15); G. E. Mitchell, *The Rout of the Turks by Allenby's Cavalry, II.* (Cavalry Journal, July); General Dupont, *Une Mission en Allemagne: le Rapatriement des Prisonniers* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Under the editorship of H. Clive Barnard, various writers have contributed to the *Expansion of the Anglo-Saxon Nations* (Macmillan), a volume whose intent is to depict the spread of English-speaking peoples throughout the world. The résumé of American history is done by Professor L. P. Gipson of Wabash College.

Mr. John Murray will publish in the autumn an additional volume of Professor Baldwin Brown's *Arts in Early England*, dealing exhaustively with the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, their runic inscriptions, the Gospels of Lindisfarne, etc.

In a volume entitled *King Alfred's Books*, prepared by Bishop Browne, and published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the attempt is made, by descriptions and specimens, to show the character of the six books which the king translated or caused to be translated from Latin into English for the benefit of his people.

The Oxford University Press has published in advance, for the

British Academy, a paper from volume IX. of its *Proceedings*, on *Early English Magic and Medicine* (pp. 34), by Dr. Charles Singer.

Volume IV. of the *Records of Social and Economic History* published by the British Academy consists of a Terrier of Fleet, edited by Miss N. Neilson, and an Eleventh Century Inquisition, by the late Adolphus Ballard (Humphrey Milford).

The Worcester Liber Albus: Glimpses of Life in a Great Benedictine Monastery in the Fourteenth Century, consisting of correspondence of the prior, 1301-1338, edited by the Rev. Canon James M. Wilson, vice-dean of Worcester, is a recent and valuable publication of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions, by Miss Margaret Deanesly (Cambridge University Press), is a learned and important book, which sustains the view that both the two English fourteenth-century translations of the Bible originated from (early) Wycliffite circles, and also discusses with learning the general history of the medieval translations of the Vulgate and the attitude of authority toward their use, more especially by the laity.

The Oxford University Press has in preparation, in the series of *Oxford Historical and Literary Studies*, a *History of the Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries from the Earliest Times up to the Industrial Revolution*, by Herbert Heaton. In the Manchester University series, Messrs. Longmans have published *A Study of the Early English Cotton Industry*, by George W. Daniels, senior lecturer in economics in that university, and author of an article in that field which was printed in our twenty-first volume.

J. E. Gillespie is the author of a monograph entitled *The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700*, which is no. 207 of the *Columbia Studies*.

The thesis maintained by Miss Alice Clark in her *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London, George Routledge) is that, owing to her lack of specialized training, woman with the increasing importance of capital in industry sank to a less important position in the industrial world than she formerly held.

The Great Fire of London in 1666, by Walter G. Bell, which Mr. John Lane announces among the autumn books, is based on a wide study of manuscript sources and is illustrated by many contemporary drawings and plans.

In *Samuel Pepys and the Royal Navy* (pp. 84), the Lees Knowles Lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1919, Dr. J. R. Tanner presents the conclusions concerning the administration of the navy from the Restoration to the Revolution, at which he has arrived through a study of the Pepys manuscripts.

In an ingenious and convincing essay based on the careful study of a large body of material, C. H. Firth elucidates *The Political Significance of Gulliver's Travels* in a reprint from the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, vol. IX. (pp. 23).

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge publishes this autumn *Some Eighteenth-Century Churchmen: Glimpses of English Church Life in the Eighteenth Century*, by G. Lacey May.

A History of the Adams Family of North Staffordshire, by P. W. L. Adams (London, St. Catherine Press), is of interest chiefly because of its many sidelights on the development of the pottery industry in England, with which successive generations of the family have been concerned.

A volume of great interest because of the social and political connections of Lady Williams Wynn is the *Correspondence of Charlotte Grenville, Lady Williams Wynn, and her Three Sons, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, 5th Bart., Rt. Hon. Charles Williams Wynn, Sir Henry Williams Wynn, K.C.B., 1795-1832*, edited by Rachel Leighton (John Murray).

A documented *History of the Chartist Movement*, by the late Julius West, based on the collections of Francis Place and other fresh material, is published this autumn by Messrs. Constable.

No. 98 in the *Home University Library* published by Messrs. Holt is Professor Ernest Barker's *Political Thought in England from Herbert Spencer to the Present Day*, a rare piece of condensation and balanced judgment.

A Life of Arthur James Balfour, by E. T. Raymond, to be published this autumn by Little, Brown, and Company, can scarcely fail to be of great interest to students of modern history.

Mr. G. P. Gooch's *Life of Lord Courtney* (London, Macmillan) is the record of an unusual character and career, illustrating well the manner in which a man of great ability, well-known integrity, and complete independence of party, may in the House of Lords serve his own generation and be an inspiration to younger men.

An important subject is dealt with in F. E. Green's *History of the English Agricultural Labourer, 1870-1920* (London, P. S. King), and it is therefore the more to be regretted that the work has been done in the manner of a partisan rather than in that of an historian.

Mr. Basil Williams is now engaged on a life of Cecil Rhodes, which it is hoped will appear this autumn in the series *Makers of the Nineteenth Century* (Constable).

Mr. William Henry Jones, librarian and director of the Royal Institution of South Wales, has published vol. I. (earliest times to the fourteenth century) of a *History of Swansea and of the Lordship of Gower* (Carmarthen, W. Spurrell and Son, pp. xix, 347).

The July number of the *Scottish Historical Review* has a paper on Dunstaffnage Castle by J. R. N. Macphail, and one by Sir James Balfour Paul on Social Life in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century, as shown by data in the "protocol books" of the period.

Dr. James MacKinnon has recently published a readable *Social and Industrial History of Scotland* (Blackie).

An illustrated study, the result of much diligent research, of *Domestic Life in Scotland, 1488-1688*, by John Warrack, is a forthcoming volume of Messrs. Methuen.

In a brief essay entitled *Ireland the Outpost*, by Grenville A. J. Cole (Oxford University Press, pp. 78), the author shows the close connection between the physical structure of Ireland and her history and present situation. The study makes no attempt at continuous history but presents those events of the past which best illustrate the argument of the essay.

Evening Memories, by William O'Brien (Dublin, Maunsell) is chiefly a contribution, and an important one, to the history, from 1883 to 1890, of the Irish Nationalist party, in which Mr. O'Brien was a principal figure.

The Parliamentary Library of the Commonwealth of Australia has issued volume XII. (pp. xvii, 911) of *Historical Records of Australia: Governors' Despatches to and from England*, covering the period from June, 1825, to December, 1826.

British government publications: *Calendar of Close Rolls, Richard II.*, vol. II., 1381-1385.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Senior, *The Rise of the College of Advocates* (Law Quarterly Review, April); W. S. Holdsworth, *Press Control and Copyright in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Yale Law Journal, June); G. Devies, *Macpherson and the Nairne Papers* (English Historical Review, July); Conyers Read, *The Political Progress of the English Workingman*, I., II. (Journal of Political Economy, June, July); Viscount Esher, *Lord Beaconsfield* (Quarterly Review, July); W. Muss-Arnolt, *The Scottish Service Book of 1637 and its Successors* (American Journal of Theology, July); J. G. S. MacNeill, *The Irish Secretaryship and its Vicissitudes* (Fortnightly Review, July); Y. M. Goblet, *L'Évolution Politique Irlandaise de 1914 à 1920* (Revue de Paris, May).

FRANCE

General review: H. Hauser, *Histoire de France, Époque Moderne, 1494-1662* (Revue Historique, March).

In 1903 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs published the first volume of an *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives du Département des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique*. The second volume (Paris, Imp.

Nationale, 1919, pp. 772), devoted entirely to Spain, has recently been issued.

Professor Ernest Lavisse has undertaken to edit a continuation of his excellent *Histoire de France Illustrée*. The new work will bear the title, *Histoire de France Contemporaine, de la Révolution de 1789 aux Traités de 1919*, and will appear in ten volumes from October, 1920, to July, 1921 (Paris, Hachette). In the first volume Professor Sagnac will deal with the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies; in the second and third Professor Pariset will cover the Convention and the Directory, the Consulate and the Empire; the fourth volume, on the Restoration, will be by S. Charlety, rector of the Academy of Strasbourg, who will also write the fifth, on the July Monarchy; Professor Seignobos will do the sixth (1848-1859), seventh (1859-1875), and eighth (1875-1914) volumes; the ninth volume, on the Great War, will be contributed by Henry Bidou and A. Gauvain; the indexes will form the tenth volume. It is peculiarly unfortunate that the period which particularly needs elucidation in such a work, that from 1875 to 1914, should be limited to a single volume. It is to be hoped that, even thus late, the plan will be changed so as to give at least two volumes to this period of forty years, nearly one-third of the whole cycle covered by the proposed series.

A useful one-volume *History of France from the Earliest Times to the Treaty of Versailles*, by W. S. Davis, has been published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

A. Castaing has prepared an *Histoire Générale des Alpes Françaises des Origines jusqu'à nos Jours* (Toulon, Imp. Jeanne d'Arc, 1919).

M. Bierbaum has made a study of *Bettelorden und Weltgeistlichkeit an der Universität Paris, Texte und Untersuchungen zum Literarischen Armuts- und Exemtionsstreit des 13. Jahrhunderts, 1255-1272* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1920).

From the number of excellent studies relating to the Reformation in France the following may be cited: A. Autin, *L'Échec de la Réforme en France au XVI^e Siècle, Contribution à l'Histoire du Sentiment Religieux* (Paris, Colin, 1918, pp. vii, 286); Mlle. L. Guiraud, *La Réforme à Montpellier* (Montpellier, Imp. Générale du Midi, 1918, 2 vols., pp. vii, 816; vii, 658); and V. Chareton, *La Réforme et les Guerres Civiles en Vivarais, 1544-1632* (Paris, Catin, 1920, pp. xii, 432).

The completion of V. L. Bourrilly and F. Vindry's edition of the *Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellay* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1919, vol. IV.) furnishes the only narrative source covering the whole period of the reign of Francis I. P. Bonnefon has also completed his edition of the *Mémoires de Louis-Henri de Loménie, Comte de Brienne, dit le Jeune Brienne* (vol. III., *ibid.*). The final volume contains the writer's recollections of the king, the ministers, and other important personages, and the editor's biographical essay on Brienne.

The *Supplément à la Correspondance du Cardinal de Retz* (Paris, Hachette, 1920) has been re-edited with introduction and notes by the late C. Cochin for the *Collection des Grands Écrivains de la France*. The historical importance of the volume is considerable.

Lettres inédites à Marie-Louise de Gonzague, Reine de Pologne, sur la Cour de Louis XIV. (1660-1667), with an introduction by M. Émile Magne (Paris, Émile-Paul) consists of letters from Condé and his son, touching upon a wide range of French affairs, public and private.

A volume of *Lettres Inédites du Roi Stanislas, Duc de Lorraine et de Bar, à Jacques Hulin, son Ministre en Cour de France, 1733-1766* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. 141), has been edited by Dr. P. Boye.

Two noteworthy biographical studies for the revolutionary period are E. Welvert's *Le Secret de Barnave: Barnave et Marie Antoinette* (Paris, Boccard, 1920, pp. xii, 192) and E. Lintilhac's *Vergniaud* (Paris, Hachette, 1920).

The names of more than 4000 priests from fifty-one departments appear in *La Déportation du Clergé Orthodoxe pendant la Révolution, Registres des Ecclésiastiques Insermentés Embarqués dans les Principaux Ports de France, Août 1792-Mars 1793* (Paris, Catin, 1920, pp. xxx, 286), which has been patiently compiled by E. Sevestre, X. Eude, and E. Le Corbeillier. The scope and precision of the work make it a significant contribution to the history of the question.

Probably no more complete investigation of recruiting of the army in the revolutionary period has been made than by Capt. de Cardenal in *Recrutement de l'Armée en Périgord pendant la Période Révolutionnaire, 1789-1800* (Paris, Catin, 1920, pp. iv, 532).

The reminiscences of A. Moreau de Jonnès throughout the Napoleonic era have been translated into English by Brig.-Gen. A. J. Abdy under the title *Adventures in Wars of the Republic and Consulate* (John Murray).

La Crise Sociale de 1848, les Origines et la Révolution de Février (Paris, Hachette, 1920) was written by Dr. P. Quentin-Bauchart, who fell in the fighting on the Somme.

Memoirs of the Empress Eugénie, by Count Fleury (Appleton, 2 vols.), which has appeared since the death of the Empress, was prepared for publication many years ago, but at her desire was withheld from the public until after her death. There is also soon to appear from the press of Messrs. Cassell *Recollections of the Empress Eugénie*, by Augustin Filon, at one time private secretary to the empress.

The diplomatic history of the years from 1870 to 1914 receives critical examination in M. Christian Schefer's *D'Une Guerre à l'Autre*, though the author himself says that it is still too early for the definitive history of the diplomacy of that period to be produced.

General Lyautey's *Lettres du Tonkin et de Madagascar, 1894-1899* (Paris, Colin, 1920, 2 vols.) merit attention not merely because of the eminence attained by their author but also because of their intrinsic worth.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Madelin, *L'Histoire de la Nation Française* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 1); R. L. Poole, *The Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's Time* (*English Historical Review*, July); F. Aubert, *Les Sources de la Procédure au Parlement au XIV^e Siècle*, III., concl. (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXXX.); F. Wieser, *Die Französische Revolution* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, April); G. Lenotre, *Le Roi Louis XVII., VII.-VIII.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 15, June 1); A. Mathiez, *Robespierre Terroriste* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, May); H. Javal, *Les Variations de Cours des Rentes Françaises de 1798 à 1918* (*Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, January); L. Dugas, *La Timidité de Waldeck-Rousseau* (*Annales de Bretagne*, XXXIV. 1).

ITALY AND SPAIN

A survey of the several groups of Capitoline archives is afforded by L. Guasco's *L'Archivio Storico del Comune di Roma* (Rome, Tip. Cugliani, 1919, pp. 108).

Mrs. George M. Trevelyan (daughter of Mrs. Humphry Ward) has written *con amore* a fresh and sympathetic treatment of Italian history for the general reader, *A Short History of the Italian People* (New York, Putnam).

The Istituto Storico Italiano will shortly publish vol. I. of the *Chronicon Vulturense*, ed. V. Federici, and the *Cronaca di Benedetto di S. Andrea del Soratte*, ed. G. Zucchetti. It has in preparation vol. III. of the *Annali Genovesi*, ed. Marchese Imperiale, vol. IV. of the *Capitolari delle Arti Vencziane*, edd. G. Monticolo and E. Besta, the *Diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, the *Anecdota* of Procopius, edd. D. Comparetti and D. Bassi, the *Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, and the *Cronaca di Fra Salimbene*, ed. P. Boselli. It has also resolved upon a *Codex Topographicus Urbis Romae*, upon a design of very large scope, to be executed under the editorial care of G. Zucchetti.

The new prefect of the Vatican archives, Cardinal Gasquet, and the sub-archivist, Mgr. Ugolini, have lately enlarged the hall of studies, added a new apartment for the school of palaeography, and caused a rearrangement of the materials for the period 1795-1818.

Cardinal Gasquet has just published (Longmans, 1920) a *History of the Venerable English College, Rome*, prepared for the celebration of the centenary of the reopening of the college in 1818, a celebration postponed by the circumstances of the times. In a sense, the story begins

with the Schola Anglorum of the eighth century, and there are documents from the fourteenth, but the cardinal's sketch relates chiefly to the college established in 1578, suppressed in 1773, and reopened in 1818.

An excellent study of Mazzini's ideals and their influence is found in *Mazzini* by Gaetano Salvemini (Rome, *La Voce*, London, Truslove and Hanson); a series of letters so intimate as to partake of the nature of an autobiography is comprised in *Mazzini's Letters to an English Family*, edited by E. F. Richards (Lane).

Note di Guerra, vol. I., by Gen. Luigi Capello (Milan, Fratelli Treves), is the beginning of an important contribution to the history of the war from the Italian point of view, and extends from the opening of hostilities to the capture of Gorizia.

E. Varagnac has utilized to considerable extent his articles printed in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* following Castelar's death, in his volume, *Un Grand Espagnol Apôtre du Droit des Peuples, Emilio Castelar* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1920, pp. 328).

Don Gabriel Maura Gamazo, Conde de Mortera, has published the first volume of a *Historia Crítica del Reinado de Don Alfonso XIII. durante su Menoridad* (Barcelona, Montaner y Simon), treating with great ability and interest the important years from 1885 to 1898, including the approach to the war with the United States. The author has special advantages in being the son of Don Antonio Maura, minister of the colonies, and nephew of Señor Gamazo, finance minister, in the Sagasta cabinet.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Falco, *I Comuni della Campagna e della Marittima nel Medio Evo* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XLII. 3-4); S. Reinach, *La Bossue d'Assise et la Conversion de Saint-François* (Revue Historique, March); A. Anzilotti, *Cenni sulle Finanze del Patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia nel Secolo XV.* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XLII. 3-4); G. Prato, *La Lotta contro il Comunismo Fondiario nel Piemonte di Carlo Alberto* (La Riforma Sociale, May); E. Mayor des Planches, *Re Vittorio Emanuele II. alla Vigilia della Guerra del Settanta, con Documenti Inediti* (Nuova Antologia, April 16); L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Étude sur les Actes des Rois Asturiens, 718-910* (Revue Hispanique, June, 1919); R. Costes, *Pedro Mexia, Chroniste de Charles-Quint* (Bulletin Hispanique, XXII. 1); anon., *Spain's Position in Morocco* (Fortnightly Review, July).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Die Bistumserrichtung in Deutschland im Achten Jahrhundert (Stuttgart, Enke, 1920, pp. vii, 259), by H. Notlarp, involves the extension of Frankish rule as well as of Christian teaching into German lands.

Ulrich von Hutten und die Reformation: eine Kritische Geschichte

Leiner wichtigsten Lebenszeit und der Entscheidungsjahre der Reformation, 1517-1523 (Leipzig, Haupt, 1920, pp. xv, 601) is from the competent pen of P. Kalkoff, as is also *Erasmus, Luther, und Friedrich der Weise, eine Reformationsgeschichtliche Studie* (Leipzig, Haupt, 1920, pp. xviii, 113). A double number, the third and fourth for 1919, of *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* appears as a second "Lutherheft". Its contents naturally deal chiefly with theological questions but include Luthers Eintritt ins Kloster by E. Hirsch and Die Berichte über Luthers Tod, im Anschluss an Schubarts Sammlung, by O. Albrecht.

The most recent issue of *Württembergische Landtagsakten* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1920, pp. xlviii, 863) covers the years 1608-1620 and is edited by A. E. Adam.

Der Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts in den Hannoverschen Stammländern (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1919, pp. ii, 206) is a monograph by R. Ruprecht.

F. Rosenzweig has devoted two volumes to the consideration of *Hegel und der Staat* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1920).

H. Rothfels has made a contribution to the history of the traditions of the General Staff in *Karl von Clausewitz, Politik und Krieg, eine Ideengeschichtliche Studie* (Berlin, Dümmler, 1920).

A. Calmes has made an exhaustive study of *Der Zollanschluss des Grossherzogtums Luxemburg an Deutschland, 1842-1918* (2 vols., Frankfurt, Baer, 1920, pp. 268, 252).

F. Lassalle's *Gesammelte Reden und Schriften* (Berlin, Cassirer, 1919) have been published in five volumes, while Professor H. Oncken has written *Lassalle: eine Politische Biographie* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1920), and G. Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle, eine Würdigung des Lehrers und Kämpfers* (Berlin, Cassirer, 1920, pp. 309). A biography of *Friedrich Engels* (Berlin, Springer, 1920) is by G. Mayer.

A translation of the third volume of Bismarck's autobiography, entitled *The Kaiser versus Bismarck*, is soon to be published by the house of Harper, with an introduction by Professor Charles D. Hazen.

H. Plehn has made a useful contribution by his volume on *Bismarcks Auswärtige Politik nach der Reichsgründung* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1920, pp. xii, 381). Unpublished memoranda by the Chancellor's subordinates Boetticher and Rottenburg have been utilized by Georg, Freiherr von Eppstein, in his volume on *Fürst Bismarcks Entlassung* (Berlin, Scherl, 1920, pp. 237).

Hermann, Freiherr von Eckardstein's *Lebenerinnerungen und Politische Denkwürdigkeiten* (Leipzig, List, 1919-1920, 2 vols.), contain, especially in the second volume, materials on international affairs, particularly Anglo-German relations since about 1899.

A recent issue of *International Conciliation* embodies *German Secret War Documents*, covering the period from June 15 to August 5, 1914, published by the German government in 1919.

Messrs. Skeffington of London have published under the title *The Guilt of William Hohenzollern*, an English translation of the small volume, *Wie der Weltkrieg entstand*, written by Karl Kautsky after his examination of the archives of the German Foreign Office.

Count Brockdorff-Rantzau has brought together in a volume entitled simply *Dokumente* (Charlottenburg, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte) the notes addressed by him as German foreign secretary to the allied governments at Versailles, his speeches, interviews, and other documents intended to exhibit the foreign policy of the new Germany during his brief tenure of office.

Arthur Dix has undertaken to analyze the causes of Germany's collapse in 1918 in *Wirtschaftskrieg und Kriegswirtschaft, zur Geschichte des Deutschen Zusammenbruchs* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920, pp. vi, 369). The story of *Das Erste Jahr der Deutschen Revolution* (Leipzig, Munir, 1920) is told by E. Scheiding. P. Gentizon has recorded observations during considerable periods of residence in Munich, Weimar, and Berlin in *L'Allemagne en République* (Paris, Payot, 1920). Dr. A. Got undertakes to expose the German militarists in *La Contre-Révolution Allemande* (Strasbourg, Imp. Strasbourgeoise, 1920). A. Röder has written of *Der Deutsche Konservatismus und die Revolution* (Gotha, Perthes, 1920, pp. viii, 133).

A defensive pamphlet of considerable importance is August Demblin's *Czernin und die Sixtus-Affaire* (Munich, Drei Masken Verlag, 1920, pp. 102), with an appendix of eighteen documents.

Les Faubourgs de Genève au XV^{me} Siècle (Geneva, Jullien, 1919, pp. x, 155) by Louis Blondel is published as the fifth volume of the quarto series of *Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*. The author has prepared a concise, well-written account, historical and descriptive, based upon thorough and extensive researches, of the several suburbs prior to their demolition as a measure of military security between 1530 and 1540. Two appendixes furnish a list of the suburban property-holders and other information based on cadastral lists of 1477, which may be used in connection with the accessible records to trace the transmission of any parcel of land from that time to the present. Two large colored maps supplement this information with the utmost clearness and precision of detail. The work is obviously of more than local antiquarian interest and is a valuable contribution to the history of European towns.

There have recently come to hand parts 3-6 of vol. IV. of the *Bulletin* of the same society, containing its proceedings from November, 1915, to May, 1919, inclusive. In addition to summaries of papers pre-

sented and notes on publications, part 3 has a body of letters of J. G. Eynard on Greece, 1841-1843; part 4, a paper by M. Charles Martin on the Stafford family at Geneva and its conflict with Calvin, 1556; part 5, an account of the society's manuscripts. The society has also issued a *Mémorial des Années 1888 à 1913*, surveying its activities during the third quarter-century of its existence, with indexes, and containing the proceedings of the seventy-fifth anniversary session.

M. Pierre Grellet's *Les Aventures de Casanova en Suisse: la Vie et les Mœurs au XVIII^{me} Siècle d'après des Documents Nouveaux* (Lausanne, Spes), is much more than a mere contribution to the biography of a picturesque scoundrel. It depicts with great skill and with minute care the details of life in Switzerland in 1760.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. von Bezold, *Ein Antisimonistisches Gelübde König Heinrichs I.* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXVII. 2); F. Güterbock, *Neuere Forschungen zur Geschichte Heinrichs des Löwen* (Deutsche Literaturzeitung, March 6); Dr. Schornbaum, *Die Bündnisbestrebungen der Deutschen Evangelischen Fürsten und Markgraf Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg-Ansbach, 1566-1570*, I. (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXXVIII. 2); W. Andreas, *Mariowitz und der Staat Friedrichs des Grossen* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXII. 1.); L. Bergsträsser, *Kritische Studien zur Konfliktzeit* [Prussia, 1862-1866] (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXVII. 3); A. D., *L'Armée Allemande de 1871 à 1918* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, June); J. Rovère, *L'Opinion et la Vie Politique en Bavière de 1871 à 1914* (*ibid.*); H. Delbrück, *Kaiser und Kanzler* (Preussische Jahrbücher, April); E. H. Starling, *The Food Supply of Germany during the War* (Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, March); Theodore von Sosnosky, *The Emperor Francis Joseph as Statesman* (Fortnightly Review, July); R. J. Kerner, *Austro-Hungarian War Aims in the Winter of 1915-1916 as revealed by Secret Documents* (Journal of International Relations, April).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

A contemporary history of the Netherlands of real merit has been provided by N. Japikse in his *Staatkundige Geschiedenis van Nederland van 1887-1917* (Leiden, Sijthoff, 1920, pp. 556).

A. de Ridder of the Belgian foreign office is the author of *La Belgique et la Prusse en Conflit, Histoire des Relations Prusso-Belges de 1835 à 1839* (Brussels, Vromant, 1920, pp. 168) and of *Le Traité de 1839, Histoire Diplomatique du Traité du 19 Avril 1839* (*ibid.*, pp. 400).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: A. Ganem, *Histoire de Suède, 1903-1915* (Revue Historique, March).

Dr. Mary W. Williams, in *Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age*, has presented a picture which ranges from the physical environment of the people to the clothes they wore, their manners, and their government.

No. 25 of the *Helps for Students of History* (London, S. P. C. K.), is an *Introduction to the Study of Russian History* by W. F. Reddaway, a useful book for the beginner in the subject.

A biographical memoir of Suvorov, by W. Lyon Please, will shortly be published by Messrs. Constable.

Les Fondateurs de Neige (Brussels and Paris, Van Oest et Cie.) is a body of notes on the Bolshevik revolution at Petrograd during the winter of 1917-1918, by M. Jules Destrée, a member of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, who at that time represented Belgium with the Russian provisional government.

Marc Vichniac, who was secretary of the constituent assembly, has furnished an excellent study of the soviet system in *Le Régime Soviétique, Étude Juridique et Politique* (Paris, Povolozky, 1920, pp. 103). A Russian revolutionary socialist, D. Ganonsky, has attacked the Bolshevik rule from its own documents in *Le Bilan du Bolchevisme Russe* (*ibid.*, pp. 104). T. Szablinski, a Polish officer, has given his recollections in *De l'Aigle Noir à l'Aigle Blanc* (Paris, Naert, 1920).

Russian-American Relations, March, 1917-March, 1920, is a body of documents and papers edited for the League of Free Nations Association by C. K. Cumming and Walter W. Pettit (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Halecki, *L'Union de Lublin, à l'Occasion de son 350^e Anniversaire* (*Revue Historique*, March); Alexander Iswolsky, *The First Douma* (*Fortnightly Review*, July); V. Zen-zinoff, *La Carrière d'un Révolutionnaire Russe* (*Revue de Paris*, April 15, May 15).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

W. E. D. Allen's *The Turks in Europe* (Scribner) is a study of Turkish incapacity throughout their history.

Messrs. Allen and Unwin have added to the stream of volumes on the Near East *Twenty Years of Balkan Tangle* by M. Edith Durham, and *Serbia and Europe, 1914-1918*, written by various Serbian publicists.

The *Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, edited by Sommerville Story (Constable), is a volume of recollections of a statesman, much of whose life has been devoted to the cause of Albania.

The Turkish entry into the war and the Dardanelles campaign are the main topics in *Turcs et Turquie* (Paris, Payot, 1920) by Capt. H. Seignobosc, who was a French agent in the East.

Venizelos, by Herbert Adams Gibbons, inaugurates a new series of

biographies of modern statesmen to be published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: William Miller, *The Venetian Revival in Greece, 1648-1718* (English Historical Review, July); H. A. Gibbons, *Venizelos and Hellas* (Century Magazine, July).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

India at the Death of Akbar, by W. H. Moreland (London, Macmillan), is a solid account of the economic situation of the country at the beginning of the seventeenth century, intended to supply a basis on which other students may build the economic history of the ensuing 300 years.

Indian economic history, phases of which have of late been the subject of various monographs, is to receive a useful addition in *British Beginnings in Western India, 1579-1667: an Account of the Early Days of the British Factory of Surat*, by H. G. Rawlinson (Oxford University Press). A study with a somewhat broader range is *Trade Relations between England and India, 1600-1896*, by C. J. Hamilton (Calcutta, Thacker, Spink, and Company).

Dupleix et l'Inde Française, by Alfred Martineau (Paris, Champion), is the first of three volumes on the subject of the French in India which the author plans. The present volume is written with much knowledge and skill.

India's Demand for Transportation, by Dr. William E. Weld (Columbia Studies, vol. XC., no. 2), though not history, has several chapters of historical interest. A brief sketch of early waterways and roads of India is followed by a more detailed study of the growth of railroads and a valuable examination of the effect of these roads on the economic development of India.

One Hundred Years of Singapore, an account of this capital from its foundation by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819, has been prepared by several authors under the direction of W. Makepeace, editor of the *Singapore Free Press*, Dr. G. E. Brooke, port health officer of Singapore, and R. St. J. Braddell, advocate and solicitor of the Supreme Court of the Straits Settlement. It is announced among the forthcoming books of John Murray.

The George H. Doran Company has for early publication a *History of the Japanese People*, by Capt. F. Brinkley, long recognized as an authority on all Japanese matters, and Baron Kikushi.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. H. Rowbotham, *The Jesuits at the Court of Peking* (Chinese Social and Political Science Review, December); A. Martineau, *Dupleix* (Revue d'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, 1920, I.); Hilda D. Oakley, *Sir Alfred Lyall and Indian Prob-*

lems (Quarterly Review, July); M. Spronck, *La Perse et l'Accord Anglo-Persan* (Revue Hebdomadaire, May 29).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Gold Coast and the War, by Sir Charles Lucas, an installment of a projected work on the *Empire at War*, has been issued by the Oxford University Press.

Dr. Seitz, the last governor of German Southwest Africa, has embodied his knowledge of conditions there in *Süd-Afrika im Weltkriege* (Berlin, D. Reimer).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Kann, *La Pacification du Maroc* (Revue de Paris, June 1).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has recently acquired the manuscript of a large part of the *Personal Memoirs* of General Grant, with many notes and memoranda, all in his own hand; thirty-one letters of President Cleveland to Rear-Admiral Evans, 1894-1904; a body of personal reminiscences of Rear-Admiral George C. Remey, 1841-1903, with especial sections relating to the blockade of Charleston, S. C., 1863; a record of expenditures and correspondence of the Treasury Department of the Confederacy, 1861-1864, and quartermaster's correspondence, 1861-1864; typewritten copies of more than 200 letters of Andrew Jackson to John Coffee and others, from 1804 to 1845; papers of Justice Benjamin Robbins Curtis, 1831-1878; and many letters and papers of Senator Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut.

Harper and Brothers have published *The United States: an Experiment in Democracy*, by Professor Carl Becker, soon to be reviewed in this journal.

Mr. William Smith, of the Public Archives of Canada, formerly of the Canadian postal service, is soon to publish through the Cambridge University Press a *History of the Post Office in British North America, 1639-1870*.

The major portion of the *Journal of Negro History* for July is devoted to a study of 'Slavery in Canada' by Justice William R. Riddell of the Supreme Court of Ontario (pp. 261-377). The author finds evidence of slaves in Canada as early as 1628 and follows the history of slavery in that country from that time to the beginning of the nineteenth century. His work is largely based on manuscripts in the Canadian archives.

From lectures which the author delivered to units of the American Army of Occupation in Germany in 1919, Mr. J. Travis Mills has pro-

duced a readable study on *Great Britain and the United States: a Critical Review of their Historical Relations* (Oxford University Press, pp. 65). With the avowed purpose of fostering amicable relations between the two countries, Mr. Mills emphasizes those phases of the common history which can be made to serve that end and which he believes have been neglected in the teaching of history in this country. Among other topics, he discusses the mercantilist philosophy of England and its effect on colonial government, the part played by the West in the War of 1812, England's position during the Civil War and in the Venezuelan dispute.

The Century Company announces among its forthcoming books *Sea Power in American History*, by Herman E. Krafft and Walter B. Norris, both of the faculty of the United States Naval Academy.

Political Summary of the United States, 1789-1920, by Ernest F. Clymer (Dutton), is a slender reference book, containing the briefest of biographies of our presidents, histories of our political parties, past and present, and the popular and the electoral vote at each of our presidential elections.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1919, contains a paper by Professor A. B. Hulbert, on the Increasing Debt of History to Science; some eighty pages of papers of Aaron Burr, contributed by Mr. W. C. Ford; and the Ohio section of Mr. Brigham's Bibliography of American Newspapers. The Burr papers, many of which are letters to Burr, of the Revolutionary and later periods, were given as autographs to a Massachusetts lady by Matthew L. Davis, to whom we are in a sense indebted for their preservation, and unfortunately also for the destruction of nearly all the rest of a collection which would have been invaluable.

Professor J. Laurence Laughlin's *Banking Progress* (Scribners) treats of the developments in American banking from the time when the "Baltimore plan" was first proposed in 1894 to the workings of the Federal Reserve system at the present date.

Dr. W. L. Windlass has embodied in his *United States Department of Agriculture: a Study in Administration* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, series XXXVIII., no. 1) a useful sketch of the history of the department.

It is understood that a feature of the commemoration next year of the hundredth anniversary of Amherst College will be the publication of a number of "Amherst Books". Among these will be a volume by the late Professor Anson D. Morse, entitled *Parties and Party Leaders*. It will be published by the Marshall Jones Company.

The July number of the *Catholic Historical Review* has three principal articles: one on the Franciscan Exploration of California, by Dr. Herbert I. Priestley; one on the Beginnings of the Church in Little Rock, by Rev. F. G. Holweck; and a biographical article on Archbishop

John B. Purcell of Cincinnati, by Sister Mary Agnes McCann, Ph.D. The documentary section is a long and valuable exposition, by the editor, Professor Guilday, of the course of events which led to the appointment of Father John Carroll as prefect-apostolic of the Catholic Church in the new republic of the United States, 1783-1785, a contribution which will be of interest to many students of that period of our history.

Rev. Patrick W. Browne of Newfoundland, formerly professor of history in the University of Ottawa, is preparing for publication Jean Dilhet's *L'État d'Église Catholique ou du Diocèse des États-Unis d'Amérique Septentrionale*. Father Delhet was in the United States from 1798 to 1807. The manuscript of his survey, a source of considerable value, is in the possession of the Sulpician Fathers of Baltimore.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

In the Days of the Pilgrim Fathers, by Mary C. Crawford (Little, Brown, and Company), *The Women who came in the Mayflower*, by Annie R. Marble (Pilgrim Press), *Old Plymouth Trails*, by Winthrop Packard (Small, Maynard, and Company), and *Old Coast Roads from Boston to Plymouth*, by Agnes E. Rothery (Houghton Mifflin Company), are among the books to which the *Mayflower* tercentenary lends a special interest.

Professor A. Eekhof of Leiden has just published, in facsimile, in transcript, and in English translation, *Three Unknown Documents concerning the Pilgrim Fathers in Holland* (the Hague, Nijhoff). One bears the personal signature of John Robinson, another that of William Bradford, written just before leaving Leiden for America, while the third is the last will of Bridget Robinson, the pastor's widow.

Among recent Spanish publications we note a substantial volume by Señor Manuel Conrotte on *La Intervención de España en la Independencia de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte* (Madrid, Victoriano Suarez).

The voluminous writings of the Adams family are soon to furnish material for another interesting volume, *A Cycle of Adams Letters*, consisting of letters of Charles Francis Adams, Charles Francis Adams, jr., and Henry Adams, during the Civil War. The collection is to be edited by W. C. Ford, and published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

Dr. W. E. Barton, a Kentucky clergyman, has in his painstaking study, *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln* (Doran), made good use of his knowledge of the environment in which Lincoln's early years were spent.

The Lutheran Church and the Civil War, by Charles W. Heathcote, is from the press of Revell.

Ulysses S. Grant: his Life and Character, by Hamlin Garland, is announced by the Macmillan Company for early publication.

Mr. Charles C. Taylor, late British vice-consul at New York, is preparing for publication by John Murray *The Life of Admiral Mahan*, in which he dwells especially upon the development of Admiral Mahan's books on sea-power and of their influence on the world.

Among forthcoming biographies is a promising one by E. S. Martin, *The Life of Joseph Hodges Choate*, to be published by Messrs. Scribner.

An *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie* is announced as among the forthcoming books of the Houghton Mifflin Company.

Joseph B. Bishop's two-volume *Theodore Roosevelt and his Times* it is hoped will appear this autumn from the press of Messrs. Scribner.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

The *Final Report of Gen. John J. Pershing, Commander-in-Chief of American Expeditionary Forces* (pp. 96, seven maps, H. Doc. 626) has been twice reprinted, and can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents for 85 cents.

We have received vols. II. and III. of a compilation called *Soldiers of the Great War* (Washington, Soldiers Record Publishing Association) without having received vol. I., which probably explains the scope and method of the compilation. Its interest to the historian will apparently lie solely in the fact that the three volumes contain photographs of some 20,000, and lists of some 60,000 soldiers of the Great War, grouped by states. It will be possible for future inquirers to glean from these pages a vivid notion of the actual composition of the American army of 1917 and 1918.

George Creel has brought out through Harper and Brothers an account of the organization and accomplishments of the Committee of Public Information. The book is entitled *How We Advertised America*. The same publisher also announces Mr. Creel's *The World, the War, and Wilson*.

From the Historical Branch, War Plans Division of the General Staff, several monographs have already appeared, among which are: a *Survey of German Tactics, 1918* (Monograph No. 1); and *Economic Mobilization in the United States* (Monograph No. 2).

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July contains continuations of the Diary of Master Joseph Tate of Somersworth, N. H., and John Devereux of Marblehead, Mass., and Some of his Descendants.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has received from Mr. Frederic Winthrop a fund of ten thousand dollars, to be known as the Robert

Winthrop Fund. The income is to be used in publishing Winthrop papers of Massachusetts and Connecticut, including those possessed by the society. A beginning will soon be made, by editing and printing anew the seventeenth-century papers, heretofore printed, with the addition of others now available.

The main content of the July number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* is a continuation of F. B. C. Bradlee's *Some Account of Steam Navigation in New England*. The number also continues the Documents relating to Marblehead, Mass.

The librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society reports in the last *Annual Report* of the society (May, 1920) that the society has published the second volume of the papers of Gov. Thomas Fitch. This report also contains a greatly condensed list of the manuscripts of the Hon. Henry S. Sanford, whose activities, both diplomatic and economic, cover a wide range of events. The society has received in this collection many thousand pieces, extending over the years 1784-1884.

Mr. Albert C. Bates of the Connecticut Historical Society has reprinted, in a very small edition, facsimiles of the exceedingly rare session laws of Connecticut during the period 1716-1749, filling the interval between the compilation of 1715 and that of 1750 (pp. 211-574). The few remaining sets are sold at \$350 each.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library continues in the June and July numbers its List of New York Almanacs, 1694-1850, pts. II. and III., and also its list of accessions relating to the "Great War and After".

The English translation of vol. I. of the Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and the Village of Beverwyck, April 15, 1652-December 12, 1656, the work of Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, is now in the hands of the printer. This volume inaugurates a series of translations of Dutch records which the Division of Archives and History of the University of the State of New York plans to publish.

The *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* (June, 1920) contains among other things part I. of the Records of the Middle Association of Congregational Churches of the State of New York, 1806-1810, edited by the Rev. John Q. Adams, and an article entitled the Influence of Luther upon Manhattan Island during its Childhood Days, by the Rev. C. E. Corwin.

The contents of the July number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* include an article by J. Hall Pleasants on Francis Lovelace, Governor of New York, 1668-1673; one by Torstein Jahr on Andreas Dreyer (Andries Draeyer), commander at Fort Nassau (Al-

bany), 1673-1674, rear-admiral of the Dano-Norwegian navy; and the addresses delivered at a special meeting of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, April 10, 1920, called for the purpose of conferring honorary membership of the society upon the French ambassador to the United States, Monsieur Jusserand. The response of Ambassador Jusserand, which is principally concerned with Citizen Genet, is of especial interest.

The July number of the New York Historical Society's *Quarterly Bulletin* contains an historical account, by A. J. Wall, of the Statues of King George III. and of William Pitt, erected in New York City, 1770.

The May number of the *Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia* contains a sketch of President Isaac Sharpless (1848-1920), with a bibliography of his writings; a concluding installment of the Revolutionary Journal of Margaret Morris of Burlington, N. J.; and a portion of the private journal of Ellis Yarnall (1757-1847), giving an account of a visit to Friends in Charleston, S. C., in 1819.

A *History of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, and the Grand Valley of the Lehigh*, in three volumes, has been brought out in New York by a concern styling itself the American Historical Society.

In the issue of *Papers read before the Lancaster County Historical Society* for April 16 is an address by Hon. Frederick A. Goldcharles entitled the Influence of Lancaster County on the Pennsylvania Frontier. The same issue contains a summary of an address by Mr. Albert C. Myers entitled In Quest of William Penn.

The principal article in the July number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* is by Hon. Edward E. Robbins, on the Life and Services of Colonel Henry Bouquet.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In the June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are found: an investigation of the Old Indian Road of Northern Maryland, by William B. Marye; a paper on the Royal Province of Maryland in 1692, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner; a continuation of the sketches, by McHenry Howard, of Some Early Colonial Marylanders, as also of Edward S. Delaplaine's Life of Thomas Johnson.

The archives section of the Virginia State Library has acquired a list of marriage bonds and licenses of Northampton County, 1706-1853, a photostat copy of a survey book of Prince George County, 1710-1724, and the journal of the James River Steamboat Company, 1833-1849.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* completes, in the issue for July and October (double number) its Roll of Honor: Virginians who have died in the War for Liberty. The letters of William Byrd, First, the Preston Papers, the Instructions to Lord Culpeper, and

the Minutes of the Council and General Court are continued. Among the Preston Papers are letters from Jefferson, William Fleming, William Christian, General Davidson, General Sumner, Col. William Campbell, Elijah Clarke, and others.

Philip A. Bruce in his *History of the University of Virginia*, 1819-1919, presents what almost amounts to a picture of the intellectual life of the South for a hundred years of its history (Macmillan).

The North Carolina Historical Commission has recently received the papers of George W. Swepson (438 pieces), bearing upon the history of reconstruction in North Carolina.

The *Proceedings* of the nineteenth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, November, 1919, have been published by the North Carolina Historical Commission. The volume is concerned almost entirely with papers on the World War, among which may be mentioned one by Professor Archibald Henderson on Contributions of North Carolina Women to the World War; Some Economic Events of the World War, by W. H. Glasson; and the Preservation of North Carolina's World War Records, by R. B. House.

In the January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, under the title Early Letters from South Carolina upon Natural History, is a letter of Hannah Willams, written in 1705, and also three, written in 1709 and 1710, from Joseph Lord, pastor at Dorchester of a congregation of settlers from Dorchester, Mass.

A somewhat unusual record is contained in William Way's *History of the New England Society of Charleston, South Carolina, 1819-1919*, published by the society.

In the March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* the chief articles are Oglethorpe's Treaty with the Lower Creek Indians, and a Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones, by Dr. John Grimes.

The British Historical Manuscripts Commission has published, as volume I. of the manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, the *Diary of Viscount Percival*, afterward first Earl of Egmont. This volume covers the years 1730-1733, and should yield much of interest to students interested in the founding of Georgia.

An excellent piece of historical work in the field of local history has been done by Miss Carita Doggett, in *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida* (Jacksonville, Drew Press), an account of an ambitious attempt at colonization in the middle of the eighteenth century.

A volume entitled *Louisianians and their State: an Historical and Biographical Text-Book of Louisiana, its Notable Men, and Leading Institutions* has been published in New Orleans by the Historical and Biographical Association.

WESTERN STATES

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the presidential address of M. M. Quaife, delivered at the thirteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held at Greencastle, Ind., April 29, 1920, on Jonathan Carver and the Carver Land Grant. The journal also contains W. W. Carson's Transportation and Traffic on the Ohio and the Mississippi before the Steamboat, which was read at the twelfth annual meeting of the society, and an article by C. B. Coleman entitled the Ohio Valley in the Preliminaries of the War of 1812.

The January-June issue (double number) of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* is made up of selections from the military papers of Gen. John S. Gano (1766-1822). The papers in this selection, although the earliest is of 1797, pertain principally to the period from 1804 (when Gano was made major-general of Ohio militia) to 1812. Other selections from these papers are to appear in future issues of the *Quarterly*.

The issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for April is a memorial to Emilius O. Randall (1850-1919), secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society from 1894 until his death in 1919. There are numerous addresses and appreciations.

The Illinois State Historical Library has issued *Illinois Constitutions*, edited by Emil J. Verlie. The volume constitutes vol. XIII. of the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library, and vol. I. of the *Constitutional Series*. Besides the constitutions of 1818, 1848, and 1870, the volume contains the several preliminary instruments upon which the state organization rests, namely, the Ordinance of 1787, the acts of Congress of May 7, 1800, February 3, 1809, and April 18, 1818, and the ordinance of the Illinois convention of 1818, accepting the propositions of the United States embodied in the enabling act. There are also a table of cases and an index to the constitution of 1870.

The great collection of autographs formed by the late Charles F. Gunther, whom competent authority has described as "the greatest collector of historical documents and autograph letters in America", has been secured at a great price for the Chicago Historical Society. There are thought to be over 30,000 manuscripts. The character of the collection makes it impossible to summarize its contents in a note. It includes papers coming from most of our public men and illustrating all parts of our history. There is of course much that relates especially to the history of Illinois and Chicago, *e. g.*, the papers of Governor Ninian Edwards.

The July number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* contains an extended account, by Joseph J. Thompson, of the Double Jubilee celebrated in June, that is, the "Diamond" jubilee of the Chicago diocese

and the "Silver" jubilee of Archbishop Mundelein. There is a biographical sketch, by Rev. F. G. Holweck, of Rev. Gaspar H. Ostlangenberg (1810-1885), and the first installment of an account, by Rev. Francis J. Epstein, of the Leopoldine Association, the German-Austrian society for the propagation of the faith. There are also continued articles hitherto mentioned.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* are: Tennessee Scotch-Irish Ancestry, by Blanche Bentley; Some Early Archaeological Finds in Tennessee, by W. A. Provine; Why the First Settlers of Tennessee were from Virginia, by A. V. Goodpasture; and a continuation of the Journal of Governor John Sevier.

Among the papers in the January number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: the University of Michigan and the Training of her Students for the War, by Professor Arthur L. Cross; Fort Gratiot and its Builder, General Charles Gratiot, by William L. Jenks; the Treaty of Saginaw, 1819, by Fred Dustin; Rise and Progress of Hope College, by Dr. Ame Vennema; the True Story of Edison's Childhood and Boyhood, by Caroline F. Ballentine; and a report of War Work of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Michigan from April, 1915, to April, 1919, by Mrs. William H. Wait. This number contains also the seventh annual report of the Michigan Historical Commission.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has added to its collections the papers of Jeremiah M. Rusk, during his service in Congress, his governorship of Wisconsin, and his work as Secretary of Agriculture. Much light is thrown on the politics of Wisconsin by these papers, especially those that fall within the years 1881-1888.

The June number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains a continuation of the Story of Wisconsin, by Miss Louise P. Kellogg; Another View of the Kensington Rune Stone, by Rasmus B. Anderson; some account of Early Life in Southern Wisconsin, by David F. Sayre; a sketch of the Career of Edward F. Lewis, by Franklin F. Lewis; and a continuation of the papers of W. A. Titus concerning Historic Spots in Wisconsin. In the section of documents the Journal of Life in Wisconsin One Hundred Years Ago, kept by Willard Keyes of Newfane, Vt., is continued.

In the February number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* appears an address on American Democracy, delivered by Professor Carl R. Fish before the Minnesota Historical Society in January. To the same number Dr. Lewis H. Roddis contributes an account of the Last Indian Uprising in the United States, that at Leech Lake, Minn., in October, 1898. The May number contains a single article, a very interesting account, by George W. McCree, of his experience in Recruiting Engineers for the World War in Minnesota.

A journal covering the years 1827 to 1829, of Maj. Lawrence Taliaferro, Indian agent at Fort Snelling, has recently come to light and proves to be a missing number of the series of Taliaferro journals in the manuscript collection of the Minnesota Historical Society. The society has obtained a typewritten copy of the journal and expects ultimately to come into possession of the original.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains the journal of Maj. William Williams of a trip from Westmoreland County, Pa., to Iowa in 1849, and an account, by J. W. Cheney, of Rev. Daniel Lane and his Keosauqua Academy.

Professor Louis B. Schmidt contributes two papers in agricultural history to the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*: the one, Some Significant Aspects of the Agrarian Revolution in the United States, a study of the period from 1860 to 1890; the other, the Westward Movement of the Wheat-Growing Industry in the United States. Other articles in this number of the *Journal* are: the Soldier Vote in Iowa in the Election of 1888, by Donald L. McMurry; an Historical Survey of the Militia in Iowa, 1898-1916, by Cyril B. Upham; and Some Materials for the Study of Iowa Archaeology, by Charles R. Keyes.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has begun the publication of a new historical magazine, monthly, to be called the *Palimpsest*, the function of which is to present historical matter in briefer and less technical form than is appropriate to the pages of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. The first number was that of July.

The Missouri Historical Society expects to issue early in October a volume entitled *The Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813*, by John C. Luttig, clerk of the Missouri Fur Company. The society has recently received a number of muster- and pay-rolls of the Missouri regiments in the Confederate army.

In the July number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* appears a paper, by William C. Binkley, on the Question of Texan Jurisdiction in New Mexico under the United States, 1848-1850. Mr. A. K. Christian's study of Mirabeau B. Lamar is continued.

The Wyoming Historical Society has issued a pamphlet of *Miscellanies* (Laramie, 1919, pp. 54) containing articles on the early newspapers of Wyoming, on the Wheatland Colony, and on the Lost Cabin mines.

The Splendid Wayfaring, by John G. Neihardt, recounts the adventures of Jedediah Smith and his companions in explorations between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean, 1822-1831 (Macmillan).

The Bozeman Trail, described in its subtitle as "Historical Accounts of the Blazing of the Overland Routes into the Northwest, and the

Fights with Red Cloud's Warriors", by Miss Grace R. Hebard, professor in the University of Wyoming, and E. A. Brininstool, has been published in two volumes by the Arthur H. Clark Company. The fascinating story is abundantly illustrated and handsomely printed.

The April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains an article by Victor J. Farrar on the Reopening of the Russian-American Convention of 1824; one by William S. Holt, D. D., on the Beginning of Mission Work in Alaska by the Presbyterian Church; a journal of David Thompson's Journeys in Idaho in 1809, edited by T. C. Elliott; John Work's Journal of a Trip from Fort Colville to Fort Vancouver and Return in 1828; and continuations of Professor Meany's studies of the Origin of Washington Geographic Names and of the Nisqually Journal, edited by Victor J. Farrar. The July number presents an unusually interesting table of contents. Besides continuing the Nisqually Journal and Mr. Elliot's contribution, it presents: Letters on the Northwest Fur Trade, contributed by S. E. Morison; and Shipbuilding in the Pacific Northwest, by Helen D. Goodwin.

Articles in the March number of the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society are: a sketch of Pacific University, by Henry L. Bates; a paper on Spain and England's Quarrel over the Oregon Country, by Professor F. G. Young; and a study, by Herbert I. Priestley, of the Log of the *Princesa* by Estévan José Martínez. In the documentary section is a group of letters of the Rev. William M. Roberts, third superintendent of the Oregon mission, edited by Robert M. Gatke.

CANADA

The *Report of the Public Archives of Canada* for the year 1918 (pp. xvii, 208, 71, 87) indicates the receipt of large numbers of interesting transcripts from European archives, and presents texts, in French and English, of all the ordinances, proclamations, and similar public notices issued by the military governors of Quebec, Montreal, and Trois Rivières during the period of military government, 1759-1764; prints also the proclamations issued by the governor-in-chief of Canada from 1764 to 1791; and concludes the calendar of the Neilson papers.

The Grey Nuns in the Far North, 1867-1917, by Father P. Duchaussois, O. M. I. (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, pp. 287), is a record of devoted religious work among the Indians of the Northland at Fort Providence on the Mackenzie River, where the Grey Nuns established their convent in 1867. The opening chapters trace the story of the Grey Nuns from their founding at Montreal by Madame d'Youville in 1738 and the extension of their work in various directions.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The *Hispanic American Historical Review* for May has the following articles: the Ecclesiastical Policy of Francisco Morazan and the other

Central American Liberals, by Mary W. Williams; *El Derecho Consuetudinario y la Doctrina de los Juristas en la Formación del Derecho Indiano*, by Ricardo Levene; United States Shipping in the La Plata Region, 1809-1810, by Charles L. Chandler; and the Post-War Attitude of Hispanic America toward the United States, by W. E. Dunn.

Numbers 32-33 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* contains the text of several geographical "relations" of Philip II.'s time, concerning towns in New Spain—Cuzcatlán, Cimapan, Teutenango, Tetela, and Hueyapan—with maps.

La Religión del Imperio de los Incas, by Don Jacinto Jijón y Caamañó (Quito, Tip. Salesianas, 1919, pp. 452), is a solid and important study based on careful research and useful to anthropologists and students of primitive religions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. J. Powicke, *John Robinson and the Beginnings of the Pilgrim Movement* (Harvard Theological Review, July); A. Rein, *Die Historische Forschung über die Ursprünge der Verfassung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXII. 2); H. T. Stock, *A Résumé of Christian Missions among the American Indians* (American Journal of Theology, July); Elizabeth W. A. Pringle, *When Sherman's Army passed: being Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, I., II. (Scribner, July, August); W. A. Phillips, *The Senate and the Covenant* (Edinburgh Review, July); R. Escobar Lara, *The Monroe Doctrine and the League of Nations* (Inter-America, English, June); Col. H. A. Smith, *Four Interventions in Mexico: a Study in Military Government*, I.-II. (Infantry Journal, July, August); W. R. Shepherd, *The Caribbean Policy of the United States* (Journal of International Relations, July); G. Porras Troconis, *Las Ideas Constitucionales del Libertador en sus Primeros Años* (La Reforma Social, May); E. Quesada, *La Doctrina Drago, su Esencia y Concepto Amplio y Claro* [with bibliography] (Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, October).

The
American Historical Review

AN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT¹

THREE hundred years ago—almost within the month—the Pilgrims sailed into Provincetown Harbor. As the *Mayflower* approached the point of Cape Cod, the men, or most of them, set their names to the ever memorable Mayflower Compact. By this they acknowledged allegiance to the English king and agreed for the immediate future to obey any orders that should be adopted by the majority of those who signed this compact. Five weeks later, lacking one day, the Pilgrim ship anchored in Plymouth Harbor. The months that followed were among the most heart-rending in the history of colonization. For days and weeks, the Pilgrim survivors forebore all work and devoted themselves to nursing the sick and the dying on the ship and in the rude hut that they had built upon the land. Sometimes but six or seven of them had strength to care for the rest and to bury those whom death had claimed within the last hours. When the *Mayflower* sailed for home in April, 1621, forty-eight of her passengers—nearly one-half of the whole number—were dead. Of the eighteen married women, who looked out on the sandy shores of Cape Cod as the ship turned into her first mooring-place, but four were living. The fourteen dead had spent themselves that their husbands and children might live. It is the heroism of this pathetic tragedy that gives the Pilgrim story its place in our annals, for the *Mayflower* brought to our shores the spirit of homely duty—even more important, perhaps, than the principle of majority rule.

Two hundred years passed away and in 1820, just a century ago, came one of those crises in our history that yielded to the common sense of the American people. For some reason, not now apparent, the question of slavery and freedom suddenly interjected itself into

¹ Presidential address to the American Historical Association, delivered at Washington on the evening of December 27, 1920.

politics. Slavery had existed in the Missouri settlements since the early days; but, somehow, the Northern abolitionists regarded the continued existence of slavery there as an extension of the malign institution. And in a sense they were right, for, in the conditions then prevailing, the continuance of slavery in Missouri meant the extension of the slave system. The Missouri people felt that they were protected in their rights to their slaves by the terms of the Louisiana Purchase treaty which guaranteed rights of property to the people living in the ceded country. Slaves were their property and, therefore, the institution of slavery being guaranteed by a treaty was under the protection of the supreme law of the land. For a time, the disputation was violent in Congress and in the country. President Monroe predicted that the controversy would be "winked away" by a compromise. And so it was, for thirty years and more. But John Quincy Adams, Monroe's secretary of state, jotting down the President's remarks in his ever memorable "Diary", expressed his own opinion that the slavery contest would outlast both Monroe and himself—and so it did. The Missouri Compromise, as Jefferson said, sounded like a "bell in the night". It was the first utterance of the North on the Southern labor problem and was the first protest of Southern employers against interference with labor conditions that had come down to them from their fathers. At that time and thereafter they were developing the cultivation of cotton with slave labor and with every probability of enormous profit. The Southerners looked upon themselves as the best people in the United States. The abolitionists asked them to change their whole social condition. They refused. They preferred separate existence out of the Union to social revolution within. In 1850, secession came near and was only averted by the Compromise. At the time, most people in the North looked upon it as a Southern victory. One man in the South, William Lowndes Yancey, saw that it was a Southern defeat and strove against its acceptance, but in vain. Of the Northerners, Daniel Webster saw clearly that it was a victory for the North, notwithstanding the new Fugitive Slave Law. He strove to tell this to his fellow-countrymen and was denounced as a traitor. Time was what the North needed, for it was growing stronger every day in comparison with the South. Time also was needed for the people of the North to make up their minds to risk themselves and their fortunes for the cause of the Union. Had secession come in 1850, the South might well have succeeded. Had it been averted in 1860, another ten years would have so changed the economic and social relations of the inhabitants of the Ohio Valley that successful

Southern secession would have been out of the question. The Compromises of 1820 and 1850 were therefore among the most fortunate events in our history, for they postponed the War for Southern Independence until the forces of liberty had strengthened themselves for the encounter.

The hundred years between 1820 and our own time are without counterpart in the history of the world. The new era began in 1815 with the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent and with the battle of Waterloo. It began at the ending of the long series of wars extending with intervals of armed peace from 1756 to 1815. War in itself is the most dreadful scourge that afflicts humanity. It has another side, however, for it loosens the mind and leads men to take new views and to put into execution ideas that have long been dormant. In peaceful days, all our rules and regulations are directed to the preservation of life, liberty, and property. In war, our efforts are to destroy the enemy, his life and his property, or to enslave him and to convert his property to our own use. The whole bases of ordinary action break down and men emerge from such a condition of being, some of them filled with high ideals for the regeneration of humanity, others with the fiercest longings for material gain. The next half-century saw a rebuilding of society and a development of the world's resources that was without parallel up to that time.

The most significant fact in the development of the United States between 1815 and 1865 was the installation of new systems of transportation of men and goods and the transmission of intelligence and administrative orders. One succeeded another: the stone road, the steamboat, the canal, the steam locomotive, and finally, in the last half-century, the electrically propelled vehicle and the conveyance driven by the internal-combustion engine on the land and on the sea and under it and in the air. The new methods of transmission of intelligence likewise followed on the heels of one another by wire and by wireless over the land, under the sea, and through the air. No sooner had one of these methods of transportation and transmission approached perfection than a new one appeared and pushed its rival aside. In this century, the obstacles of distance, mountains, oceans, climates, and time have been overcome until the earth is now smaller than the United States was in 1789.

This ever increasing mobility of men, of commodities, and of intelligence has newly modelled government and society in peace and in war. By bringing about association of men and of women of similar ways of thinking, it has made possible the carrying out of great reformatations, and the establishment of democracy on a great

scale—it has enabled democracy to expand from the town and city to the state and the nation, and possibly throughout the world. The ever widening area whence material for manufacturing can be drawn and from which labor can be summoned and the ever increasing distances to which goods can be sent and sold have changed the whole bases of production—of agriculture as well as of manufacturing. The successor of the household manufacturer, the small employer of labor, under these circumstances withdrew from contact with his half-dozen or score of working men with whom he himself had labored. He sat apart in a counting-room and there busied himself with affairs of money, with contracts for supplies, with the promotion of sales, and with the general oversight of the factory itself. From being the first of a limited number of working-men he became a capitalist. With the development of transportation and transmission, his activities and those of his successors constantly enlarged until, now one man controls production in many towns and sometimes in many countries and directs the movements of thousands of employees. Similarly the working-man from being the associate of the employer became one of a class apart. Furthermore, with the development of machinery, he has lost completely the joy of production—of seeing something grow under his hand to a complete and worthy whole—and is simply a superior cog in the machine whose movements he directs. New systems of transportation made it possible for the employer to draw labor from a distance. They also made it possible for the working people in trades to combine and by concerted action to put pressure upon their employers and to prevent the importation of working-men from outside. As transportation has developed, so the combination of working-men has grown until now class interests have leaped over political and racial limits and passed over oceans and mountains.

In agriculture the same process can be traced. In the good old colonial days, negro slavery was a patriarchal institution. By 1830, it was fast losing its old-time character and was entering upon the capitalistic stage. The master, from working in the field with his two or three sons and half-dozen slaves, or from personally overseeing the labors of twenty-five or thirty negroes, became the owner of hundreds of slaves, working them through an overseer whose best recommendation was the largest amount of production he could secure from a given number of field hands without a lessening of the physical powers of the slaves or arousing insurrection. The new slavery created new conditions for the master, for the slave, and for the free wage-earners of the North. Slavery had always

been opposed; but the opposition to it was academic until the development of transportation brought the two systems into contact. Then came a demand for immediate abolition without compensation that came near rending the country in twain.

In the North the development of agriculture proceeded on much less revolutionary lines for half a century. The development of transportation made possible the settlement of the Ohio Valley, the lands contiguous to the Great Lakes, and the region beyond the Mississippi, with a rapidity and a certainty that would otherwise have been impossible. The great movement to Transappalachia is without parallel. Its only analogy is the coming of the Germanic hordes into western and central Europe. The western movement in our own country differs from the latter, however, in that it was the conquering march of civilization and not the replacement of one civilization by another. Until 1850, this westward movement was the transference of old race-elements from the Atlantic seaboard to the regions over the mountains and on the shores of the Lakes. It put a tremendous strain upon the rural population of the Original Thirteen, especially because it was accompanied by a contemporaneous movement from the farms to the centres of commerce and manufacturing. In the early decades the westward migrants busied themselves in overcoming the forested areas; but by 1860 they were moving out onto the prairies and later to the Great Plains. Every decade since 1850 has seen the application of the capitalistic system more and more to the cultivation of corn and wheat lands. Now, it may fairly be said that staple agriculture is on all fours with capitalistic manufacturing. It depends upon the application of chemical and mechanical devices to the raising of staple crops. No longer do the farmer and his son and hired men work from morning till night with the animals of the farm and rely upon them for giving renewed fertility to the soil. Now, one man with a tractor does the work of ten men and a hundred animals and the renewal of the elements taken from the soil is made possible by the application of chemical fertilizer. Agriculture is now as much manufacturing, or nearly as much, as the directing of a machine within the four walls of a factory. And here again the laborer has lost that touch with nature that gave joy to work. And the farming owner, himself, has become a capitalist and is busied with the same problems of credit and finance, of buying and selling, that beset the head of a woollen factory or of a series of woollen factories. The farm hands no longer live on the farm from winter to summer and again to winter, in association with its fields and ponds and wooded lands.

They now serve for a short time in the growing months or travel in gangs, following the seasons from south to north. Moreover, agriculture is falling into the hands of corporations which either let out lands to tenants or themselves work them on an immense scale.

The development of transportation has made possible the congregation of masses of human beings within limited areas by bringing to them the necessities of life—heat, water, and food—with a regularity that has become so commonplace that we realize it only when it breaks down. At the beginning of the Wonderful Century, a working-man was obliged to live near his place of employment, for there was no attempt at public urban conveyance until well into the century, and even then it was confined to the few largest towns. New York was enabled to grow by reason of its accessibility to steamboat traffic connecting it with the farms and producing areas of New Jersey, the Hudson Valley, and the shores of Long Island Sound. Its growth has been so remarkable that nowadays as many people live within a thirty-mile radius of the New York custom-house as in the whole westernmost part of the United States from the 104th meridian—the western limit of the Dakotas and Nebraska—westward to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and there are more people nowadays within that thirty-mile radius than there were in the whole United States in 1810. New York is the great example, but throughout the country, especially in the northeastern portion, there are cities and towns almost without number. And, indeed, the last census enumeration for the first time gives the urban population as greater than the rural. This massing of human beings within limited spaces has brought about new problems of control and has given rise to new theories of living, to what is called the community spirit. The Jeffersonian idea of the dignity of the individual has disappeared. Now, men and women belong to society and not to themselves.

In these hundred years from 1820 to 1920, the human horizon has completely altered. The amelioration of humanity and not the coercion of the mentally or physically weaker members of society has become the guiding principle of legislation. In 1820 colonial ideas that had come to us from across the sea and had been somewhat changed by contact with the wilderness were still the basis of our modes of action. We had gone away for the most part from the pillory and the whipping-post, but we had placed nothing effective or humane in their stead. Now the mode of treatment of crime was revolutionized. New systems of punishment and of reformation were devised which were practically those in existence in 1900.

In the last twenty years they have been somewhat ameliorated and somewhat changed. In 1820, the poor debtor was still regarded as a criminal and was treated as such, with the result that one who looks into the statistics of those days can hardly believe what he reads. The insane were then also treated as if guilty of some crime, although what it was no one could tell. By 1850, they were no longer so regarded, but were treated as victims of disease. Let us hope that the reformation of the criminal and the curing of the insane are more successful than would seem to be from a study of the statistics.

The prosperity of the American people, their need for workers of all grades, and their liberality to newcomers have brought to our shores great masses of people from all parts of the world. From 1800 to 1840 there was very slight immigration from any part of the world. With the fifth decade began the great westward movement of Europeans, from Great Britain and Ireland, from Scandinavia, and from Germany. Some of these people had peculiar ideas and looked upon the United States as a fertile field upon which to try new experiments, especially in community living, and some of these newcomers from Europe felt themselves called upon to effect a reformation in the modes of thought and of action of the descendants of the old Revolutionary population. Their numbers and their ideas aroused the fears of some of our people and led to the formation of a party to regulate those already here and to hinder the coming of others. The War for Southern Independence and the tremendous demand for labor that followed it put an end for a time to these jealousies or to the manifestation of them. In more recent years a change has come over the character of the migration and a corresponding change in the attitude of the American people toward the immigrants. There is no longer room for them on the unoccupied acres of Transappalachia, for those lands are already taken up by occupants or by capitalists—and there is no room on those acres for the native Americans who are forced by the newcomers from their homes and their farms and from the factories of the mill towns. The new migration, also, has been made up largely from peoples whose ideas are unlike those of ourselves. For the most part this is not in any way due to racial peculiarities. It is the result of the circumstances under which they have lived in their old homes. But it has seemed to many persons to threaten the stability of our institutions which depend absolutely upon obedience to the will of the majority for the time being. If we do not like the doings of the majority, we possess our souls in patience and set to work by pen

and speech to create a majority for our own ideas. Some of these newcomers also are willing to work and to live in ways that are distasteful to native Americans. Under these circumstances, it has seemed desirable to prohibit their pressing in. We have restricted or prohibited the coming of the Chinese, the Japanese, and other members of the yellow races. In 1917 Congress by law authorized the national government to refuse admission to anarchists, to contract laborers, and to those that cannot read in some language. Moreover, it empowered the authorities to deport any alien who shall at any time be found teaching or advocating the destruction of property, the overthrow of the government, or the assassination of its officers. The student of history pondering these facts and thinking of the ideas of Thomas Jefferson, of the Alien and Sedition acts, and of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, cannot help wondering as to the wisdom of curbing in any way the freedom of speech and of writing. Looking backward farther, those ancient Puritans of Massachusetts come to his mind. They bought their lands, they brought over their property, their families, and their friends, and instituted the government that they thought was the best in the world. They then proceeded to deny admission to those who thought differently from themselves and to deport those who sought by speech and by action the overthrow of their government and the destruction of their property. Possibly it was for some such historical reason that this immigration law had been vetoed by President Taft and President Wilson and was only passed over the disapproval of the latter.

Viewing the century from a somewhat different angle, one is impressed with the way that the soul has been absolutely freed from governmental control—so long as it does not concern itself with government—and at the same time with the ever increasing control of the physical body of every individual by the community. In 1820 there were still religious disabilities in several states. In Maryland he who denied the divinity of Christ or he who uttered any profane words concerning the Holy Trinity faced the old law of 1723 that prescribed the boring of the tongue, the branding of the forehead, and, for the third offence, death. In New England, in Massachusetts, and in New Hampshire, the Roman Catholics lived at a distinct disadvantage compared with their fellowmen; in New York, the Roman Catholic immigrant was debarred from all chance to exercise political rights. The preceding half-century had been a time of reaction against state ecclesiasticism and, indeed, the Revolution had been partly fought as a protest against the close con-

nection of Church and State in England and in the empire. The reaction brought to the surface men and women of most radical ideas in religion. Some of them found relief in new sects; others helped in the up-building of Methodism, Presbyterianism, and other faiths; some of them followed religious leaders into Adventism, Mormonism, and other sects that combined their religious activities with some form of community living, as the Perfectionists, the Shakers, and the Rappists. Many good men and women found relief in no settled religion. The result was two-fold: great religious activity throughout the country among all classes of people, and the repealing of nearly every one of the religious laws on the statute books of the several states.

Contemporaneous with the growth of religious freedom was the propaganda against intemperance. After heavily discounting the assertions of the prohibition advocates of the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, it must be said that the consumption of alcohol was appalling and the effects of intemperance startling to the reader of letters and to the student of account-books of that day. It was seriously held by the great mass of our people then that alcoholic stimulation was necessary to severe exertion. The readjustment progressed until in the fifties in one-half of the states of the Union the sale of alcoholic beverages was either forbidden or was hedged about with restrictions that amounted almost to the same thing. The War wrought a distinct change and by 1870 only three states remained faithful to prohibition. Since then a new movement has resulted in the passage of an amendment to the federal Constitution. Simultaneously with the struggle for the elimination of alcoholic beverages, the states have constantly more and more taken under their control the physical well-being of their citizens. Now, men and women are limited in their working hours, and, indeed, are often forbidden to work at all. They cannot live in houses of their own choosing, but are strictly regulated. They cannot cross a street at will and must submit their bodies to precautions against disease that some members of the community view with abhorrence. Many of these restrictions are based on the ideas of men of science which change with every passing year. There has been a complete breaking away from the individualistic ideals that had their highest expression in the writings of Thomas Paine, and now men and women cheerfully yield their physical well-being to community control. As the historian looks back upon it, he cannot help questioning, possibly because he is necessarily of the departing generation. But is it not worth while remarking the eagerness

with which our people have given up all community control of the salvation of the soul eternal and have hedged about the doings of the ephemeral body of every man, woman, and child every hour of the day and night, and have denied the rights of speech and print to every alien, quite forgetful of the story of Thomas Cooper, J. Thomson Callender, and the other martyrs of "The Terror" of the close of the eighteenth century?

The year 1820 was at the end of the old education and the beginning of the new. The public schools of the country and the colleges were apparently at the lowest point in our history. In Massachusetts a blow had been dealt at the public grammar school by raising the limit of compulsion to establish such an institution from a town of one hundred families to two hundred. In Virginia, every attempt to found a system of public schools had been unsuccessful and the existing colleges were seemingly in the last throes of life. The University of Virginia was on the point of opening its doors, but the struggle of the founders of that institution to gain the necessary funds from the Virginia Assembly is one of the most interesting bits of pedagogical history. The next forty years saw a tremendous change in the importation of a modified Prussian system of governmental control of public education. The laboring men demanded facilities for their children without any stigma of charity, and got them. The sects were restricting the higher education of their children to colleges of their own faith. The result was a tremendous expansion of educational facilities. Everywhere, also, there was a demand for the diminution of classical requirements and the establishment of something resembling vocational training. To all of which it was replied that the mental discipline acquired from the study of the ancient languages could be used with great advantage in the pursuit of any business or profession. Unquestionably, the system of state-controlled as distinguished from town-controlled education has greatly improved the local educational institutions in every part of the country, and the establishment of normal schools and of innumerable small colleges has produced a procession of more or less well-trained teachers. After the close of the Civil War, with the revolutionary changes at Harvard and with the re-founding of the University of Michigan, the modern American university came into being. We are all conscious of what is going on around us to-day in the educational establishments and, in fact, most of us are taking part in the training of our fellow men and women. But may we not ask ourselves as to how superior our educational system is to that which produced Ralph Waldo Emerson, Edgar Allan Poe, Washington Irving, and William Gilmore Simms?

For half a century after the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment, although numberless attempts were made to further change the Constitution, nothing was accomplished. Within the last half-century we have been more successful in altering the fundamental law, and seven amendments have been adopted. One of these aimed to confer the franchise on the negroes and led to scenes of lawlessness that are still in the memory of a few of us here. Now the negro vote is largely non-existent in portions of the South. Yet the Southern states receive full representation and are better off politically than they were before 1860. The amendment carried with it the power of enforcement, but Congress has declined to act. Another of these amendments marked the development of nationalism. When the Constitution was adopted, each state, no matter what its population, was given two senators. The states were regarded as political entities and were given equal representation in one house of the federal legislature to safeguard their rights. The senators then were chosen by the state legislatures as representing the states in their corporate capacity. The march of nationalism and democracy demanding a change, the election of senators has been given to the voters of each state, thus doing away with their corporate character. But in making this change, we did not alter the basis of representation accordingly, with the result that one state to-day possessing as many inhabitants as a small, unknown city in Massachusetts has two votes in the Senate of the United States and, in the Electoral College, is distinctly over-represented.

Three of these later amendments, instead of being proposed by "two thirds of both houses" of the Congress were proposed by two-thirds of quorums of the two houses, and our Supreme Court has ruled that two-thirds of both houses are the same thing as two-thirds of quorums of both houses. And the people of the United States, apparently, have acquiesced in this ruling. One of the last two amendments was designed to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages. Regardless of the experience of the earlier prohibition era, no adequate means have been taken to enforce this change in the social habits of the American people. Finally the electorate has been doubled by the extension of the ballot to women; but how far has the disfranchisement of negro men in the South been extended to negro women? In saying these things I am not at all to be understood as taking sides one way or the other as to the subject matter. In the changing march of political and social institutions, due in great measure to the ever increasing mobility of men and ideas, the change from federal republican institutions to those

of a more or less unified democracy has been inevitable and the change is not yet complete. It may well be asked, however, whether this piecemeal fitting of our fundamental law to new ideas is the best way of going about it. We began by being a federated republic. By the time of Jackson, democratic ideas had become firmly rooted in the minds of large portions of our people. Since then the march of social life in the North has been more and more toward direct government. Under these circumstances our fundamental law and the interpretation of it must more or less closely synchronize with the changing political ideals.

In these hundred years we have built up a marvellous industrial society, we have extended our limits to the Pacific, to the Gulf of Mexico, and even beyond to the islands of the sea. We have grown as a people from just under ten millions in 1820 to over one hundred millions to-day, not counting the inhabitants of the insular possessions and of Alaska. The public debt of 1830 that Andrew Jackson was so anxious to see paid off would be hardly visible on the treasury books of this year. Then, they talked in hundred of thousands and in millions of dollars; to-day we estimate our income and our payments in billions. We have established in this city a Federal Reserve Board composed of persons appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and as students we ourselves study the papers of Andrew Jackson and Nicholas Biddle in the Library of Congress for evidences of evil resulting from the connection of the political government with the financial concerns of the country! In all this, in the evolution of the greatest industrial society that the world has ever seen, have we gained or have we lost? Are men and women to-day happier and better off, politically, spiritually, mentally, morally, and physically, than our ancestors were in the days of James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and Andrew Jackson?

EDWARD CHANNING.

SOUTH RUSSIA IN THE PREHISTORIC AND CLASSICAL PERIOD

THOSE historians, both Russian and foreign, who endeavored to trace the outlines of the history of Russia, used to begin with the formation of a Scandinavian-Slavonic state at Kiev on the Dnieper in the ninth century A. D. This starting-point was determined by our historical tradition. The first Slavonic annals, compiled by monks of the Kiev monasteries, began to chronicle at this epoch the transactions of what was destined to become Russia, and modern historians were only too willing to follow the same path.¹

But by this method many vital questions of early Russian history remained unanswered and obscure. How could such an entirely uncivilized nation, as the Slavonic tribes were agreed to be, have had power to convert in a very short time the foreign conquerors—the Scandinavian ruling class—into pure Slavs in speech and customs? How could the state of Kiev develop such a brilliant civilization as that which has been made evident by recent excavations there?² How is one to explain the relations between the late Roman, that is, the Byzantine state and this new Slavonic kingdom on the Dnieper? How are we to understand the possibility of such a speedy development of the Christian faith in this new state? What were the reasons for the spread of the Kiev civilization throughout the different Slavonic and Finnish tribes in southern and central Russia?

It is clear that our Slavonic annals could not give an answer to these questions, though they are of the first importance. On the other side the Byzantine historians paid almost no attention to their northern neighbors and foes and were satisfied to record the various conflicts between the different northern tribes and the armed forces of Byzantium. The late Romans of this dark period had many

¹ See the last general treatments of Russian history, V. O. Kluchevski, *A History of Russia* (trans. by C. J. Hogarth), vol. I. (London and New York, 1911); S. Platonov, *Lectures on Russian History* (last edition, Petrograd, 1917; in Russian).

² Count T. Tolstoi and N. Kondakov, *Russian Antiquities*, vol. V. (St. Petersburg, 1897); N. Kondakov, *The Russian Treasures* (St. Petersburg, 1896); J. Grabar, *History of Russian Art*, vol. I., *Architecture* (Moscow, 1909). Reports of the new excavations in Kiev carried out by D. Mileev are printed in the *Reports of the Archaeological Commission for 1908–1915*; cf. *Bulletin de la Comm. Arch.* for the same years.

misfortunes to record, and the various important processes which developed behind the curtain of different Germanic, Iranian, and Mongolian tribes, who carried with them other tribes and peoples, remained unknown and uninteresting to them.

It is evident that the answer to the questions which I have sketched above *exempli causa* can be given only by investigating the successive stages of cultural development in South Russia at the time of the great migrations, at the time of the Roman Empire, and backward to the times of the first relations between South Russia and the classical peoples of the East and West. For this period our written documents are scanty and one-sided. The only full and impartial evidence is that which has resulted from the archaeological investigations in South Russia. But although the archaeological material gathered by generations of investigators is very abundant and very important, the scientific exploration of it has lagged far behind the accumulation of these unwritten documents.

Classical scholars endeavored to explain the scanty mentions of South Russia in the classical historical tradition (chiefly in Herodotus), and classical archaeologists dealt with the products of classical art found in the remains of towns and the cemeteries of Greek cities on the shores of the Black Sea, merely with the desire to elucidate the evolution of Greek life, art, and religion in these remote corners of the Greek world. The remains which were found in the graves of the native population of South Russia were studied mostly by students of prehistoric times, and no links, except Herodotus's description of the burial customs of the Scythians, were discovered between the native population and the Greek cities. Orientalists paid but little attention to the various Oriental tribes, who formed the main population of South Russia for centuries, because there were such scanty remains of their language. It is a recognized fact that most Orientalists were and still are pure philologists.

Thus no successful attempt was made to combine all these different sources and to trace a history of South Russia as a whole. And I must emphasize the statement that only an attempt of this comprehensive kind could, if not elucidate (which requires many special studies and a vast knowledge of comparative materials), at least endeavor to bring the different questions to a possibility of solution, by pointing out the tasks which are the most important and clearing the path which is to be followed.

The ground for undertaking such an investigation has been well prepared by generations of scholars. The classical evidence has been collected, as regards both the literary sources and the inscrip-

tions, by B. Látyshev, who also prepared from the writers of the Byzantine epoch a full collection of quotations dealing with South Russia. The history of the Greek colonies on the shores of the Black Sea has been made clear by many scholars, both Russian and foreign. Numismatic evidence has been and is being carefully registered and classified by eminent numismatists such as Berthier de Lagarde, Oreshnikov, and others. The Bolshevik revolution, stopping the whole civilized life of the country, prevented the publication of a corpus of Greek coins of the Black Sea colonies by Retovski and myself.

Enormous progress has been made in the archaeological investigation of South Russia. First French, and afterwards Russian, scholars began a systematic archaeological exploration of the sites of the Greek cities on the Black Sea, an exploration both of the remains of the towns and of the cemeteries, and it went on without interruption till the beginning of the Bolshevik revolution. Splendid work has been done for the Dorian colony Chersonesos (near Sevastopol), for the Ionian colony Olbia, at the mouth of the Bug and Dnieper, and for the vast cemeteries of the centre of the Bosphoran state, Panticapaeum (the modern Kertch).

Still more important perhaps have been the results of the excavations of the thousands and thousands of barrows found all over the steppes of South Russia. Interest in these excavations was awakened by the remarkable results achieved in the middle of the past century by Zabielin and Tiesenhausen on the lower Dnieper, and in the delta of the river Kuban, the so-called Taman peninsula. They succeeded in discovering a set of graves which were, without doubt, those of native kings or princes, and which yielded an enormous harvest of golden and silver vases, jewelry of the finest kinds, richly adorned horse-trappings, etc. After this brilliant beginning discoveries followed one another almost without interruption. The most important of them were made by the indefatigable energy and great skill of the late Professor N. Vesselovski, who year after year opened barrow after barrow and filled the Museum of the Hermitage in Petrograd with many thousand of objects, all of the greatest scientific and artistic value. His fields of activity were the steppes on the lower course of the Dnieper and the valley of the Kuban. At the same time the shores of the middle Dnieper and its eastern affluents were explored systematically by many Russian scholars, among whom the leaders were the president of the Archaeological Commission, Count A. Bobrinski, and the keeper of the Archaeological Museum at Kiev, V. Hvoika. I cannot deal more at

length with the history of the archaeological discoveries made during the last fifty years in South Russia. A full account may be found in the recent book of Ellis H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*.³ I will only point out that all these discoveries were followed by careful reports and by many attempts to give a general account of the whole mass of archaeological evidence collected during half a century of systematic investigation. Books such as the famous *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, the well-known *Russian Antiquities* of Count Tolstoi and Kondakov, the three big volumes of Count Bobrinski on his excavations near Smela, and the volume of Minns cited above, are and will be for generations so many sources of trustworthy information.

And yet no real attempt has been made hitherto to trace the history of the country as a whole and to combine this history with the historical evolution of the ancient world in general. The task in itself is a very difficult and complicated one. South Russia, from its geographical position, is a land of different influences, coming from the north, the east, the south, and the west, and fusing into one in the vast open steppes on the shores of the great Russian rivers. Through the Caucasus South Russia was in uninterrupted communication with the great Eastern monarchies. One of the monarchies—that around the lake of Van⁴—was almost the immediate neighbor of the tribes who occupied the valley of the Kuban. We are just beginning, thanks to the recent discoveries of Russian scholars, to understand how great was the importance of this mighty monarchy in eastern history during the last millennium B. C. and how intimate was its connection with South Russia and the Caucasian tribes. Through the steppes on the shores of the Caspian Sea Russia was largely open to the influences and migrations, first of Iranian and then of Mongolian tribes. The great Russian rivers formed an unbroken link between the steppes of South Russia on one side, and the Ural mountains, and also the forests, swamps, and

³ (Cambridge, 1913; see *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XIX. 843-848.) He gives also a detailed bibliography of Russian and foreign works published on the subject during the last century. Cf. my two articles, "L'Exploration Archéologique de la Russie Méridionale de 1912 à 1917", in the *Journal des Savants*, n. s., XVIII. 49-61, 109-122 (March-April, May-June, 1920).

⁴ On the history of the Vannic kingdom, Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (1913), p. 516; B. Turaiev, *History of the Ancient Orient*, II. (1912). 26 (in Russian). Excavations during the war brought to light new and very important inscriptions indicating relations between Van and Javan (N. Marr, *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences de Petrograd*, 1918) and artistic monuments of great value; see Pharmakovski, *Materials for the Archaeology of Russia*, XXXIV. (1914), 45 ff.

lakes of Central and Northern Russia, on the other. In the west, no natural obstacles hindered a free intercourse between South Russia and the valley of the Danube, as well as Central Europe in general, and in the south the vast and navigable Black Sea attracted the keen daring sailors of the Mediterranean from time immemorial.

And yet we have no right to affirm that South Russia was a land of continuous migrations, an open corridor for newcomers from the east and the west. The steppes of South Russia are so rich both as pastures and as arable land, the rivers are so rich in fish, and the forests on the northern edge of the steppes so full of game, that every newcomer to South Russia did his best to stay as long as possible in this Eldorado both for nomads and for settled dwellers.

Therefore the history of South Russia is very complicated and the aspects of its cultural life are very varied. But the task of the investigator is at least not hopeless, for most of the peoples who settled in South Russia stayed for long centuries and left behind them various traces of their life.

I will now endeavor to give a short account of the different stages of the political, social, and artistic development of South Russia during the prehistoric and so-called classical period, *i. e.*, till the epoch of the great migrations. My aim, in this short article, is not to depict historical life as it developed on the shores of the Black Sea, but to point out, in the light of evidence furnished by the archaeological excavations, classical authors, and epigraphical and numismatic monuments, the most important problems which arise from the study of these documents. An attempt to answer these questions more fully, from the point of view of universal history, will be shortly given by me in my forthcoming book *The Iranians and the Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, Clarendon Press).

The first problem of general significance is presented to the historian by the recent discoveries, in the valley of the middle Dnieper and of the lower Bug, of very important remains of neolithic and eneolithic (first copper period) villages and burial-places with peculiar and artistic painted ceramics. The painted pottery and the clay statuettes (human beings, animals, models of houses, and sacred vessels), found mostly in ruined buildings of a peculiar nature—half burial-places, half funerary shrines—which were surrounded by reed and clay walls and covered by a roof, belongs to a large class of similar pottery called by the students of prehistoric life “the pottery of spirals and meander”.⁵ This pottery is found over a

⁵ The last treatise on the problem, Höernes, *Urgeschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Europa* (second ed., 1915), pp. 284 ff. and 604 ff.

large area in the southern part of Central Europe. Similar painted vases, but different in both technique and ornaments, have been found in Thessaly and in Crete. Asia Minor is also full of remains of similar pottery which seem to be connected with the artistic painted pottery of Elam, Babylonia, and Turkestan of the same epoch rather than with the European pottery of the "spirals and meander". It is worthy of note that the Elamitic and Mesopotamian remains are in close connection with sherds of similar vases found by Sir Aurel Stein in heaps all over Seistan and Baluchistan. The question of the relations between the European pottery and that of Asia is hotly debated, no agreement having been reached on the problem. Polygenists (*e.g.*, Pottier⁶) affirm a simultaneous appearance of similar phenomena in different places, monogenists (*e. g.*, Wilke⁷) speak of migrations or commercial intercourse. South Russian discoveries have complicated the question instead of clearing it up. The South-Russian, Galician, and Rumanian group of this pottery appears to be the most richly developed European group, more similar to the Asiatic than to either of the other European series. The problem of this island of Asiatic pottery in Europe still awaits its solution and is made the more difficult by the fact that no pottery of this kind has been found either in the eastern part of South Russia or in the Caucasus. It is necessary to conjecture the existence of some links with Central Asia through Asia Minor. The resemblance between Elam and South Russia is too close to be accidental.

An important fact which may be deduced from the existence of this early centre of advanced civilization in South Russia is that already at this epoch the valley of the middle Dnieper was a land of settled dwellers, in no case nomads, who had reached a high standard of civilized life.

Still more important is the observation that the middle-Dnieper centre of civilization was gradually absorbed by a much lower civilization of nomadic type which is characterized by burials in the form of barrows. These barrows cover graves of different forms, with red-colored skeletons in the contracted position. But before being absorbed the middle-Dnieper civilization strongly influenced the nomads, brought them partly to settled life, and created for them a peculiar pottery with incised and painted decoration, highly developed. We observe this phenomenon chiefly in the steppes between

⁶ *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, XIII. (1912).

⁷ "Spiral-mäander Keramik und Gefässmalerei", in *Mannus-Bibliothek*, vol. III. (1910).

the Dnieper and the Don, but it may have had a much wider development.

This fusion of the two types of civilization cited above had already taken place at the time when metals began to be in common use, first copper, afterwards bronze. The first knowledge of metals came to the steppes on the northern shores of the Black Sea not from the west, but from the east. It was in the valley of the river Kuban that a metallic civilization of a high standard was first developed in South Russia, at the same epoch when a similar civilization was brought about in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Many finds in large barrows on the river Kuban, especially one in a grave excavated by Vesselovski in Maïkop, have furnished us with many artistic golden and silver objects made with the greatest skill and a highly developed technique, in no way inferior to those which were found in Babylonia and Egypt belonging to the same age. I have devoted to these finds a special article.⁸ The main questions which we have to decide after having studied the monuments I have mentioned are: are they contemporary with the finds in Egypt and Babylonia, and if so how are we to explain their similarity to those of these regions, and also their points of difference? My own opinion is that the two series are contemporary, that no intercourse can be proved, and that therefore we have to suppose an independent beginning of civilized life in a place whose geographical conditions are not unlike those of Babylonia and Egypt.

The exploration of South Russia and especially of the Kuban valley has not been systematic enough to make it certain that the lack of finds belonging to the pure bronze period is not accidental, whereas the central and southern Caucasus on the one hand and the Hungarian plain on the other are full of remains of this period, a fact which would lead us to expect some finds of the same date in the northern Caucasus and also on the Dnieper. It must be taken into consideration that the bronze age in the Caucasus shows very similar features to those which characterize the copper age in the Kuban valley.

But as matters are, we have no traces of a highly developed bronze age in South Russia. From the copper age we come almost directly to the early iron age, *i. e.*, to the first millennium B. C. Of that epoch two facts of primary importance must be recorded: the appearance both in the southern Caucasus and in South Russia in general of two waves of invaders—first of Cimmerians, and after-

⁸ M. Rostovtsev, "L'Age de Cuivre dans le Caucase Septentrional et les Civilisations de Soumer et de l'Égypte Protodynastique", in *Revue Archéologique*, XII. 1-37 (July-October, 1920).

wards of Scythians. The question, who were and whence came the Cimmerians, is a crucial one. Cimmerians are a people well known both to the Oriental and to the Greek historical tradition. The former records their prolonged fight against the Vannic kingdom first and the Assyrian kings afterwards, beginning at the end of the eighth century B. C., and their triumphal march through Asia Minor, which brought them into collision with Lydia and the earliest Greek towns in Asia Minor. The second knows of their conquest of the Greek towns in Asia Minor on the one hand, and, on the other, of their long stay on the shores of the Black Sea, in the Crimea and the Taman peninsula. The Bosphorus was, according to this tradition, the starting-point of the Cimmerians for their invasion of Asia Minor. Both are fully acquainted with their rivalry with the Scythians and with the final victory of the latter both in South Russia and in Asia Minor. The facts are well known and I need not insist on them.⁹

Now we may ask: who were the Cimmerians, how long did they stay on the shores of the Black Sea, what was the influence which they exerted on South Russia, and have we any remains of their sojourn on the Black Sea? I cannot deal with all these questions at length, but I must mention a few facts of primary moment. The best-informed and earliest Greek traditions unanimously affirm that the Cimmerians were of Thracian origin. Modern historians partly prefer to urge the occurrence of some Iranian names among the Cimmerian rulers and to make them near relatives of the Scythians, their bitterest enemies. I may notice a third hypothesis, that of Posidonius. False and imaginary etymologies and the desire to explain some verses of Homer caused him to identify the Cimmerians with the Cimbri and to advocate their northern origin. But nobody took into consideration, first of all, that the historical tradition of the future kingdom of the Bosphorus implied a prolonged stay of the Cimmerians on the shores of the Black Sea, pointing out that many places on the straits of Kertch preserved the name of the Cimmerians, especially the straits themselves which were called Cimmerian Bosphorus. Secondly, nobody has explained the fact that the population of the future kingdom of Bosphorus, and in particular the ruling classes, bore partly Thracian names, and that the first rulers of Panticapaeum—a Milesian colony—were all Thracians. The

⁹ The best summary of our Oriental evidence is given by M. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, etc. (Leipzig, 1916, *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*), p. cccxxi; cf. Olmstead in *Cornell Studies in Hist. and Pol.*, II., and in *Amer. Hist. Assoc., Ann. Rep.*, 1909 (Washington, 1911); and E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, §§ 452 ff. I. 28, § 529.

usual suggestion, that these rulers were Thracian soldiers invited by the Greek population to defend them against the Scythians, is historically impossible and explains nothing. In the third place I would insist on the evidence of some early remains in the future kingdom of Bosphorus which are similar to those in Hungary and in Asia Minor, especially at Troy. All these facts seem to corroborate the earliest Greek traditions and to establish the probability that the Cimmerians were of Thracian origin. This fact does not involve their having come from the Balkan Peninsula. We do not know how old is the Thracian population in the Balkans, and we may doubt that it was autochthonous. The solution of this problem may be found when we are better acquainted with the Thracian language, which is practically unknown, and with the early ethnography of Central Asia. As far as our present knowledge goes, we cannot eliminate the hypothesis that many tribes of Central Asia may claim a close affinity with the Thracians, in the first place the Massagetae. Less probable is the supposition that the Thracians came from Central and Northern Russia or through those countries from the shores of the Baltic and the North Sea.

However, the Cimmerians were obliged to yield their place in South Russia to Iranian new-comers, the Scythians, who probably dragged with them some Mongolian tribes. Though the Scythians were always treated by the historians of the ancient world as a kind of negligible quantity, as a barbarous nomadic tribe which belongs entirely to the domain of prehistoric studies, the results of the excavations in South Russia show the Scythians to have been a factor of some importance in the political development of the ancient world and to have had a comparatively wide influence on the growth of civilized life in Eastern Europe in general.

Let us bring some facts to support my statement. The Scythians formed in South Russia a stable and strong state which lasted for almost four centuries, from the seventh to the third century B. C. The existence of this established state was the chief cause of the splendid development of the Greek colonies on the shores of the Black Sea, who rivalled in wealth and their high standard of material civilization the Greek cities of Asia Minor—vassals of the Persian kingdom.

Although organized as a nomadic and military state, the Scythians were in no way hostile to the settled life of tribes conquered by them and to the material development of the Greek cities, their tributaries. The former supplied them with corn, fish, metals, and furs, the latter purchased these goods from the Scythians, paid for

them in manufactured products partly imported from their mother-country, partly made by themselves, and thus gave Greece an opportunity of providing herself with food-stuffs for her population and raw materials for her industry. We must not forget that for centuries South Russia fed a large part of the Greek countries, and that Athens was able to develop her high standard of civilized life because of regular importations of food-stuffs and raw materials from South Russia which allowed her to devote her energy to arts, sciences, and industry, and to build up her power.

On the other hand, under the influence of Greece, Scythia raised her own civilization to a comparatively high level. Having brought with them their peculiar tastes and habits, their original style in decorative art—the so-called animal style—the Scythians did not drop their peculiarities under Greek influence.¹⁰ They not only made the Greeks work for them, adapting themselves to Scythian requirements and thus developing new abilities, but learned from the Greeks their skill and employed this fresh knowledge to build up their own art on new lines. Through Scythia civilized habits penetrated into Central Russia and acted as a stimulus to creative independent work among the South and Central Russian peoples. We do not know whether there were Slavs already among them. But even if the Slavs came to Russia comparatively late, they certainly absorbed the cultivation of their predecessors.¹¹ It is a matter of further study to follow closely this process of the spread of the Greek and Graeco-Oriental civilization through the medium of Scythians in Russia and in the Balkans, cradles of the future Slavonic states,¹² but even now the results of archaeological excavations show us how widely the Scythian influence extended and how flourishing was life on the banks of all the Russian rivers during the centuries of Scythian domination.¹³ In itself the Scythian state

¹⁰ On the Scythian animal style see the recent work of C. Schuchhardt, *Alteuropa in seiner Kultur und Stilentwicklung* (Strassburg and Berlin, 1919).

¹¹ See on these questions the valuable series of works published by the Finnish scholar A. M. Tallgren, enumerated in his last two volumes: *Collection Tovostine* (Helsingfors, 1917), and *L'Age de Bronze en Russie: la Civilisation d'Anan-jino* (Helsingfors, 1919).

¹² Recent excavations in Bulgaria have brought to light some graves of the fourth century B. C. with objects imitated from Scythian originals; see B. Filow, *Römische Mittheilungen*, XXXII. (1917), 1 ff.; G. Kazarow, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker* (Sarajevo, 1916).

¹³ Large towns with large cemeteries are found all over the region of the middle Dnieper and its eastern tributaries; see the above quoted work of Count A. Bobrinski, and *Drevnosti Pridneprovja* (*Les Antiquités de la Région du Dniéper*) by B. and V. Khanenko. On the lower Dnieper scores of small towns and villages, half-Scythian, half-Greek, developed along the river. See Goszkie-

presents many interesting features. We already know that the Scythians were Iranians. Iranians in general are but little known to us. And yet how far-reaching has been their influence on the classical world! What an opening for study, along with the greatest Iranian power—Persia, another Iranian state of entirely different mould, a state strong enough to challenge the Persian world-domination and to induce Darius to undertake a dangerous expedition into the steppes of South Russia! This opportunity of study is given to us by the ever increasing archaeological material, through which we can form an idea of the religious, social, economic, and political life of the Scythians. Finally, the Scythian state was a model on which later Asiatic states in South Russia were organized, and a thorough knowledge of it enables us better to understand the later nomadic states—dangerous rivals and foes of Slavonic Russia who again succeeded at the epoch of Tartar invasion in ruling an important part of the Russian land.

I have already pointed out that the existence of a stable Scythian kingdom in South Russia gave the Greek settlers the opportunity of founding many important centres of civilized life on the northern shore of the Black Sea. The most interesting of these is the Bosporan state on the straits of Kertch—a waterway uniting the Black and the Azov seas. The growth of this state is a phenomenon which calls for serious attention.¹⁴

From time immemorial traces of civilized life have been found on both shores of the straits. Different highways of international trade converged here and this convergence caused the inhabitants to take an active part in the exchange of goods coming to their doors from the north, east, and south. Gold, copper, iron, furs, slaves, fish, and leather were carried by caravans across the steppes of West Siberia and South Russia, by small boats on the Don and the Sea of Azov, and by ships on the Black Sea to this natural meeting-place—the Bosporan straits. No wonder that here was the centre of the Cimmerian kingdom and that after the fall of that kingdom the Scythians struggled hard for possession of it, nor that they encountered a strong resistance in the native population, a resistance reinforced by Greek colonists attracted by the great opportunities of the district. No wonder, again, that the old inhabitants welcomed the coming of Greek settlers who helped them to defend their independence against Scythian attacks. In this way were

vicz, *Bull. de la Comm. Arch. de Russie*, XLVII. 117, and M. Ebert, *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, V. (1913).

¹⁴ See the valuable study of E. von Stern in *Hermes*, L. (1915).

founded the scores of Greek colonies which soon covered both shores of the straits. The most important were Panticapaeum on the Crimean shore and Phanagoria on the Caucasian. Common interest soon united these two groups with each other and with the native tribes. The scattered Greek towns and the indigenous population little by little sought and found a *modus vivendi* which allowed them to form a strong community, able to uphold its independence. Thus arose the Bosporan state, a compromise between the tribal monarchical organization of the aborigines and the Greek self-governing bodies.

It is a matter of great interest to trace the development of the new community. A loosely knit confederation of cities and tribes in its beginnings, it became gradually a political body of dual nature. The ruler of this body was for the Greeks an elected magistrate, for the natives a king ruling by divine right. Notwithstanding this apparent dualism, however, the constitution of the new state became gradually a purely monarchical one. The Greeks in the mother-country were fully aware of the fact and called the Bosporan archons and kings—tyrants. It was hard for the Greek colonists to give their support to these tyrants, especially as the tyrants were not Greeks but Hellenized natives. But the constant threat of Scythian supremacy overcame their repulsion to monarchical rule, and thus tyranny, which in Greek surroundings never lasted longer than one or two generations, stood firm in Bosporus for hundreds of years. This tyranny entered into diplomatic and commercial relations with the Greek world and was treated by the Greek states as a desirable friend. We must not forget that the tyrants of Bosporus disposed of all the corn produced in the country watered by the rivers Kuban and Don and in the Crimea and also of all the fish of these rivers and of the Sea of Azov, the Scythians having no commercial fleet and no ports of their own. Thus the kingdom of Bosporus became rich and mighty, with a peculiar social and economic organization akin to that of different Hellenistic states which gradually arose out of the monarchy of Alexander in the Orient.

The growth of the Bosporan kingdom out of a combination of two different types of state-life—the tribal monarchy and the Greek free city—led to a peculiar dualism not only in the state; both its social and economic organization and its material civilization were also deeply affected. Rulers who were also extensive landowners, surrounded by a ruling aristocracy of feudal type and a city-population of retail traders, ship-owners, and craftsmen, present a social picture of great historical interest. Although pure Greek by

origin, the inhabitants of the Greek cities in the Bosporan kingdom, governed as they were by a half-native dynasty, could not long remain purely Greek in life, habits, and religion.¹⁵ Everywhere, in all branches of civilized life, they were strongly influenced by their surroundings, especially as regards art and industry. Working for tribes of non-Greek race, the Greek settlers naturally adapted themselves to the tastes of their clients, and thus built up gradually a new style both in architecture and in decorative art. Take, for instance, the monumental graves of the Bosporan aristocracy, with their mighty step-vaults, which remind one of the famous grave of the Atreidae. Look at the beautiful gold coins with their masterly heads of the local rural divinities transformed into Sileni and Satyrs, and again at the remains of their painted tombs and at the peculiar jewels and vases which they made to satisfy the requirements of their neighbors. Everywhere you will find new features which cannot be explained by purely Greek analogies. But still all these products remain Greek both in workmanship and in style.

Students of art ought surely to pay more attention to this branch of Greek art than they have hitherto done. They will learn by this study how infinitely varied Greek art could be and how ready were the Greek artists to grapple with new tasks and to comply with new requirements. They eagerly studied Scythian and Maeotian life, the dresses, the arms, the social and religious habits of these tribes, the forms of their sacred vessels, etc., and used this fresh knowledge to create splendid works of Greek art. They ennobled primitive forms of vases, arms, and horse-equipment, and adorned them with lively scenes of a slightly idealized life of the Scythian and Maeotian tribes, in the spirit of the Stoic school and Ephorus. The ground for the best achievements of Hellenistic and Roman art in artistic ethnography was first prepared by Bosporan artists and craftsmen working for Iranians, whom they had themselves educated in the appreciation of Greek art and thus enabled to understand the best creations of Greek genius.

A new factor came into the life of South Russia through the appearance in the steppes of fresh tribes of conquering invaders—the Sarmatians.¹⁶ They moved slowly from the east, crossed the

¹⁵ See my paper, "The Idea of the Kingly Power in Scythia and in the Bosporus", in *Bull. de la Comm. Arch.*, XLIX.; cf. *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1921.

¹⁶ No good general work on the Sarmatians exists. See E. Täubler, *Klio*, IX. (1909), 14; J. Kulakovski, *The Alans according to the Testimonies of Classical and Byzantine Writers* (Kiev, 1899); M. Rostovtsev, *Ancient Decorative Painting in South Russia* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 326 ff. and 340 ff.

rivers Ural and Volga, and already in the fourth century B. C. were approaching the Don. The Scythians were forced to yield before them, to evacuate the region on the Kuban, and to fall back on the right bank of the Don. At the same period political conditions in the west enabled the Scythians to resume their offensive against the Thracian tribes, checked at the end of the sixth century by Darius and afterwards by the buffer-state of the Odrysae—a creation, like the Bosphorus, of Athens during the period of her greatest expansion. In this way arose the mighty western empire of the Scythians of the fourth and third centuries B. C., with a military and political centre on the Dnieper, instead of the former eastern centre which must be conjectured to have been situated on the western shore of the Sea of Azov. The Scythian power spread widely westwards and northwards and firmly held the lands along the middle Dnieper and its affluents and the whole tract of flat land between the Dneiper and the Danube, including the delta of the Danube—the Dobrudja.

However, this last period in the history of the great Scythian kingdom in South Russia was but of short duration. The Sarmatians soon resumed their victorious advance and already by the middle of the third century B. C. a variety of new political factors put an end to the expansion of the Scythians westwards and northwards. The most important of these new factors was the conquest of the Balkan Peninsula by the Celts.¹⁷ Weak Scythian vassals in Thracia, with no support from outside, could naturally by themselves organize no effective resistance to the Celtic advance. On the other hand the Scythian kingdom, weakened by Sarmatian attacks in the east and by a long struggle with the powerful Macedonian kingdoms in the west—especially under the strong rule of Philip and Alexander—was obliged to leave its Thracian vassals to their own fate. Thus the Celtic advance from the north found hardly any resistance and was followed by chaos, not only in the Balkan Peninsula but also in South Russia. We must not forget that after the death of Lysimachus the political balance of the Greek world shifted definitely from Macedonia to the eastern Hellenistic monarchies, and that Macedonia, the chief promoter of Hellenism in the Balkans, was in constant political convulsion and thus unable to fulfill its chief task—the defense of Greek civilization from northern invaders.

Some inscriptions found in the Greek colony Olbia—the most

¹⁷ The last comprehensive work on the Celts in the Balkan Peninsula was published by G. Kazarow, "The Celts in Thracia and Macedonia", in *Transactions of the Bulgarian Academy*, XVIII. (1919).

important harbor for the export of the produce of the valleys of the Dnieper and the Bug and therefore in constant relations with the Scythian kingdom—supply us with decisive evidence of the conditions in the western part of the Scythian kingdom in the beginning of the third century B. C. I refer especially to the long decree in honor of Protogenes, a rich merchant of Olbia and member of one of the few families who preserved and increased their wealth during this troubled period. It appears from this decree that the great king of Scythia, Saitapharnes, concentrated his forces on the Dnieper, that he lost his hold on his different vassal-kings between the Dnieper and the Bug, and that the whole swarm of these petty princes fled hastily eastwards and southwards before the coming storm of Celtic and German invaders. I am convinced that such a state of things could only have been brought about by some serious blows inflicted by the Celts on the great Scythian kings somewhere between the Dneister and the Bug.

The Celts of course did not remain in South Russia. They were attracted by the enormous wealth of Greece and Asia Minor and concentrated their efforts on the task of penetrating into these districts. But the Scythian power could not recover after the heavy blows which it had suffered from the Celts, and was unable to hold its own against the different Illyrian, Thracian, and Germanic tribes who invaded South Russia. Moreover the conditions in the east became worse and worse. The Sarmatians, as I have already mentioned, crossed the Don early in the third century; in the second they reached the Dnieper and in the first the whole of South Russia was full of Sarmatian tribes moving westwards.

The consequences of these events were exceeding important for the history of the ancient world. The Scythians retired to the Crimea and began to press hard on the Greek towns trying to find an outlet for their commerce. The kingdom of Bosphorus and the Chersonesos were unable to defend themselves from the Scythian pressure. The Bosphorus especially suffered severely, both from the Sarmatians who settled on the Don and the Kuban and occupied the peninsula of Taman and from the Scythians in the Crimea. Anarchy, which reigned in the steppes, almost entirely checked the profitable trade of the Greeks and exhausted the accumulated wealth of the Greek cities with contributions extorted by the Scythians and Sarmatians and with payments to hired soldiers. The wave of oriental invaders seemed to doom Hellenism in South Russia to a final fall.

Nevertheless this fall did not come; it was delayed for some cen-

turies. Instead, civilized life began to flourish anew in the Greek cities and once more advanced deeply into the steppes of South Russia. The reasons for this development were, on the one side, the character of the new conquerors of South Russia—the Sarmatians, and on the other the political development of the Orient in general which brought South Russia under the sway of the nascent and developing Roman Empire. Let me deal first with the Sarmatians.

Like the Scythians, the Sarmatians were of Iranian descent. For centuries they remained probably in Turkestan, where they were in close relations first with the Persians and afterwards with the different half-Greek states created in the East by Alexander. These links were not broken after the beginning of the westward movement of the Sarmatians. We have every reason to suppose that they remained in touch both with the Parthian kingdom and with Central Asia. From Turkestan the Sarmatians, who were by no means wild barbarians, brought a powerful military organization, excellent weapons, civilized habits, and a strong taste for artistic objects both of Persian and of Central-Asiatic manufacture, from which sprang germs of artistic development among the Sarmatians themselves.

Thus the Sarmatians went to South Russia thoroughly prepared to take the place of the Scythians both in their political and in their commercial relations. They were nevertheless unable to succeed in creating in the steppes of South Russia a centralized state like that of the Scythians. They remained divided into different independent tribes, sometimes fighting one against another, but usually separated by intervening heterogeneous tribes.

Though unable to regenerate the Scythian state, the Sarmatians inherited all the traditions of Scythian commercial and political intercourse, especially with the Greek cities. Like the Scythians in their best epoch they did not seriously contemplate the eventual conquest of the Greek cities. They made no single attempt of this sort, though the occupation of Olbia and Tyras would have been in no way difficult. They preferred to enter into close commercial relations with the Greek cities, to impose on them their tastes and habits, to make Greeks work for them and to pay for the Greek goods with the products of their agriculture and commerce. We must take into account that the Sarmatians, like the Scythians, did not break up the agricultural exploitation of some parts of South Russia by the native population, and endeavored to maintain commercial relations with Persia, Central Asia, India, and China. The results of this policy

were: the possibility of existence and development for the Greek cities, the gradual infiltration of Sarmatian elements into them, and the birth of a new artistic style out of the collaboration of Greek artists and Sarmatian employers. We will deal with the first two points later; let us say now a few words about the third.

The Sarmatians brought with them from their native country two things which they required from the artists who worked for them. Besides asking for the weapons and jewels which they were accustomed to use, they insisted upon having these ornamented in a fashion always characteristic of the Iranian East: I mean the ornamentation by means of inset colored stones and enamels, and the use for this ornamentation chiefly of geometric designs and figures of animals.¹⁸ These requirements were willingly accepted by the Greek artists and thus there arose in the Greek towns an entirely new artistic style in jewelry and toreutics, the so-called polychrome style, often combined with the animal style. The history of the gradual development of this style in South Russia is of first importance for the history of art in medieval Europe. I cannot deal with this problem at length, but I must emphasize that I can prove that the so-called Merovingian or Gothic style in jewelry and toreutics developed gradually out of the elements brought by the Sarmatians and handed over first to the Greeks on the Black Sea and afterwards to the Goths who invaded South Russia from the north. All the successive steps of this development can be traced in South Russia, and scores of monuments, sometimes of the greatest artistic value, enable us to study this development in all its phases. I will mention only some important finds, such as the recent finds near Orenburg (third to second century B. C.), those of the Kuban region and the Taman peninsula (second century B. C. to second or third century A. D.), of the Don (especially the treasure of Novocherkassk, first century B. C. to first century A. D.), of Western Siberia (rich gold jewels and horse-trappings of the same epoch), of Rumania (the treasure of Petroasa), all of the more ancient period, and some of the later epoch, such as the finds of Kertch (beginning with the second century A. D.), of the South Russian steppes (first to third century A. D.), of Rumania, Hungary, Austria, Germany, France, Britain, Spain, North Africa, which all form an uninterrupted chain whose rings are linked together by identical style, similar technique, and the shape of the objects. It is the same track which the Sarmatians themselves followed in their gradual advance towards the west.

¹⁸ A detailed treatment of the evolution of the polychrome style will be given in my forthcoming book, *The Iranians and the Greeks in South Russia*.

On the other hand, the Sarmatian animal style, after having adopted many peculiarities from the Scythian animal style, perceptibly influenced central and eastern Russia and, through their medium, northern Europe, thus originating both in Russia and in Scandinavia a peculiar animal style which held its own in these countries for centuries and the influence of which can be traced in the Romanesque and so-called Gothic style in central and southern Europe.

Though not hostile to Greek civilization, the Sarmatians were a great danger to the Greek colonies on the Black Sea.¹⁹ Nobody in these colonies knew that the Sarmatians had no intention of destroying or conquering. On the other hand, as I have already pointed out, the Scythians under the pressure of the Sarmatians became more and more insolent and threatened the Greek cities with destruction. The Greek colonies, unable to defend themselves, naturally looked in every direction for protection. But the second century B. C., when the Sarmatians expanded with exceptional energy and the Scythians succeeded in forming once more a strong state in the Crimea under the sceptre of Skilurus, was a troubled epoch in the history of the ancient world. Of mighty protectors there were none in the East, all the more or less Hellenized kings in the Orient being either vassals or clients of Rome, and Rome itself, involved as she was in an internal, ever-growing struggle, was in no way anxious to support the Pontic Greeks against their enemies. This is the explanation of the fact that the Pontic Greeks sought and found help from the most dangerous foe Rome had in the second century B. C., King Mithridates of Pontus, a half-Iranian dynast of high ambition. Everyone knows the history of the struggle between Rome and Mithridates. Everyone remembers that Mithridates made his last stand in the Bosporan kingdom, and that he was betrayed here first by the Pontic Greeks and afterwards by his own son.

The consequences of the temporary rule of Mithridates over the whole of the Crimea were momentous in the history of South Russia. Mithridates endeavored to organize the whole eastern Iranian world, including Scythians, Sarmatians, and Thracians, against Rome. After his death Rome was thus faced with the possibility of a renewal of the Mithridatic attempt, and understood clearly that a consistent policy towards the Parthians could not be carried out without

¹⁹ On the history of South Russia in the Roman epoch, see E von Stern, in *Hermes*, L. (1915), 211, and my own papers, "Pontus, Bithynia, Bosporus", in *Annals of the British School at Athens*, XXII.; "Caesar and the South of Russia", in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1917, pp. 27 ff.; "Queen Dynamis of Bosporus" in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXIX. (1917) 88.

first settling conditions not only on the southern shore of the Black Sea but also on the eastern and northern. The former indifference of the Romans towards the Black Sea was now transformed into a lively interest. Caesar, Augustus, and their followers all watched attentively over the Greek colonies on the Black Sea and did their best to consolidate their influence over them and to help them in the constant struggle against the Scythians and Sarmatians. Greek settlers on the Black Sea, threatened by the Iranian danger, were reliable vassals of the Romans, strong advanced posts of Greek civilization standing like islands, amidst the Iranian sea, and excellent spies who, in their own interest, kept the Romans informed of all the new events in the Iranian world. We must take into consideration that already in the first century A. D. Sarmatian vanguards had come into conflict with the Roman troops on the Danube. Hence the policy of Rome to transform the kingdom of Bosphorus into a vassal state, the Greek free cities into Roman "allies".

After some vicissitudes and waverings during the first century B. C. and the first century A. D., Rome achieved her aim and the Bosporan kingdom became for centuries her vassal. But this Bosporan kingdom was no more the old state of the Spartocides. The neighborhood of the Sarmatians and Scythians and the rule of Mithridates had borne fruit. Bosphorus and the other Greek cities were no longer purely Greek.

I have already pointed out that Mithridates relied chiefly upon his Iranian allies and his half-Iranian subjects in the Pontus. He filled up the Greek towns with them and assigned to them influential posts and large holdings of land. Seeing that the Greeks did not welcome his rule, he tried to bring into the Greek cities more trustworthy elements. It is probable that he was the first who transferred a large body of Jewish settlers to the Bosporan kingdom. No wonder that he left Bosphorus with a large admixture of foreign intruders. His successors had to reckon with this state of things. They were themselves not Greek. The dynasty reigning over Bosphorus during the first three centuries A. D. were descended from the union of Dynamis (daughter of Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, by one of his foreign wives) and a Sarmatian or Maeotian prince, Aspurgus, son of Asandrochos. Aspurgus himself married as his second wife a Thracian princess, Gepaepyris. Thus the Bosporan dynasty evidently was not Greek at all, but half-Iranian, half-Thracian. And we must not forget that this dynasty ruled over a combination of a few Greek towns and many native tribes, and depended in its wars partly on city levies, but chiefly on hired or

conscript native soldiers. Under these conditions the Bosporean kingdom inevitably became more and more barbarian, *i. e.*, Iranian, as the native civilization was chiefly Iranian, although the native tribes were of varied origin—Iranians, Thracians, Caucasians. We wonder, not at the fact of this Iranization, but rather at the amazing phenomenon of the pertinacity of Greek language, Greek habits, and Greek thought among a population in whom Greek blood flowed more and more scantily and among whom even Greek personal names became exceptional. It is remarkable that these barbarian citizens of the Bosporean towns boasted of their Hellenism and tried to convince everyone, against all evidence, by keeping alive Greek traditions, Greek education, Greek language, and by maintaining a kind of cult for Homer and Plato, that they were really descended from the Milesian and other Greek settlers on the shores of the Black Sea.

This Hellenism, however, was but a pious camouflage. The citizens of the Bosporean towns in the second and third centuries A. D. were not in any respect different, except as regards the official language, from the Hellenized Scythians and Sarmatians, their neighbors. Students of social and economic life should pay more attention than they have hitherto, to the economic and social conditions of the Bosporean kingdom at this period. These conditions did not change very much as compared with those of the Spartocid period. But they became more like the feudal organization of the Scythian kingdom and the several Sarmatian tribal states. The study both of the sculptured funereal stelae, found by the hundred in Kertch and recently published by Kieseritski and Watzinger,²⁰ and of the painted funereal chambers and vaults of Panticapaeum, collected and investigated by myself,²¹ as well as the study of the furniture of thousands of graves which have been opened in the Bosporean necropolis, shows that the Bosporean kingdom was, like the Scythian and Sarmatian state, a kind of highly organized military community of landowners and traders, who ruled over a native population of serfs. Some of the neighboring tribes recognized the supremacy of the Bosporean kings and were their vassals, as they themselves were vassals of Rome; some were their allies or their enemies. The great wealth of the ruling Bosporean aristocracy depended entirely on their exploitation of the rich soil of a part of the Crimea and the Taman peninsula and on their trade with the Greek and Roman

²⁰ G. von Kieseritski and C. Watzinger, *Griechische Grabreliefs aus Südrussland* (Berlin, 1909).

²¹ M. Rostovtsev, *Ancient Decorative Painting in South Russia* (St. Petersburg, 1913); cf. *Jour. of Hell. Studies*, XXXIX. (1919) 144 ff.

world, *i. e.*, on their command of the sea routes. This command, which was upheld at all costs by the suzerains of the Bosphorus—the Romans—was the chief reason why the Sarmatians never thought of destroying or capturing the Greek cities. They perfectly understood that such destruction would mean a complete cessation of the importation of all manufactured goods, to which they had become more and more accustomed.

I cannot deal at length in this short article with all the curious peculiarities of the social, religious, political, artistic, and intellectual life in the Bosphorus during the first three centuries A. D. Broadly speaking, we meet everywhere the same phenomenon: a thin Greek shell and a hard native kernel. The coexistence of these is characteristic of the whole epoch and of many provinces within the Roman empire. But in no other case have we to deal with so enduring an organization, with such a fulness of historical evidence, and with such a combination of Greek and Iranian elements. I must emphasize that if we want to know anything about the social, political, and cultural structure of the greatest enemy of Rome—the Parthians—we must begin by a careful study of the Bosphorus, and if we would understand the Sassanid renaissance of the Iranian creative genius we must attentively watch the signs of a similar renaissance—in art, religion, and political ideas—in the Bosphorus in the second and third centuries A. D.

This renaissance was diverted into a different channel by a strong advance towards the Black Sea on the part of German tribes from the north—the Goths. But it was precisely this advance and the mixture of Gothic and Irano-Greek elements in South Russia which made this Iranian renaissance in South Russia of not merely local but universal importance. The germs of Iranian culture—the strongest and most creative of the civilizations then existing in the ancient world, as the Graeco-Roman was dying out—were not confined, as in the case of Sassanid Persia, within the boundaries of one state. These germs were not brought to Europe by weak and intermittent currents of trade, but they were conveyed by conquering tribes into the whole of Europe. They there formed the civilization of Western Europe in general, for they were the foundation of the civilization of the ruling classes in Europe, of those Goths, Vandals, Sueves, and afterwards Huns, who were so closely connected with Sarmatians and who had no civilization of their own.

For the development of Slavonic states in Russia and the Balkan Peninsula the history of the Bosporan kingdom, interwoven as it is with the history of the Scythians, Sarmatians, Goths, Scytho-Goths,

and Sarmato-Goths, has still greater significance. The Scandinavians who organized the political life of the first Slavonic states known to history, in South Russia, followed a path already well defined by the Basternae, the Goths, and their followers. And in Russia they met with the same fate. Like the Goths, they adopted *en bloc* the higher civilization which they found firmly established on the banks of the Dnieper, and they inherited all the relations between the Dnieper basin and the South and the West which had been formed during centuries and centuries of friendly intercourse. We have only to study more closely than has been done the antiquities of South Russia during the period of migration, *i. e.*, from the fourth to the eighth century, to become aware of the uninterrupted evolution of Iranian culture in South Russia through these centuries. If the Byzantine empire at this epoch appears more and more Iranized, that comes not only from its relations with Sassanid Persia, but chiefly from the Iranization of its immediate neighbors in the Balkan Peninsula, from the type of civilization which was brought to Constantinople by the so-called barbarian troops, and from the characteristics of the ruling aristocracy which consisted chiefly of the elements furnished by these barbarian troops. The Slavonic state of Kiev presents the same features, not because the Slavonic princes imitated the Byzantine emperors and adopted their art and habits, but because the same cultural tradition—I mean the Graeco-Iranian—was the only tradition which was known to South Russia for centuries and which no German or Mongolian invaders were able to destroy.

M. ROSTOVTSSEV.

NEW LIGHT ON THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR, III. RUSSIA AND THE OTHER POWERS

A GOOD many new sources of information in regard to Russia's part in the tragic days of July, 1914, have appeared since the publication of the original Russian Orange Book soon after the outbreak of the war.¹ This suppressed a considerable part of the diplomatic correspondence of the days preceding that event. The Bolsheviki have not seen fit to follow the example of the Central Powers and give a complete publication of all the diplomatic correspondence which passed through the Russian Foreign Office, as Kautsky and Gooss have done respectively for Germany and Austria.² Nevertheless, a few of these suppressed documents, particularly those which passed between Sazonov and the Russian ambassadors in Paris and London, Izvolski and Benckendorff, were published in a series of articles in the Russian *Pravda*, in 1919, by M. Pokrovski. They are interpreted by him and by the Germans to prove Sazonov's aggressive intentions against Constantinople and the Straits and his scheming efforts to get England's support in case of a Russian attack on Germany.³ The Kautsky and Gooss documents contain also a great many despatches from Petrograd, giving many hitherto unknown details about what was happening in the Russian capital.

More important are the secret mobilization-telegrams and other military documents which the Germans captured in the Warsaw district during the course of the war, published by Hoeniger.⁴

¹ *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 266-298.

² See above, vol. XXV., pp. 616 ff.

³ *Pravda*, nos. 5-7, Feb. 23-Mar. 9, 1919; translated in *Deutschland Schuldig*, pp. 188-208. For other indications of Sazonov's aggressive aims, and particularly his memorandum of March, 1914, for a sudden naval attack to secure control of the Straits, see the documents published by the Bolsheviks in seven fascicles, between December, 1917, and February, 1918, conveniently translated and arranged by E. Laloy, *Les Documents Secrets des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de Russie publiés par les Bolcheviks* (Paris, 1919). Cf. also Bogitshevich, *Causes of the War* (Amsterdam, 1919); Nekludoff, *Diplomatic Reminiscences* (London, 1920). Possibly even if the Bolsheviki wished to make a full publication of the diplomatic correspondence it would be difficult for them to do so in view of the possible destruction or dispersion which may have resulted from the haste and confusion with which the archives are said to have been packed up when the German armies seemed to threaten Petrograd in 1917.

⁴ R. Hoeniger, *Russlands Vorbereitung zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1919); also his "Untersuchungen zum Suchomlinowprozess", in *Deutsche Rundschau*, CLXXV.

Most interesting and dramatic of all, though not so trustworthy historically, are the revelations which were made at the Sukhomlinov trial in August and September, 1917. The Sukhomlinov trial will remain one of the *causes célèbres* of the twentieth century. In 1917, when the war was going very badly for Russia, Russian public opinion demanded a scapegoat. Sukhomlinov, the former minister of war, was popularly held to be one of the persons chiefly responsible for the Russian disasters. He was arrested and brought to trial. At the hearings, which lasted nearly two months, a great amount of Russian dirty linen was washed in public. There was given in great detail the history of Sukhomlinov's relations with his pretty but extravagant young wife, who had been divorced by doubtful means from a rich old man in order that she might marry the Russian Minister of War. All Sukhomlinov's shady or indiscreet relations with the spies, such as Miasoiedov and Altschiller, who were executed for espionage in 1915, were set forth at length. The lack of co-ordination in the government departments and the pitiful shortage of ammunition and equipment of all sorts were mercilessly laid bare. And, finally, Sukhomlinov's measures toward mobilization during the days immediately preceding the declaration of war were discussed at some length. Highly sensational testimony was given, but it is very difficult for the historian to draw conclusions from it. No official stenographic report of it was ever published. One has to rely on the reports given in the Russian newspapers. But the newspaper reporters, or the editors, have so garbled the accounts of the trial that in many instances different newspapers give flatly contradictory reports of what was evidently the same piece of testimony. But even after comparing the fullest reports in several of the most important newspapers of different political complexion, and thereby establishing a probable approximation to the testimony which was actually given in court, this testimony is so contradictory with itself, with the secret mobilization-telegrams printed by Hoeniger, and with much of the diplomatic correspondence, that it must be used with the greatest caution. Generals who in 1917 were defending themselves against the charge of having been duped by Germany, and of having made insufficient military preparations, would be inclined, after three years of war, to exaggerate on the one hand the German "threats" as the cause and jus-

15-80 (April, 1918); and "Fürst Tundutow über die Russische Mobilmachung", *ibid* CLXXVI. 150-165 (August, 1918). These telegrams are particularly important because they are contemporary evidence which enables one to check the contradictory statements made from memory three years later at the Sukhomlinov trial.

tification of Russia's general mobilization, and on the other hand their own perspicacity in foreseeing the "inevitability" of war and consequently in disobeying their peace-loving master, Nicholas II., who forbade them to proceed with their military measures. Professor Oman emphasizes the German "threats" to prove that Germany was the party really responsible for the fatal succession of mobilizations. The Germans emphasize the disobedience and deception of the Russian militarists to prove just the contrary. Within the brief limits of this article it is not possible to analyze all the misrepresentations of fact which were made at the trial, nor to state, in detail, the reasons for rejecting many of the views of both Oman and the Germans. Only a brief narrative and a statement of conclusions may be given, the analysis on which they are based being left to a larger work.⁵

⁵ The Russian newspapers which I have read are the *Izvestiia*, *Novoe Vremia*, *Russkiiia Vedomosti*, *Riech*, *Novaia Zhizn*. An excellent account of the scandalous personal affairs of Sukhomlinov, his wife, his friends of dubious reputation, and the spies, is given by E. H. Wilcox, *Russia's Ruin* (New York, 1919), pp. 35-117; but Wilcox says practically nothing about the all-important question of Russian mobilization. Robert Wilton, *Russia's Agony* (New York, 1919), devotes two chapters to the outbreak of hostilities and the deficiencies of Russian equipment; he quotes at length the testimony of Ianushkevich, apparently using the report in the *Russkoe Slovo*; but as he makes no critical comments on Ianushkevich's testimony, nearly every sentence of which is inaccurate, Wilton's account is of little value. Professor Oman, in his admirable book on *The Outbreak of the War, 1914-1918* (London, 1919), ch. VII., gives by far the best account of the Russian mobilization which has appeared in English; it is based on the *Novoe Vremia* report of the Sukhomlinov trial, on some other unnamed paper (apparently the *Russkoe Slovo*), and on the accounts of the trial in the German newspapers. The question is touched upon in the *New Republic*, XVIII. 127-128, 348-351 (Mar. 1, Apr. 12, 1919), and by H. N. Brailsford in the *London Nation* of Sept. 15, 1917. For further light on Russian military preparations and mobilizations, see: B. Gourko, *Russia, 1914-1917* (New York, 1919), pp. 1-24; V. D. Doumbadze, *Russia's War Minister* (London, 1915), a grotesquely laudatory work by one of Sukhomlinov's disreputable friends who was later exiled to Siberia on the charge of giving military information to the enemy—it was one of the charges against Sukhomlinov that he had allowed Doumbadze to have a secret synopsis of Russia's military reforms; B. von Eggeling, *Die Russische Mobilmachung und der Kriegausbruch* (Berlin, 1919), by the German military attaché in Russia; H. von Kuhl, *Der Deutsche Generalstab in Vorbereitung und Durchführung des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, 1920), valuable because the author held a high position for a quarter of a century in the German General Staff and indicates what the Germans supposed the Russians were doing; *Russlands Mobilmachung für den Weltkrieg: Neue Urkunden zur Geschichte des Weltkrieges, herausg. auf Befehl des Chefs des Generalstabes des Feldheeres* (Berlin, 1919); Georg Steinhausen, *Die Grundfehler des Krieges und der Generalstab*; Immanuel, *Siege und Niederlagen im Weltkriege* (Berlin, 1919); Frantz, "Der Russische Aufmarsch gegen Deutschland im August 1914", in *Wissen und Wehr* (Jahrgang 1920, heft 2); E. Sauerbeck, *Der Kriegausbruch* (Basel, 1918).

The first news of the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand made a painful impression in Russia as everywhere else in the civilized world. But this was soon overshadowed by the fear that Austria might now attempt to take a dangerous revenge on Serbia. In an interview with Pourtalès, the German ambassador, Sazonov, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, bitterly but shrewdly criticized the conduct of the Austrian officials: they had not only permitted excesses against the Serbs but he was convinced had purposely given a free rein to the popular fury. He denied Austria's assertion that the assassination was the result of a Great Serbian plot; at least, he said, there was not the slightest proof of this so far, and it was exceedingly unjust to hold the Serbian government responsible, as the Austro-Hungarian newspapers were doing. This was no more justifiable than it would have been for Russia to call the French government to account for the crimes which were plotted on French soil and committed in Russia. The Serbian government, he said, was taking a completely correct attitude. The Serajevo crime was only the isolated act of immature young persons and there was no proof of their connection with any deep-laid political plot. When Pourtalès sounded the old note of the solidarity of monarchical interests against such dangerous anarchistic murderers, he found that Sazonov responded to this ancient theme with less warmth than usual.⁶

In the middle of July, Sazonov spent several days at his country estate near Grodno. He wanted a rest before the exacting demands on his strength, which would be made by the approaching visit of the French president and prime minister. Such an absence from Petrograd seemed, at that time, quite safe. The political horizon, in spite of Serajevo, seemed still unclouded. He had no thought of war,⁷ for Berchtold had deceitfully given an appearance of calm at Vienna and the Austrian chief of staff had left the capital in order further to lull to sleep the suspicions of Europe. He had returned to Petrograd by July 18, and was beginning to grow nervous at the ominous silence of the Vienna authorities. To the Austrian and German ambassadors he reiterated his views that it was unjust to make a whole people responsible for the crime of a single individual, as the Austrian newspapers were doing. "Russia," he said, "would not be indifferent to any effort to humiliate

⁶ Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 13, 1914. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 53.

⁷ This, at any rate, was the conviction of the Russian ambassador in London; cf. Benckendorff's views as reported by Lichnowsky on July 16 and 20. *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 62 and 85.

Serbia. Russia could not permit Austria to use menacing language or military measures against Serbia. In short, 'La politique de la Russie est pacifique, mais pas passive.'"⁸ In this attitude he was undoubtedly strengthened by Poincaré's visit, though we do not know precisely what took place in the secret conversations between the highest officials of the two allied countries, as well as with Buchanan, the English ambassador in Petrograd. The following telegram, which Viviani sent to Paris as he was leaving Russia, probably sums up accurately their provisional understanding:

REVAL, July 24, 1914, 1 A. M.

In the course of my conversation with the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs we had to take into consideration the dangers which might result from any step taken by Austria-Hungary in relation to Serbia in connection with the crime of which the Hereditary Archduke has been a victim. We found ourselves in agreement in thinking that we should not leave anything undone to prevent a request for an explanation or some *mise en demeure* which would be equivalent to intervention in the internal affairs of Serbia, of such a kind that Serbia might consider it as an attack on her sovereignty and independence.

We have in consequence come to the opinion that we might, by means of a friendly conversation with Count Berchtold, give him counsels of moderation, of such a kind as to make him understand how undesirable would be any intervention at Belgrade which would appear to be a threat on the part of the Cabinet at Vienna.

The British ambassador, who was kept informed by M. Sazonov, expressed the idea that his government would doubtless associate itself with a *démarche* for removing any danger which might threaten general peace, and he has telegraphed to his government to this effect.⁹

Evidently the Triple Entente was planning to offer some such identical counsels of moderation when it was suddenly confronted, on Friday morning, July 24, with the text of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.

Everywhere the extreme demands and the intransigent tone of the ultimatum caused the most painful astonishment and the most serious misgivings. Sir Edward Grey "had never before seen one state address to another independent state a document of so formidable a character". Sazonov at once became highly excited.¹⁰

⁸ Szápáry to Berchtold, July 18, *Red Book*, I., no. 25; Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 21, *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 120.

⁹ *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 154.

¹⁰ The interview in which Szápáry informed Sazonov of the Austrian ultimatum has hitherto been chiefly derived from Szápáry's account as printed in the Austrian *Red Book* of 1915, no. 14; *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 457-458—but this combines two telegrams into one and omits seven passages; cf. Szápáry to Berchtold, July 24, *Red Book*, II., nos. 17, 18; cf. also I., nos. 29, 30. For Berchtold's simultaneous interview with Kudachev, the Russian chargé in Vienna, see *Red Book*, II., no. 23.

Of a naturally mercurial temperament, he was now particularly indignant at Berchtold's methods. The short time-limit, the withholding of the *dossier*, and the excessive and humiliating demands on Serbia, all seemed to indicate that Austria was determined on war at once with Serbia. It was particularly deceitful on Austria's part to have pretended for three weeks that the demands would be mild, and such as Serbia could surely accept, and then to face the little kingdom with an ultimatum which seemed to indicate that Austria wanted war and would soon cross the frontier into Serbian territory. Moreover, Poincaré and the French prime minister had only left Russia a few hours before. They were now on the high seas, where it was difficult, if not impossible, for Sazonov to get into touch with them. Furthermore, he shrewdly suspected that much that Szápáry had asserted was not true. But he did not know for certain, as we do now, how perfidiously Berchtold had acted in carefully suppressing the Wiesner report, which wholly exculpated the Serbian government, in deliberately framing the ultimatum so that Serbia could not accept it, and in holding back the *dossier*, because an impartial examination of it by Europe would not have borne out Austria's charges. Therefore, Sazonov concluded that his own wisest course was to seek to have the Austro-Serbian question treated as a question in which Europe was interested. He must not allow the "localization", which meant the inevitable humiliation or defeat of a small power by a great one.

Accordingly, after his interview with Szápáry on Friday morning, Sazonov hurried at once to the French embassy, after telephoning to the British ambassador to join him there. Sazonov, Paléologue, and Buchanan went over the situation carefully. Sazonov said that he regarded "Austria's conduct as both provocative and immoral; that Austria would never have taken such action unless Germany had first been consulted and he hoped that England would not fail to proclaim her solidarity with Russia and France. . . . [Paléologue let it be understood that] France would fulfil all the obligations entailed upon her by her alliance with Russia, if necessity arose, besides supporting Russia strongly in any diplomatic negotiations". Buchanan very cautiously and correctly represented Grey's precise views. He "saw no reason to expect any declaration of solidarity from England that would entail an unconditional engagement to support Russia and France by force of arms. Direct British interests in Serbia were nil and a war on behalf of that country would never be sanctioned by British public opinion". In reply, Sazonov still insisted it must not be forgotten that the gen-

eral European question was involved, the Serbian question being but a part of the former, and that Great Britain could not afford to efface herself from the problems now at issue. As Sazonov was unable to persuade Buchanan into making a statement of solidarity, which could be used as an effective bluff at Vienna, he declared that he thought that at any rate Russian mobilization would have to be carried out.¹¹

This discussion between the three representatives of the Triple Entente reveals the situation which became clearer as the crisis became more serious: France and Russia pressed England to join them in a statement of solidarity, which could be used as an effective counter-bluff, or even as a threat, to prevent Austria and Germany from acting against Serbia. But to this Buchanan and Grey would not, at first, agree. They did not encourage Russia's strong action by holding out the hope of British armed support, as so many Germans have asserted. On the contrary, Sir Edward Grey was very reserved and cautious as to saying or doing anything which might encourage Russia to mobilize and so precipitate a crisis. All his thoughts and efforts were directed toward finding some peaceful solution for the crisis and avoiding anything which might aggravate it. They are too well known to need repeating here. It was only very gradually, as Germany and Austria deliberately blocked all his earlier peace proposals, that Grey became finally convinced of the *mala fides* of the Central Powers and consequently began to give Lichnowsky the "friendly warnings".

On leaving the conference with Buchanan and Paléologue at the French embassy, Sazonov became still more nervous and excited because he was uncertain of English support. In a somewhat stormy interview with Pourtalès on Friday evening, July 24, Sazonov argued quite logically that the promises which Serbia had made in 1909, as Austria had incautiously admitted in her note to Serbia, were given not to Austria, but to the Powers; consequently the affair was a European one and not one to be "localized"; it was for Europe to examine the *dossier* and investigate whether Serbia had lived up to her promises or not. Austria could not be both prosecutor and judge. These arguments Pourtalès promised to report to

¹¹ Buchanan to Grey, July 24, *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 14-15. This account by Buchanan of the meeting of the three representatives of the Triple Entente is full and frank in contrast with the brief report of Paléologue, *ibid.*, p. 163. That Buchanan correctly represented Grey is clear from the latter's reply next day: "You spoke quite rightly in very difficult circumstances as to the attitude of His Majesty's Government. I entirely approve what you said." (Grey to Buchanan, July 25, *ibid.*, p. 25.)

Berlin, but "he doubted whether Germany would expect her ally to lay the results of her investigation before a European Areopagus". Austria would object, as any Great Power would do, to subject to arbitration a question in which her vital interests were at stake. Finally Sazonov exclaimed, "If Austria gobbles up Serbia, we shall make war on her".¹²

On the afternoon of Saturday, July 25, the wave of midsummer heat which had been hanging over Petrograd for a month seemed to reach its climax. The trains were crowded with peace-loving people pouring out for the summer holidays. Out on the sun-baked plain at Krasnoe Selo, the Tsar and all the diplomatic and military world gathered to witness the usual summer review of the Russian troops. But the review was postponed for an hour on account of an important Crown Council at which the Tsar presided. Even when the review finally took place, it was cut short, and an unusual military excitement pervaded all the officers. The military attachés got the impression that the Crown Council had considered, perhaps even ordered, the mobilization of the Russian army. After the review had taken place, in an abbreviated form, it was announced that the manoeuvres here and in the whole empire were to be broken off, and that the troops were to return to their standing quarters. The feeling that mobilization and war were imminent was increased by the premature promotion of the cadets from the Petrograd Military Academy as officers. At the banquet following the review, young officers openly expressed their joy that now at last something was starting against Austria. Following the banquet there was a theatrical performance, which, under the leadership of the Grand Duke Nicholas, was made the occasion of a great demonstration for war. That evening, Petrograd was startled out of its stillness by the unexpected sound of the Imperial Guards galloping back to the capital, although they were to have been quartered out at Krasnoe Selo for another month.¹³

What were the decisions taken at this important Crown Council at Krasnoe Selo in the presence of the Tsar? We have no precise record, but we may surmise that a conflict of opinion took place be-

¹² Telegram of Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 25, 1:08 A.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 160; the German *White Book* (*Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 427, exhibit 4) suppresses nearly all of this interesting telegram. For many other details of this interview, see Pourtalès's long letter to Bethmann of July 25, in *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 204; and Pourtalès's account of it to the Austrian ambassador, Szápáry to Berchtold, July 25, 2:30 A.M., *Red Book*, II., no. 19.

¹³ *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 194, 291; Eggeling, pp. 22-27; *Red Book*, II., nos. 41, 60; Meriel Buchanan, *The City of Trouble* (New York, 1918), pp. 10-12.

tween the civilians and the militarists. There are good reasons for believing that, on the one side, the Tsar, Count Fredericks, Sazonov, and Krivosheín sincerely wished to avoid war and hoped that it could be avoided, perhaps through England's efforts. The civilians wanted no more military measures than were necessary to bluff Austria out of her intended attack upon Serbia. On the other hand the militarists, led by the Grand Duke Nicholas, by Sukhomlinov, minister of war, and by Ianushkevich, chief of the General Staff, urged more complete military measures. They felt that a war between Austria and Serbia was necessarily a war between Austria and Russia, and they had no doubt that Austria was about to begin an invasion of Serbia as soon as the time-limit expired. In fact, later in the day, a Russian officer, looking at his watch at six o'clock, remarked to the German officer attached to the Tsar's suite, "The cannon on the Danube will have begun to fire by now, for one doesn't send such an ultimatum except when the cannon are loaded".¹⁴ They were probably convinced that war was "inevitable", and that here was Russia's heaven-sent opportunity to have her final reckoning with Germany and to acquire Constantinople and the Straits. Therefore the sooner full mobilization was declared the better.

It is quite possible that one of their arguments in favor of mobilization was the dangerous domestic situation. Petrograd and all the larger cities were in the throes of an extensive working-men's strike. By a strange irony of fate, at the same moment when the Russian military bands, in the camp at Krasnoe Selo, had been welcoming Poincaré with the Marseillaise, the Cossacks in the suburbs of Petrograd had been striking down working-men for singing this same Marseillaise.¹⁵

At any rate, whatever the arguments used at this council, at least two definite decisions were taken. First, it was agreed that the troops throughout the empire should at once be recalled from their summer training camps to their standing quarters. It was in their standing quarters that the full equipments were kept which were necessary for war, and which they must have before they could start for the front. Ianushkevich, chief of staff, lost no time in putting the decision into execution.¹⁶ This breaking off of manoeuvres

¹⁴ Chelius to the Kaiser, July 26. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 291.

¹⁵ For indications of conflict between militarists and civilians, see *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 130, 194, 203, 204, 338; *Red Book*, II., nos. 60, 61, 73; III., nos. 19, 71; Nekludov, pp. 284-285.

¹⁶ He must have telephoned an order from Krasnoe Selo to Petrograd, for at 4:10 P.M. there were sent out from the General Staff to the chief of staff of the Warsaw military district the secret cipher telegrams, nos. 1547 and 1557:

and return of the troops to their standing quarters was not, however, in any way equivalent to mobilization. It must, to be sure, precede mobilization, but it was not in any way a menacing or hostile act. France and Germany both ordered similar measures a little later. The return of the Imperial Guards to Petrograd on Saturday night, July 25, is to be explained as a part of this general preparation for possible action.

The second decision taken by the Crown Council was one desired by Sazonov and is probably accurately indicated by the account of it which he gave to the French:

At the council of ministers of the twenty-fifth, which was held in the presence of the Tsar, the mobilization of thirteen army corps intended eventually to operate against Austria was considered; this mobilization, however, would only be made effective if Austria were to bring armed Prussia to bear upon Serbia and not until after notice had been given by the Minister of Foreign Affairs upon whom falls the duty of fixing the day, liberty being left to him to go on with negotiations, even if Belgrade should be occupied. Russian opinion makes clear that it is both politically and morally impossible for Russia to allow Serbia to be crushed.¹⁷

This is confirmed by the testimony of Ianushkevich at the Sukhomlinov trial in 1917: "At first it had been decided only to proclaim a partial mobilization—the four districts—to frighten off Austria-Hungary."¹⁸

In other words, for the Tsar, Sazonov, and all the diplomats, this Crown Council meant that Russia intended to threaten Austria with a "partial mobilization" in case Austria crossed the Serbian frontier. But even this partial mobilization was to take place only if and when Sazonov should decide it should be done. And even if Belgrade were occupied, he might still continue to negotiate for peace. He did not need to break off diplomatic relations with Austria nor yield to the militarists in his own country. Sazonov was highly delighted with this solution and during the next two days was exceedingly optimistic and conciliatory, so much so that it was

"Prepare quickly transport plans and summaries for the return of all troops to their standing quarters. Time for the completion of the work: twenty-four hours. 1547. [Signed] General DOBROVOLSKI." Later the same day, at 11:59 P.M., perhaps after Ianushkevich had returned to Petrograd, telegram no. 1557: "His Majesty commands that upon the arrival of this telegram the troops are to return from their camps to their standing quarters. . . . 1557. [Signed] BJÖLJAJEV." Hoeniger, *Russlands Vorbereitung*, p. 80.

¹⁷ Bienvenu-Martin's summary, July 26, *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 174. In the third line, it would have been more correct to translate *eventuellement* "contingently" or "in case of need" than "eventually".

¹⁸ *Novoe Vremia*, no. 14,852, Aug. 13 [26], 1917.

specially remarked by a number of persons.¹⁹ He believed that he had the trump cards in his hand. He could continue to negotiate, but he had the threat of force with which to strengthen his hand. Also the militarists in Russia could not get control, because the decision for partial mobilization lay only in his power.

The militarists, however, were not satisfied with these two decisions. They proceeded to take a further and far more wide-reaching action, though whether they did this in accordance with the decision of the Council or without the knowledge of the Tsar or Sazonov, merely on their own authority, is not certain. At any rate, after the Crown Council at Krasnoe Selo they lost no time in beginning to put into operation secret "measures preparatory to war". In the frontier districts toward the Central Powers, these measures were almost equivalent to mobilization, although they did not require a public announcement of mobilization. This seems to be the meaning of two secret cipher telegrams, numbers 1566 and 1575, which Ianushkevich sent out from the General Staff before dawn on Sunday morning, July 26, to the commanders of the troops in the Warsaw military district:

PETROGRAD, July 13[26], 1 A. M.

His Majesty commands all the fortresses of the district to be placed on a war footing. It is ordered to begin with the works which are indicated in "surveys 1 and 2" attached to the Instruction Concerning the Period Preparatory to War, confirmed by His Majesty on February 17 [Mar. 2], 1913. 1556. [Signed] Lieut.-Gen. IANUSHKEVICH.²⁰

PETROGRAD, July 13 [26], 3:26 A. M.

His Majesty commands that July 26 is to be reckoned as the beginning of the Period Preparatory to War in the whole territory of European Russia. You are to take, according to surveys 1 and 2 of the Instruction Concerning this Period, all the measures which are to be carried out . . . 1575. [Signed] Lieut.-Gen. IANUSHKEVICH.²¹

¹⁹ By Pourtalès (*Kautsky Docs.*, no. 217); by Szápáry (*Red Book*, II., nos. 73, 93); by Buchanan, "I saw Sazonov this afternoon and found him very conciliatory and more optimistic" (July 27, *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 49); and by Paléologue, "Sazonov has used conciliatory language to all my colleagues" (July 27, *ibid.*, p. 186).

²⁰ Captured Russian telegram, quoted by Hoeniger, p. 81; cf. also pp. 11-12 and 17-20. That the order was speedily obeyed is indicated by General Rennenkampf's order no. 13,482 of July 26: "In accordance with an order from the Tsar, Kovno is on this day placed upon a war footing", quoted from the White Russian newspaper, *Homan*, for May, 1916, by Mueller-Meiningen, p. 348, note 1; and Bülow, who was consul at Kovno, was able to telegraph from Eydtkuhnen in East Prussia on July 27, at 5:35 P.M., presumably having learned the news many hours earlier: "Kovno has been placed in a state of war." *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 264.

²¹ Hoeniger, p. 80.

According to this Instruction of 1913, which was one of Sukhomlinov's reform measures to improve mobilization, "'Period Preparatory to War' means the period of diplomatic complications preceding the opening of hostilities, in the course of which all boards must take the necessary measures of preparation for security and success at the mobilization of the army, the fleet, and the fortresses as well as for the march of the army to the threatened frontier."²² According to "survey 1", in the districts on Russia's western frontier,

it is decreed that upon the order of the Minister of War [not upon that of the Tsar] the reservists and the militia of the corps on the frontier are to be called up for military training. Out of the militia will be formed in accordance with the mobilization plan troops for securing the frontiers, the lines of communication, the telegraphs, and the other objects of military importance. The cost of this calling up of men for training is to be labelled in the accounts under the head of funds granted for military training and for practice mobilization.

This is supplemented by "survey 2", by which, upon the order of the Minister of War, the "calling up of the reservists and militia for training takes place to an extent which exceeds the funds of the current year fixed for such training and practice mobilization".²³ Thus, under cover of "preparatory measures" and "practice mobilization", military measures could be taken upon the order of the Minister of War which did not require the approval of the Tsar nor a public announcement of mobilization, but which nevertheless were almost equivalent to mobilization in those frontier districts. Such a "practice mobilization" had been undertaken in the fall of 1912 and had called forth a strong protest from the German chief of staff, Moltke—a protest which Sazonov, at that time, appeared to admit was well founded.²⁴ It was by these measures that Sukhomlinov and Ianushkevich really began secret mobilization measures against Germany on July 26 and when war actually came surprised Germany and the world by the rapidity with which the Russian troops poured into East Prussia.

On Sunday morning, July 26, after the break-up of the manoeuvres at Krasnoe Selo, Sazonov and Pourtalès met on the platform of the station and travelled up to Petrograd together. Pourtalès, finding Sazonov much calmer and more conciliatory than the day before, took advantage of this informal opportunity to point out to

²² Quoted by Hoeniger, p. 17.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁴ *Deutschland Schuldig*, pp. 141-142; Bogitshevich, p. 39, note; Hoeniger, p. 35.

him that Austria had no hostile intentions toward Russia. He urgently advised him to have a frank and friendly talk with the Austrian ambassador, with whom he had had no words since the excited interview two days before, when he had first been confronted with the Austrian ultimatum.²⁵ On arriving at Petrograd, Pourtalès saw Szápáry, told him of Sazonov's calm and conciliatory state of mind, and gave him the same good advice, to seek a good long talk with the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Accordingly, Szápáry went to see Sazonov:

Sazonov received me very amiably in contrast to his decidedly piqued attitude on Friday. . . . Friday he had been taken somewhat by surprise, he said, and had not controlled himself so much as he had wished; and at that time, too, our interview was a wholly official one. . . . He could not deny, he said, that people in Russia had old grievances against Austria. He admitted that he had had them, too, but these belonged to the past and ought not to play any rôle in the policies of the present; and as far as the Slavs were concerned, though indeed he ought not to say this to an Austro-Hungarian ambassador, he had, he said, no sympathy at all for the Balkan Slavs. In fact, these were, he said, a heavy burden for Russia, and we could hardly imagine what one had had to suffer from them already. Our goal, he said, as I had described it to him, was an entirely legitimate one, but he considered the path which we were pursuing to attain it was not the surest. He said that the note which we had delivered was not happy in its form. He had since been studying it, and, if I had time, he would like to look it through once more with me. [They then went over in detail the whole Austrian ultimatum, point by point.] By way of summary the Minister declared that he found that in the matter of the note it was really merely a question of phraseology and that perhaps a more acceptable way for us could be found by which these difficulties could be gotten over. . . .

At the close of the conversation, Sazonov again expressed, in the warmest words, his pleasure at the explanations which I had given and which had materially calmed him. . . .

Long is the path which has been traversed by Russian Policy in the two days from the first harsh refusal to accept our procedure . . . to a recognition of the legitimacy of our claims and to a request for mediators. Nevertheless, it must not be overlooked that along with this backing-water policy of the diplomatists, there is setting in a lively activity on the part of the militarists as a result of which Russia's military, and therefore also her diplomatic, situation threatens daily to become less favorable to us.

Incidentally, in our conversation, Sazonov asked whether I could give him a look into our Dossier. Upon my replying that I was not yet in possession of it, he asked whether it could not be made accessible to Shebeko [Russian ambassador] in Vienna.²⁶

²⁵ Pourtalès's diary, *Kautsky Docs.*, vol. IV., p. 161. Szápáry to Berchtold, July 26, 2: 15 P.M., *Red Book*, II., no. 73; this despatch is incorrectly dated July 27 instead of July 26.

²⁶ *Red Book*, II., no 73; cf. also *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 217, 238; and *Dipl. Corresp.* for reports of this same interview, by Buchanan (p. 39), by Paléologue (p. 177), and by Sazonov (p. 275); also, p. 427, exhibit 5, and p. 505.

Pourtalès's advice to the two principals thus bore good results. He was warmly thanked by both. It led to the opening of "direct conversations" between Petrograd and Vienna. It seemed to pave the way for finding some compromise, which would both satisfy Austria's demands and also make their acceptance by Serbia possible.

On Sunday afternoon or evening, after this friendly talk with Szápáry, Sazonov had another interview with Pourtalès. Sazonov, again, expressed the hope that an agreement might be reached through a change in the form of Austria's note, as it was merely a question of phraseology. In the course of the conversation Pourtalès expressed his personal suggestion, not in any way binding his government, that the following way might be found practicable:

In case the Vienna Cabinet should consent to modify somewhat the form of its demands, as the statements of Szápáry seem to indicate is not wholly out of the question, perhaps an attempt should be made with this in view to come into direct touch with Austria-Hungary. Should an agreement result from this then Serbia could be advised by Russia to accept the demands of Austria on the basis agreed upon by Russia and Austria; and Austria could be notified of this through the mediation of a third Power. Sazonov, upon whom I again strongly impressed the fact that I did not speak in the name of my government, declared that he would at once telegraph to the Russian ambassador in Vienna along the lines of my proposal.²⁷

The suggestion of "direct conversations" between Petrograd and Vienna, as the most hopeful way out of the crisis, was a sincere and well-meant effort of the German ambassador. But, as we now know from Berchtold's intentions, there was not the slightest possibility of Austria's being willing to modify even the phraseology of her demands. As it turned out, his refusal of the "direct conversations" tended to the embitterment, rather than to the amelioration, of the relations between Russia and Austria.

While thus attempting to secure a basis for a compromise between Austria and Russia, however, Pourtalès had not failed to warn Sazonov that mobilization measures by Russia would be an exceedingly dangerous means of exerting diplomatic pressure. If Russia should attempt a bluff of this kind, the militarists everywhere would gain an increased influence and soon take the question beyond the control of the diplomatists by the purely military arguments which they knew so well how to urge. He informed Sazonov of the following statement of Germany's position, which he had received

²⁷ Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 26, 10:10 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 238.

from Bethmann:

After Count Berchtold's declaration to Russia that Austria does not intend any territorial gains at Serbia's expense, but only wishes to secure repose, the maintenance of the peace of Europe depends on Russia alone. We trust in Russia's love of peace and in our traditional friendly relations with her that she will take no step which will seriously endanger the peace of Europe.²⁸

He also called attention to the news current among the foreign military attachés, according to which it was supposed that mobilization orders had been issued to several Russian army corps, on the western frontier. In reply Sazonov guaranteed to him that

no mobilization orders of the sort have been issued; on the contrary, in the Ministerial Council it has been decided to delay with any such order until Austria-Hungary should take up a hostile attitude toward Russia. Sazonov admitted, however, that there had already been taken certain military preparations in order that Russia might not be caught by surprise.²⁹

Sazonov does not appear to have regarded this communication as a threat on the part of Germany, for his optimism continued during the following day and with the approval of Buchanan and Paléologue he telegraphed to Vienna, proposing the "direct negotiations". He realized that they could be successful only in case Austria and Germany were convinced that Russia was not taking steps toward mobilization. He therefore telephoned to Sukhomlinov, asking him to make it plain to the German military attaché, as one military man speaking to another, that nothing but measures preparatory to a possible mobilization in certain districts against Austria was contemplated. Accordingly very late on Sunday evening, Eggeling was invited to an interview with Sukhomlinov, which Eggeling thus reports:

Sazonov requested him [Sukhomlinov] to enlighten me on the military situation. The Minister of War gave me his word of honor that no sort of mobilization order had as yet been issued. For the present merely "preparatory measures" were being taken. Not a horse had been recruited, not a reservist called in. If Austria crosses the Serbian frontier, such military districts as are directed against Austria, *viz.* Kiev, Odessa, Moscow, Kazan, will be mobilized. Under no circumstances those on the German front, Warsaw, Vilna, Petrograd. Peace with Germany, he said, was urgently desired. Upon my inquiry as to the object of the mobilization against Austria, he shrugged his shoulders and indicated the diplomats. . . . I got the impression of great nervousness and anxiety. I consider the wish for peace genuine; military statements in so far correct that complete mobilization has probably not been

²⁸ Bethmann to Pourtales, July 26, 1:35 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 198; vol. IV., p. 161; *cf. Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 428, exhibit 10b.

²⁹ Pourtales to Bethmann, July 26, 9:30 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 230; *cf. also Red Book*, II., no. 61.

ordered, but preparatory measures are very far-reaching. They are evidently striving to gain time for new negotiations and for a continuance of their armaments. Also the internal situation is unmistakably causing serious anxiety. The general feeling is: hope from Germany and from the mediation of His Majesty [the Kaiser].⁸⁰

During Monday, July 27, the diplomatic situation at Petrograd remained without substantial change. Sazonov was even more conciliatory and optimistic than the day before. He still hoped that Austria's bark was worse than her bite, for he still had no news that Austria had opened hostilities against Serbia, as he had feared would be the case. He was waiting hopefully for a reply to his proposal for "direct conversations".

On Tuesday, July 28, Sazonov's optimism received several rude shocks. He was disappointed and indignant that his proposal made two days previously for "direct conversations" had met with no response from Berchtold. He was also unfavorably impressed by the fact that Szápáry could not give him the *dossier* which Austria had promised.⁸¹ Therefore, he turned to Pourtalès and urged that Grey's plan for a conference of the Four Powers be taken up again; but he met with no encouragement from the German ambassador. On the contrary, Pourtalès complained of the hostile tone of the Russian press and of the fact that reliable reports made it clear to Germany that Russia's military preparations exceeded what Sukhomlinov had stated to Eggeling on the night of July 26. Pourtalès diplomatically expressed the suspicion that the Russian militarists were acting behind Sazonov's back and going further than the Minister of Foreign Affairs intended. He warned Sazonov again of the very serious danger which would arise from wide-reaching Russian military preparations.⁸² When Sazonov went out to Peterhof for his usual Tuesday audience with the Tsar, he found in fact that the militarists had been seeing the Tsar and had been exerting great pressure upon him.⁸³ Later in the day, when the news arrived that Austria had declared war on Serbia at midday, Sazonov's optimism evaporated completely. He agreed that the time had come to ap-

⁸⁰ Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 27, 1 A.M., *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 242; cf. no. 216, and *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 427-429, exhibits 7, 11.

⁸¹ Szápáry to Berchtold, July 29, 10 A.M., *Red Book*, III., no. 16; though dated July 29, the first part of this telegram refers to his conversation with Sazonov on July 28.

⁸² Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 28, 8:12 P.M., *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 338; Szápáry to Berchtold, July 28 (despatched July 29, 1:15 A.M.), *Red Book*, II., no. 94.

⁸³ Cf. Tsar to King George, Aug 1, *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 537; Tsar to Kaiser, July 29, *ibid.*, p. 431; Szápáry to Berchtold, July 29, 11 P.M., *Red Book*, III., no. 19.

prove Russia's "partial mobilization" against Austria, as had been agreed upon at the Crown Council at Krasnoe Selo on July 25. He must have come to this decision on the afternoon or evening of July 28, for on that same evening he telegraphed to the Russian ambassador in Berlin:

In consequence of the declaration of war by Austria against Serbia the Imperial Government will announce tomorrow (29th) the mobilization in the military conscriptions of Odessa, Kiev, Moscow, and Kazan. Please inform German Government confirming the absence in Russia of any aggressive intention against Germany. The Russian ambassador at Vienna has not been recalled from his post.³⁴

As Austria's declaration of war put an end to the possible success of any "direct conversations" between Petrograd and Vienna, Sazonov now urgently appealed to Grey again to set on foot mediation with a view to the suspension of military operations against Serbia^{34a}—an appeal which Grey at once adopted by strongly supporting the plan that Austria cease her military advance after occupying Belgrade, and accept mediation.

Meanwhile what did the Tsar and the chief of the General Staff do after this decision in favor of partial mobilization? The Tsar, characteristically, made a personal appeal to the Kaiser, practically admitting his own helplessness before the pressure of the Russian militarists.³⁵ At almost the same moment, curiously enough, the Kaiser was sending a telegram to the Tsar. Pourtalès had hinted more than once that it would be a good thing for him to send such a personal telegram, emphasizing the identity of their monarchical interests, and offering mediation between Austria and Russia.³⁶

These two imperial telegrams, which reopened the "Willy-Nicky" correspondence, crossed each other on the wires. They were both, on the whole, of a conciliatory character and expressed a genuine desire to avert war. The Kaiser's telegram was in accordance with the "pledge plan" which Bethmann was already urging at Vienna as the basis for the Kaiser's mediation and a satisfactory compromise. Perhaps the two monarchs might have suc-

³⁴ Sazonov to Sverbeiev, July 28, *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 55. Sverbeiev did not inform Bethmann, nor did Sazonov inform Pourtalès of this decision until the next morning, July 29. *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 342, 343, 359, 365, 370.

^{34a} *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁵ Tsar to Kaiser, July 29, 1 A.M., *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 332; in *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 431, this telegram is incorrectly worded owing to double translation, and incorrectly dated 1 P.M. instead of 1 A.M.

³⁶ Kaiser to Tsar, written July 28, 10:45 P.M., despatched July 29, 1:45 A.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 335; cf. *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 431. For Pourtalès's hints, advising a telegram from the Kaiser, see nos. 229, 308, 337.

ceeded in their friendly intentions had not the militarists in both countries, and particularly in Russia, precipitated matters.

The chief of the Russian General Staff, Ianushkevich, was not content with "partial mobilization". Acting with the Minister of War, Sukhomlinov, he assumed the responsibility of taking steps toward a "general mobilization". In addition to notifying the commanders of the four southern districts that "partial mobilization" was about to be proclaimed, as he was authorized to do, he also, on his own responsibility, sent secret orders to Zhilinski, the commander of the Warsaw military district; and presumably to all the military districts, stating that "general mobilization" was imminent:

July 17 [30] will be announced as the first day of our general mobilization. The announcement will follow upon the agreed telegram. 1785. [Signed] Lieutenant-General IANUSHKEVICH.³⁷

One can imagine how the receipt of this telegram would lead the Russian commanders at Warsaw and at other posts along the German frontier to strain every nerve to take all possible secret steps toward preparing for war, short of a public announcement of mobilization.³⁸ Thus, on the early morning of July 29, under pretense of merely mobilizing in four districts to bluff Austria, Ianushkevich was really preparing a general mobilization of all European Russia, thus threatening Germany, in addition to the "measures preparatory to war" which had already been going on in the frontier districts since July 26. There was therefore a genuine ground for the fears which Pourtalès and Szápáry expressed that the militarists were acting behind the back of the Tsar, who ought to be clearly informed

³⁷ Telegram no. 1785, Ianushkevich to Zhilinski, July 29, *ca.* 7:20 A.M.; quoted by Hoeniger, pp. 100-101. Some hours earlier he had also asked the Warsaw commander about arrangements for disembarking troops which were being pushed forward toward the German frontier (telegram no. 1746, July 28, 11:58 P.M.; *ibid.*, p. 105). Aware that Russian troops, expecting at any moment the publication of "general mobilization", might commit some act of hostility against Germany on the frontier which would compromise his own illegal action, and also compromise Russia with her allies, by making Russia seem to be the aggressor, he was careful to order explicitly that the opening of hostilities was not to take place except upon a special telegram, and that the frontier troops were to be warned, "in order that no irremediable mistakes occur" (telegram no. 1754, July 29, 1:10 A.M.; *ibid.*, p. 105).

³⁸ That Ianushkevich on the early morning of July 29 was telegraphing that "general mobilization" was about to be announced is further indicated by Zhilinski's telegram of the following day: "The Chief of the General Staff telegraphed yesterday that July 30 would be announced as the first day of mobilization, but since this has not taken place I conclude that changes have taken place in the political situation. Would it not be possible to inform me of the changes which have occurred in this matter? 1954." (Zhilinski to Sukhomlinov, July 30, 2:25 P.M., quoted in Hoeniger, p. 110).

of the true situation and its dangers. Though the order for "partial mobilization" had been decided upon on July 28, it could not be legally proclaimed until the Tsar's signature had been signed to a formal ukaz. Accordingly, before noon on July 29, Ianushkevich went out to Peterhof to secure the Tsar's signature. He probably argued there strongly in favor of the "general mobilization" which he had already secretly notified the commanders was imminent, but without telling the Tsar what he had been doing secretly. But peace-loving Nicholas, counting on his own appeal to the Kaiser, and on the Kaiser's telegram which he had by that time received, was only willing to sign the ukaz for "partial mobilization". With this in his pocket Ianushkevich hurried back to Petrograd and after trying to mislead the German military attaché as to Russia's military measures and plans,³⁹ began to send out the telegrams as the Tsar's ukaz authorized him to do, ordering "partial mobilization" in the four districts "against Austria" and proclaiming that mobilization was to be considered as beginning at midnight between July 29 and 30.⁴⁰

Meanwhile on this fatal afternoon and evening of July 29 the Tsar and Sazonov were becoming more and more perturbed. About 1 P.M., Sazonov had complained to Pourtalès that he still had no answer from Vienna to his proposal of three days before for "direct conversations". "Shebeko, who received instructions in regard to this, still reports nothing from authoritative persons [in Vienna], and similarly Szápáry declares he has received no instructions and he must doubt therefore Austria's good will." He therefore notified

³⁹ Eggeling's report in *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 370; about half this report is omitted in the report as given in the German *White Book (Dipl. Corresp.)*, p. 410). Eggeling's pamphlet, pp. 25-42; Russian newspapers reporting the third day of the Sukhomlinov trial.

⁴⁰ None of these original telegrams were captured by the Germans, but a copy of an order based on them was found: "Order for the troops of the Smolensk Garrison. On 16 [29] of this July His Majesty commands the troops of the Moscow military district to mobilize. The first mobilization day is to count from midnight between July 29 and 30. [Signed] Lieut.-Gen. ALEXEIEV." (Quoted by Hoeniger, pp. 108-109.) As this bears a mark indicating that it was "received on July 30 at 4:50 A.M.", the General Staff telegram on which it was based must have been despatched from Petrograd several hours earlier. Cf. the similar secondary telegrams sent by Gen. Sievers to the 10th Army Corps at Kharkov in the Kiev military district (July 30, 10:30 A.M.) and by Gen. Nikitin to the 7th Army in the Odessa military district (July 30, exact hour not indicated). *Ibid.* At the Sukhomlinov trial, as will be indicated below, both Sukhomlinov and Ianushkevich testified that at the time of their three-cornered telephone conversation with the Tsar, i.e., late in the evening of July 29, "mobilization was already in full swing"; "it was technically impossible to stop it"; Ianushkevich said he knew that "already 400,000 reservists has been called up".

Pourtalès, as Sverbeiev had already notified Bethmann in Berlin, that

as Austria has mobilized eight corps which in part must be regarded as directed against Russia, Russia sees herself compelled likewise to mobilize the military districts on the Austrian frontier. The order will be given today . . . But in Russia mobilization is far from meaning the same thing as in the West European countries; the Russian army could, according to circumstances, stand for weeks with arms grounded without crossing the frontier.

Pourtalès, knowing well the power of the militarists at Berlin, warned Sazonov of his fear that the General Staffs of the Central Powers would not surrender their advantage over Russia in the matter of rapidity of mobilization and would press for counter-measures.⁴¹ Later in the afternoon, Sazonov's indignation was greatly stirred by receiving at last Berchtold's "categorical refusal" to enter into the "direct conversations" he had suggested. He therefore pressed the English and German ambassadors for a return to Grey's proposal for mediation.⁴² Sazonov's indignation was further increased by the news that the Austrians had bombarded Belgrade. As Szápáry reported to Berchtold:

Since the German ambassador told me that Sazonov showed himself very much excited over Your Excellency's refusal to continue an exchange of views with Russia and over Austria's mobilization . . . I sought the Minister out to clear up some misunderstandings which seemed to me to exist and incidentally to get a closer look into Russia's plans. . . . He further informed me that a ukaz would be signed today which ordered a mobilization of a somewhat wide extent. He was able, however, to assure me in the most official manner that their troops were not intended to attack us. They would only stand ready with grounded arms in case Russian interests in the Balkans should be in danger. An explanatory note would make this clear, for it was a question only of a precautionary measure that Emperor Nicholas had found to be justified since we, who in any case have the advantage of quicker mobilization, have now also so great a start. . . . While we were thus engaged in a confidential exchange of views, the Minister heard through the telephone that we had bombarded Belgrade. He was like a changed man [war wie ausgewechselt]. . . . "You only wish to gain time by negotiation but you go ahead and bombard an unprotected city!" "What precisely will you further conquer, when you have taken possession of the capital," and more such childish remarks. . . . I left him in a most extremely excited state. . . .⁴³

⁴¹ Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 29, 1:58 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 343. Chelius to Kaiser, an hour later, reported that the circle around the Tsar, after the Austrian declaration of war and refusal to accept Serbia's conciliatory answer, "now regards general war as almost inevitable". *Ibid.*, no. 344.

⁴² Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 29, 6:10 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 365. Buchanan to Grey, July 29, *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 60-61.

⁴³ Szápáry to Berchtold, July 29, 11 P.M., *Red Book*, III., no. 19; cf. *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 522-524.

About 7 P.M. Pourtalès had still another interview with Sazonov. This was the reflex of Russia's expressed intention of declaring partial mobilization. Bethmann, on being informed by Sverbeiev about noon of Russia's intention, had at once telegraphed to Pourtalès "to explain very earnestly to Sazonov that a further advance of Russia's mobilization measures would compel us to mobilize, and that then a European war could hardly be averted".⁴⁴ In informing Sazonov of this instruction, Pourtalès says he emphasized that this was not a threat, but only a friendly expression of opinion. But Sazonov, who by now was "very excited", regarded it as an unfriendly threat; nevertheless he said he would report it to the Tsar.⁴⁵

In informing France of this interview Sazonov justified Russia's partial mobilization on the ground of Austria's actions, and represented Pourtalès's communication as a threat which made war probably inevitable:

As we cannot comply with the wishes of Germany, we have no alternative but to hasten on our own military preparations and assume that war is probably inevitable. Please inform the French government of this, and add that we are sincerely grateful to them for the declaration, which the French ambassador made to me on their behalf, to the effect that we could count fully upon the assistance of our ally, France. In the existing circumstances, that declaration is especially valuable for us.⁴⁶

To both Buchanan and Paléologue Sazonov was still careful to emphasize that Russia was only proceeding with partial mobilization. To neither did he indicate that he intended to extend "partial" into "general" mobilization. For he knew that to do so would be against the wishes of France⁴⁷ and would make it far less likely that Russia could secure the support of England. When he informed the Tsar of his interview with Pourtalès the Tsar also appears to have thought that Russia had gone far enough. Clinging to the hope that he and the Kaiser might avert the war which Bethmann's threat made the excited Sazonov regard as "probably

⁴⁴ Kautsky Docs. no. 342.

⁴⁵ Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 29, 8 P.M. Kautsky Docs., no. 378.

⁴⁶ Sazonov to Russian ambassador in Paris, July 29. *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 287. Cf. also Sazonov's reports of the interview to Buchanan and Paléologue, *ibid.*, pp. 60-61, 210.

⁴⁷ Viviani to Paléologue: "I think it would be well that, in taking any precautionary measures of defence which Russia thinks must go on, she should not immediately take any step which may offer to Germany a pretext for a total or partial mobilization of her forces" (evidently written on the evening of July 29 though dated July 30, *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 210).

inevitable", the Tsar sent a second telegram to the Kaiser:

Thanks for your telegram conciliatory and friendly. Whereas official message presented today by your ambassador to my minister was conveyed in a very different tone. Beg you to explain this divergency. It would be right to give the Austro-Servian problem to the Hague Conference. Trust in your wisdom and friendship. Your loving NICKY.⁴⁸

This telegram does not intimate that the Tsar had changed his mind in adhering to partial mobilization as a sufficient measure, even after Sazonov had informed him of Pourtalès's "threat" at 7 P.M.

A little later in the evening the Tsar in turn received a second telegram from the Kaiser. William II. insisted that "Serbian promises on paper are wholly unreliable", and, in the dominating tone which he had so often found successful in the past with the Tsar, told him warningly:

It would be quite possible for Russia to remain a spectator of the Austro-Serbian conflict without involving Europe in the most horrible war she ever witnessed. I think a direct understanding between your government and Vienna possible and desirable and as I already telegraphed you, my government is continuing its exertions to promote it. Of course, military measures on the part of Russia which would be looked upon by Austria as threatening would precipitate a calamity we both wish to avoid and jeopardize my position as mediator which I readily accepted on your appeal to my friendship and my help. WILLY.⁴⁹

The Kaiser apparently judged correctly the effect of this tone on the weak and changeable "Nicky", for the Tsar, ruminating on the situation, began to think he had made a mistake in signing the ukaz for mobilization. He thought he had better countermand it and therefore called up Sukhomlinov on the telephone. The three-cornered telephone conversation which followed—one of the most curious, sinister, and obscure of the militarist doings of those dark days—was discussed at length on the third day of the Sukhomlinov trial. Ianushkevich was the first witness. He had evidently come into court with a carefully concocted story and impressed all the newspaper reporters by his glibness. "He speaks smoothly and very calmly and is not at all agitated. He appears in every respect the former professor of the War Academy."⁵⁰ "His testimony is distinguished for its great fluency. He is evidently a practised orator who knows how to talk on every occasion."⁵¹ In a speech

⁴⁸ Tsar to Kaiser, July 29, 8:20 P.M., *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 366; cf. *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 542. I assume that the Tsar here refers to the Kaiser's first telegram, which he had not yet answered, and not to a second telegram, to be mentioned in a moment, which though written at 6:30 P.M. had probably not yet reached the Tsar.

⁴⁹ Kaiser to Tsar, July 29, 6:30 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 359; cf. *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 431.

⁵⁰ *Izvestiia*, no. 145, Aug. 16 [29], 1917.

⁵¹ *Novoe Vremia*, no. 14,852, 13 [26] Aug., 1917.

which can be proven to be full of misstatements he testified among other things:

When Austria launched her provocation against Serbia, we naturally had to come forward in the rôle of a final protector. It was plain to everyone that Germany was standing behind the back of Austria, and that is why I insisted on a declaration of complete mobilization, although this might appear to be a direct provocation in respect to Germany. And so this was decided upon. On July 14 [27] I received the command to proclaim complete mobilization,⁵² and in the evening after making all the arrangements, I set off for the Council of Ministers where I also secured the signature of three ministers, which is necessary for the proclamation of the order.⁵³ When I returned they rang me up on the telephone from Tsarskoe Selo⁵⁴ and informed me that Emperor William had sent a telegram to the Tsar, in which he assured him on the word of honor of a monarch that Germany would not proceed against Russia if she were not forced to this by following Russia.⁵⁵

When I received the information about Wilhelm's telegram, I knew that Germany had already mobilized.⁵⁶ I had information that by that time 400,000 [Russian] men were already mobilized. I insisted that it was impossible to put any trust in the telegram, even though it was supported by Wilhelm's word of honor and I begged that the general mobilization should not be revoked. But the word of honor of the Kaiser triumphed and I received the order to proclaim only "partial mobilization".

Then I set off for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sazonov; I told him everything; I explained the plan of our mobilization; and I begged him to take the measures which depended on him.

On July 17 [30] Sazonov went with a report to Tsarskoe Selo and returned from there with orders to reconsider the question of mobilization. We arranged a conference in which the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of War, and I took part. Thanks to our unan-

⁵² From whom did he receive this command? The Tsar? Sukhomlinov? Sazonov? He does not say. Or did he act on his own responsibility? The date, July 27, is certainly a mistake for July 29; if he had really received orders to proclaim "general mobilization" on the 27th, he would have lost no time in sending out the telegrams. Some of the newspapers, trying to reconcile his statement with known facts, give July 29, others give July 30. His reference below to the Kaiser's telegram makes it clear that he must be talking about July 29.

⁵³ In another part of his evidence he declared that a ukaz signed by the Tsar was necessary for the proclamation of a mobilization order.

⁵⁴ The Tsar at this time was not at Tsarskoe Selo. He was at Peterhof, as is proven by the fact that his telegrams to the Kaiser on July 29 at 1 A.M. and at 8:20 P.M. are both dated from Peterhof. (*Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 332 and 366.) After returning from the military review at Krasnoe Selo on the 25th, the Tsar apparently remained at Peterhof during the following critical days until he came to Petrograd on July 31 (*ibid.*, no. 487).

⁵⁵ There is nothing in the Kaiser's telegram about his word of honor; see the telegram above, note 49.

⁵⁶ This was not true. Germany did not begin to mobilize under cover of the "Threatened State of War" until about 1 P.M., July 31, that is, not until two days later.

ymous opinion about mobilization, our conference lasted only five minutes. We all gave our opinion in favor of complete mobilization. I called His Majesty on the telephone and informed him of our decision. His Majesty heard me and directed me to hand over the telephone receiver to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and after a conversation with him, we reached the decision to put into effect the general mobilization of all the Russian armies.⁵⁷

These revelations produced a great sensation in the court room. Sukhomlinov asked to be heard. In contrast to Ianushkevich "he speaks very simply in language easy to understand, but is greatly agitated, gesticulating wildly with his hands and striking himself upon the chest".⁵⁸

On the night of July 16 to 17 [29 to 30] the Tsar rang me up on the telephone and said that he had received news which gave a possibility of escaping from war. Therefore, he ordered that the partial mobilization in the four districts should be suspended.⁵⁹ The question of mobilization was very acute at this time and I therefore reported my conviction that it was necessary that this mobilization should be completed in a shorter period of time than it had ever been completed before. On receiving the command to suspend mobilization in the four districts, I was completely dumbfounded. This was the limit. [I received a direct command, a precise command, which allowed of no kind of objections. . . . Mobilization had already been ordered, and if it were revoked a catastrophe threatened. What was I to do? I knew that it was impossible to revoke the mobilization; that technically it could not be carried through; what would then happen in Russia? God knows what a mess we should have been in. I felt I was being done for.] When the Tsar informed me that a telegram had been received from Wilhelm to the effect that Germany had no intention of making an attack, I, knowing Wilhelm, made up my mind that he was simply playing a trick and that he simply wished to delay our preparations so that he could demolish us after having overpowered France. Therefore, when the Tsar told me about this telegram and said that mobilization must be suspended, I said to him, "But Wilhelm does not guarantee us anything at all." To this the Tsar replied, "He is exerting himself to bring pressure to bear upon Austria."⁶⁰ And upon that he added, "Why do you not wish to cancel mobilization?" I replied categorically that if mobilization should be cancelled, it would be absurd, for it would not be possible to recommence it on account of technical difficulties. "If you do not be-

⁵⁷ *Izvestiia*, no. 145, Aug. 16 [29], 1917.

⁵⁸ *Novoe Vremia*, no. 14,852, Aug. 13 [26], 1919. The report which follows is from the *Russkii Vedomosti*, no. 185, Aug. 13 [26], 1917, except the parts in brackets, which are from the *Novoe Vremia*.

⁵⁹ Oman (p. 70), quoting from some newspaper which he does not name and which I have not been able to find, gives this statement: "The Tsar told me it was necessary to break off the mobilization in the *three* military districts," and explains in a note, "This undoubtedly means the Wilna, Warsaw, Petrograd districts on the front opposite Germany."

⁶⁰ That the Kaiser was really exerting this pressure is now clear from what has been said above, vol. XXVI, pp. 41-53.

lieve me," I added to the Tsar, "ask the chief of the General Staff." The Tsar replied, "Very well," and he called General Ianushkevich to the telephone. . . .

Half an hour later, Ianushkevich rang me up, and said that His Majesty had commanded him by telephone to suspend mobilization, but that General Ianushkevich replied that it was technically impossible to do this. His Majesty replied to him, "Nevertheless, suspend it!" General Ianushkevich asked what he was to do then. [I replied to him, "Do nothing at all."] "I knew," adds Sukhomlinov, "that the responsibility rested on me and I gave orders that mobilization should not be suspended, for which General Ianushkevich thanked me." . . . ["On the next morning, I lied to His Majesty, explaining that mobilization was proceeding only in the districts of the Southwest. On this day I nearly lost my reason. I knew that mobilization was in full swing, and that it was impossible to stop it. Fortunately, on the same day the Tsar was convinced afresh, and I was thanked for the good execution of mobilization; otherwise I should have been in jail long ago," said Sukhomlinov fervently].

About one P.M. of the next day, our ambassador in Germany, Sverbeiev, sent a telegram that general mobilization had been proclaimed there. Instantly a great stone rolled away from my heart. Everything was ending happily and I was thanked.

Though the testimony of the two generals agreed on many points, it differed absolutely on one important matter. Sukhomlinov said that the Tsar ordered the "partial mobilization" of the four districts to be suspended, that is, all mobilization. Ianushkevich said the Tsar spoke of substituting "partial" for "general" mobilization, implying that the Tsar already knew that "general mobilization" had already been ordered and was going on. To clear up this contradiction Ianushkevich was recalled to the witness stand. Under cross-examination, and when faced with extracts from Sukhomlinov's diary, he hesitated, became confused, and on several points admitted he could not remember or was mistaken. His carefully prepared story broke down, although he still insisted that the Tsar had spoken of substituting "partial" for "general" mobilization. Sukhomlinov's lawyers wished to call as witnesses two of the Tsar's servants, who were supposed to have heard the telephone conversations, but the court, unfortunately, for some reason which is not given, refused the request.

From these two narratives, the following points are tolerably clear: (1) About 11 P.M. on July 29, Russian "partial mobilization" was in full swing. This is confirmed by the captured telegrams quoted above. (2) This "partial mobilization" had been caused directly by Austria's refusal of "direct conversations" and by her declaration of war on Serbia. (3) The Tsar, influenced by the Kaiser's telegram, made a serious effort, though perhaps one

impracticable on technical considerations, to stop mobilization of some kind.⁶¹ (4) But the Tsar was flatly disobeyed and deceived by the Russian militarists, who thereby rendered futile the Kaiser's efforts to check Russian military measures until he could effect a settlement by his mediation at Vienna. (5) On July 30 the Tsar was persuaded to approve "general mobilization", thereby at last making legal and regular the secret military measures which his militarists had disobeyed been carrying on behind his back. Naturally their minds were thereby greatly relieved, and in 1917 they could boast of their patriotic action. (6) An element in this final persuasion of the Tsar was quite probably the arrival of Sverbeiev's telegram from Berlin: "I learn that the order for the mobilization of the German army and navy has just been issued."⁶² (7) Shortly after five o'clock, secret telegrams began to be despatched to the frontier districts against Germany, ordering, at last, the long-awaited announcement of "general mobilization".⁶³ A little later telegrams were despatched to the regions where "partial mobilization" had already been in full regular progress for twenty-four hours, announcing "general mobilization" and ordering that mobilization was to be reckoned as beginning at midnight between July 30-31, instead of at midnight of July 29-30.⁶⁴ It was almost at the same time that Austria had decided to announce "general mobilization". Thus the announcement of "general mobilization" in both Austria and Russia took place practically simultaneously before the news could go from one country to the other. Neither was the cause of the other, though the contrary has been often asserted by both parties.

Germany's mobilization, on the other hand, was directly caused

⁶¹ Professor Oman (pp. 63 ff.) thinks that it was "general" mobilization which the Tsar had sanctioned a few hours earlier as a result of the "formal threat" which Pourtalès made to Sazonov about 7 P.M. This would be in accordance with Ianushkevich's testimony, but there are many objections to this view. It is more probable that the statement of Sukhomlinov is correct that the Tsar spoke and knew only of "partial mobilization"; and that no authorized order for "general mobilization" was despatched on the night of July 29. What Sukhomlinov and Ianushkevich were boasting of in 1917 were the secret "measures preparatory to war" which had been ordered before dawn on July 26, and which were stimulated by their secret telegram of the morning of July 29 to the effect that "general mobilization" was imminent.

⁶² Russian *Orange Book*, no. 61. This was due to the well-known *Lokal-anzeiger* episode.

⁶³ Telegrams nos. 1945 (received at Warsaw, July 30, 8:15 P.M.) and 1946 (despatched to Kovno Fortress at 7:15 P.M.). Hoeniger, pp. 114-118.

⁶⁴ Telegram no. 1965, General Staff to the Moscow military district, July 30, 1917, 11:20 P.M. Hoeniger, pp. 117-118.

by that of Russia. In fact it came rather surprisingly late. Neither Pourtalès nor Eggeling had been told anything of the decision which Russia had made for "general mobilization" on July 30. They knew nothing of it until the next morning after the news had already been printed in the Russian newspapers and been posted up in the streets. As soon as Eggeling learned of it, he hastened to Pourtalès, who sent off a despatch at 10:20 A.M.: "General mobilization of the army and navy ordered. First mobilization day, July 31."⁶⁵ This reached Berlin at 11:40 A.M. Bethmann telephoned it to the Kaiser at Potsdam. The Kaiser motored at once to Berlin and in a meeting with Bethmann and the militarists decided about 1:00 P.M. to order the "Threatened State of War". Until the arrival of this official despatch from Pourtalès, confirming the German suspicions that Russia had been secretly mobilizing, Bethmann had been able to restrain the Kaiser and the militarists from taking any irremediable military steps; but with "Threatened State of War", the whole German military machine was set in swiftest possible motion, though formal mobilization was not declared until the following day. The militarists were now in complete control. In Berlin, as well as in Petrograd, war was now inevitable.⁶⁶ Neither the "Russian formula" which Sazonov had proposed to Pourtalès, nor the personal appeal which Pourtalès made on his own initiative to the Tsar at Peterhof, nor the Kaiser's efforts at Vienna, nor Sir Edward Grey's efforts, could have any possible chance of success. If the German government, on July 31, had really desired peace, it would have been possible for it simply to answer Russian mobilization by German mobilization, and stand on the defensive. But the German militarists insisted that mobilization meant war and therefore Bethmann despatched the ultimata to Russia and to France, to which but one answer was possible on their part.

In conclusion one may say that Bethmann, by his *carte blanche* to Austria and by his apparent endorsement at first of her policy toward Serbia, gave Russia reasonable grounds for thinking that Serbia was about to be treated intolerably. Russia, on account of her rôle as protector of Serbia, and because of her political interests in the Balkans, could not permit Serbia to be crushed or become a vassal of Austria. Bethmann was thus responsible for Russia's provisional decision of July 25 for "partial mobilization", which was justifiable; but Bethmann played directly into the hands of the Russian militarists. Sazonov's optimism about "direct conversa-

⁶⁵ Kautsky Docs., no. 473.

⁶⁶ Kautsky Docs., nos. 456, 473, 477, 479, 480, 488, 490.

tions", like Bethmann's optimism about "localization", was rendered futile by the uncompromising and reckless procedure of Berchtold at Vienna, and by the pressure of their own militarists in Petrograd and Berlin. Bethmann's belated efforts to restrain Austria and impose the "pledge plan" came so late that the Russian militarists, in spite of, rather than because of, German threats, were able to proceed to "complete mobilization". This action in turn played directly into the hands of the German militarists and made the war inevitable.

Relatively little material has appeared since the war which throws new light on the part played by France and England in the crisis which followed the assassination of Franz Ferdinand. Neither government unfortunately has seen fit to make that fuller publication of documents which would clear up many obscure points, particularly as to their relations with one another in view of their common danger from Germany. Such a publication would increase that feeling of mutual frankness among nations upon which the peace of the world in the future might rest more securely. In view of this lack of new material, only a word, therefore, will be said as to these two countries and in regard to Belgium.

Belgium had done nothing in any way to justify the demand which Germany made upon her. With commendable prudence, at the very first news of the ominous Austrian ultimatum, she had foreseen the danger to which she might be exposed. She had accordingly instructed her representatives abroad as to the statements which they were to make in case Belgium should decide very suddenly to mobilize to protect her neutrality.⁶⁷ On July 29, she placed her army upon "a strengthened war footing", but did not order complete mobilization until two days later, when Austria, Russia, and Germany had already done so, and war appeared inevitable. Even after being confronted with the terrible German ultimatum, at 7 P.M. on August 2, she did not at once invite the assistance of English and French troops to aid her in the defense of her soil and her neutrality against a certain German assault; it was not until German troops had actually violated her territory, on August 4, that she appealed for the assistance of the Powers which had guaranteed her neutrality.⁶⁸ Belgium was the innocent victim of the German militarists.

As to France, however much she may have encouraged the Russian militarists, in the months preceding the crisis, by her adoption

⁶⁷ Davignon's circular, July 24, *Belgian Gray Book*, no 2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, nos. 8, 10, 15, 20, 23, 24, 30, 38, 40.

of the three-year term of military service, by her exchange of military and diplomatic visits (Joffre, Grand Duke Nicholas, Poincaré), by her naval convention, by her jingo press, and by her close relations with England, and however much by these same measures she may have aroused the suspicions of Germany,⁶⁹ there can be no doubt that when the crisis came, she sincerely did her best to avert it. While Poincaré was out of touch on the high seas, returning from Russia, the French acting minister of foreign affairs, Bienvenu-Martin, was too distraught to exercise much influence anywhere, though he did endeavor to persuade Grey to adopt the French solution of a strong English warning to Germany. When Poincaré and Viviani returned to Paris, they were careful to take particular pains, such as withdrawing the French troops ten kilometres from the frontiers, to avoid the slightest possibility of any frontier friction, which Germany might regard as a grievance. It is not clear how far these genuinely pacific measures toward the end of the diplomatic crisis mark a change from a previous more vigorous and aggressive policy. Nor is it clear whether this change, if change there was, was due to the bad impression made on Poincaré by the strikes in Russia, or to the French Socialists and French domestic political troubles, or to the fact that England seemed to be on the threshold of a civil war in Ireland, or simply to the terribleness of a European war, the main blow of which was certain to fall upon France.

In regard to England's responsibility, the most important recent book is that of Lord Loreburn, *How the War Came* (London, 1919). One may certainly agree with him in censuring Grey for involving England in secret understandings with France into which other members of the Cabinet, to say nothing of Parliament, were not initiated. This was not in accord with what was understood to be the constitutional practice in England, and it resulted, in 1914, in England's being unable either to find a successful means of averting war, or to wage war immediately with adequate means. One may even agree with Lord Loreburn that Grey's hands were not so free in July, 1914, as he sought to make it appear. But on the other hand, they were not so completely tied as Lord Loreburn represents. One may say that Grey was under a moral obligation to use the British navy to protect the north coast of France, and he fulfilled this obligation by his declaration on August 2 that "if the German fleet comes into the Channel, or through the North Sea, to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power". But this is not the

⁶⁹ Cf. Kuhl, pp. 81-83.

same thing as saying, as Lord Loreburn does, that England was bound to support France in war on land. The distinction, perhaps, is an impracticable one, but it is sufficient, essentially to justify Grey's attitude that England's hands were free and that it was still for Parliament and public opinion to dictate whether England should stand aside or not. England went into the war from three mixed motives: to fulfill her obligations to France, to preserve her honor in upholding her guarantee of Belgian neutrality, and to protect her own safety and material interests against German aggression. That Grey, in his speech in Parliament, very skillfully put forward very prominently the second of these motives, there is no doubt; and if he believed, as of course he did, that England ought under the circumstances to fight, he did so wisely; for this was the motive which would most clearly and powerfully appeal to Parliament and the British public. On the other hand, it is doubtful if one can agree with Lord Loreburn's further criticism of Grey for not making a plain, timely statement to Germany that, if she attacked France, England would be on the side of France and Russia. It is very doubtful, in view of the strong anti-British feeling in Germany, the blind Pan-Germanism, the power of the militarists, and the Kaiser's sensitiveness to a second rebuff after Agadir, whether such a threat would not have had exactly the opposite effect in Germany. It would have been regarded as the proof and culmination of British "encirclement". Even granting that it might have postponed the war over the Austro-Serbian crisis for some months, it would have so increased the Anglo-German embitterment that some other occasion would probably have soon set Europe on fire after Germany had made further frantic naval and military preparations. As Buchanan wisely told Sazonov, on July 27,⁷⁰ "Germany's attitude would merely be stiffened by such a menace. England could only induce her to use her influence at Vienna to avert war by approaching her in the capacity of a friend, who was anxious to preserve peace." Moreover, such a threat by England might have served as a dangerous encouragement to the Russian militarists in their aggressive aspirations toward Constantinople and the Straits. Grey had to choose a policy; because he chose one which did not turn out successfully, it is not necessarily true to say that he chose the wrong one. If a criticism of Grey is to be made, it is that he, like Bethmann and Sazonov, was too optimistic—too little aware of the monstrous influence which the militarists would acquire in Vienna, Berlin, and Petrograd.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

⁷⁰ *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 39-40.

A CONFEDERATE DIPLOMAT AT THE COURT OF NAPOLEON III.

IN John Slidell of Louisiana the Confederacy possessed its ablest diplomatic agent. Born in New York in 1793 of a family on marriage terms with some of the most distinguished of Northern leaders, including Commodore Perry of Lake Erie fame, Slidell had linked his entire personal and political fortunes with the Lower South. Here indeed was the land of promise for men of the Slidell type. The cotton-gin and a broadening European cotton market had transferred economic and political leadership from the Upper South to the Lower, and called forth a new type of American, the planter-businessman-politician.¹ Slidell was the incarnation of its requirements, and success had been his reward. In professional life, a lucrative law practice had rendered him well-to-do; in finance, a penchant for railway promotion had made him the rival in that domain of Stephen A. Douglas and Jefferson Davis; and in politics, the increasing recognition of his varied powers had brought him forward as a national figure long before Secession called him into its service.

To this training in practical affairs, growing out of a varied and active career, Slidell added a special experience in diplomacy. For he had already served in 1845 and 1846 as the unofficial agent of President Polk for extending the boundaries of the Cotton Kingdom by peaceful purchase from Mexico.² Moreover, as senator from Louisiana, from December, 1853, to February, 1861, he was once more, in some sense, a diplomat, the representative of his state and section at Washington, then the firing line of Southern interests—rare training indeed in the ways of men and governments.

When, therefore, in 1861, the Southern States needed to be represented abroad by persons not only of convictions, but of experience, Slidell's record made him the logical man for the most difficult and at the same time the most hopeful post in Europe.

With his friend, Senator James M. Mason of Virginia, he accordingly set out; Slidell for Paris, Mason for London. The adven-

¹ For the best summary description of life in this great section, see William E. Dodd's *The Cotton Kingdom* (1919).

² For an account of this mission, see the author's "Slidell's Mission to Mexico", in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, January, 1913.

tures of the two, their arrival at Cuba, departure on the *Trent*, seizure by Wilkes, detention near Boston, and release on British intercession, are not a part of the present story, which concerns rather the vicissitudes of hope and despair which marked their mission abroad. These oscillations of emotion are revealed in the correspondence of the two commissioners more clearly than in any other source now available. Unfortunately, the Slidell papers have been destroyed, but Mason preserved copies of his own letters, as well as something like a hundred letters from his colleague, constituting altogether as valuable a record as the war has left of the thoughts of two of the most active and intelligent men who ever threatened the permanence of the American system. It is with Slidell's share in this correspondence that the present paper is primarily concerned. Its object is, without pretending to relate the whole history of Confederate diplomacy in Europe, to show what contribution toward the making of that history may be derived from this one source, recently made available to the student.³

In the first letter of the series, written from Paris on February 5, 1862, Slidell admits to Mason that "recognition [of the Confederacy] may long be delayed but I am very sanguine as to the speedy breaking up of the blockade".⁴ He counted much on the friendly disposition of the French authorities, and was proportionately disappointed at the coldness of his first reception by M. Thouvenel, the minister of foreign affairs. Thouvenel denied that his government had been in correspondence with Great Britain concerning the blockade, and "his denial . . . was so categorical and unqualified", says Slidell, "that I was obliged to believe it, but conversations with other officials have since led me to doubt it".⁵ The Minister of the Interior, Persigny, a close friend of the Emperor, was more cordial than Thouvenel,⁶ and Slidell set store upon his good offices and those of the President of the Council of State, M. Baroche,⁷ whose son had previously been placed under obligations to the Slidells for hospitality extended during a visit to New Orleans.⁸ The Minister of Finance, M. Fould,⁹ also was among those who gave Slidell an early

³ Mason Papers, Library of Congress, acquired in 1912. Many despatches of Slidell to the Confederate Secretaries of State are printed in vol. II. of Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, though the lack of a table of contents makes them hard to pursue.

⁴ Feb. 5, 1862.

⁵ Feb. 12, 1862.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ See letter of Feb. 5, 1862.

⁹ Feb. 12, 1862.

audience. His conclusion from conversations with these men and others was, February 12, that "the Emperor's sympathies are with us—that he would immediately raise the blockade and very soon recognize us, if England would only make the first step, however small, in that direction, but for the present at least he is decided that she shall take the initiative".¹⁰ His French friends told Slidell that they had no wish to be the cat in the fable and to draw out chestnuts for British benefit.

Slidell had a faculty for facing facts, and his first estimate of Napoleon's intentions proved to be final. Napoleon's friendly advances were always forestalled of fruition by British reluctance to co-operate, and ultimately by Confederate reverses which intensified the risks of interference by outsiders. The first of these disappointments came to Slidell in March, 1862. Notwithstanding the autocracy of the emperor, the Corps Législatif was in some measure a barometer of opinion, at least to the extent that many of the speakers drew their inspiration from the imperial fountain, and Slidell watched its debates upon the American blockade with a passionate interest. In a speech delivered March 13, 1862, by M. Billault, a government spokesman in the Chamber, he heard the knell of French intervention. The cause he correctly traced to Confederate defeats. "If instead of the defeats at Roanoke and Donelson, we could have had some decisive victory to announce to the world, I believe that a very different view would have been taken by Mr. Billault. As it is I can only look forward with hope not unmingled with anxiety, to the news which we must soon have of an important battle at or near Nashville."¹¹

The entire month was a period of the most anxious suspense. It confirmed Slidell's impression that Napoleon would do nothing without England, being "determined to hold on to her alliance on any terms which she might dictate".¹² He asked Mason for a frank statement of the London situation, for if nothing was to be hoped from Palmerston and Russell, "the sooner our people know that we have nothing to expect from this side of the water and that we must rely exclusively on our own resources, the better".¹³

Before another two weeks renewed negotiations between Napoleon and England lifted Slidell out of the slough of despond, and he wrote Mason in a totally different vein:

¹⁰ Feb. 12, 1862.

¹¹ Mar. 14, 1862.

¹² Mar. 28, 1862.

¹³ *Ibid.*

I have at last some good news to give you. Mr. Lindsay has had a long interview with the Emperor, who is prepared to act at once decidedly in our favor. he has always been ready to do so and has twice made representations to England, but has received evasive responses. He has now for the third time given them but in a more decided tone. Mr. Lindsay will give you all the particulars. This is entirely confidential, but you can say to Lord Campbell, Mr. Gregory etc. that I now have positive and *authentic* evidence that France only waits the assent of England for recognition and other more cogent measures.¹⁴

But these approaches of Napoleon were unofficial. With characteristic subterfuge, he acted through the Englishman, Lindsay, rather than through his own ambassador at London. Earl Russell refused to negotiate outside of regular channels, and Napoleon's third move shared the fate of his former efforts. Lindsay told his story, however, to Disraeli, and from him gained what promised to be a new light on the situation. Disraeli declared that Lord Russell was bound by a secret agreement with Mr. Seward not to break the blockade, and not to recognize the Confederacy. But Disraeli hinted that this agreement was irksome to Russell, and that if Napoleon himself would only take the lead, British opinion would support him so strongly that Lord Russell would be obliged, with only pretended reluctance, to give way in order to avoid a change of ministry.¹⁵

Napoleon was not too well pleased with Lindsay's report of the reception of his overtures.¹⁶ He recollected his former grievance at Lord Russell's conduct in forwarding copies of French official representations on American affairs to Lord Lyons, who in turn communicated them to Mr. Seward. But he seized upon the explanation of the Russell-Seward agreement, and was half inclined to act upon Disraeli's advice, on the principle that "he could not consent that his people should continue to suffer from the action of the Federal government".¹⁷ A friendly appeal might suffice, especially if accompanied by a naval demonstration on the American coast. But action had better await the naval decision at New Orleans, whose capture Napoleon did not anticipate, but must take into possible account. All this in confidence.

Characteristically Machiavellian was the scheme which Napoleon at this time evolved to make his future course toward the American question appear like a response to public demand. "Measures have

¹⁴ Apr. 12, 1862.

¹⁵ Summary of despatch no. 6, J. Slidell to Hon. J. P. Benjamin, secretary of state, Apr. 18, 1862.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

been taken," says Slidell in his report to the Department of State at Richmond, "to procure petitions from the Chambers of Commerce of the principal cities, asking the intervention of the Emperor to restore commercial relations with the Southern States."¹⁸

Editorial comment in the semi-official journals *Constitution*, *Patrie*, and *Pays*¹⁹ coincided with reports that, with the exception of M. Thouvenel, the entire cabinet favored a vigorous American policy. And even more reassuring was a burst of activity in the Mediterranean fleet, which was ordered to lay in stores for three months. All in all, in the closing days of April, 1862, Slidell had reason for contentment. "I am not without hope," he wrote Mason, "that the Emperor may act alone."²⁰

Even the fall of New Orleans failed to dispel the illusion of cheer. On May 2, Persigny gave Slidell definite assurance that the Confederacy would soon be recognized,"—this between ourselves—as he talks to me very unreservedly and relies on my discretion".²¹ Even Thouvenel relaxed under the new geniality, and confided to Slidell that Mercier, who had gone on Napoleon's behalf to investigate conditions in the Confederacy, had made a favorable report as to Southern resources and determination. To Thouvenel's query upon the significance of the loss of New Orleans, Slidell was obliged to own that "it would be most disastrous, as it would give the enemy the control of the Mississippi and all its tributaries, but that it would not in any way modify the fixed purpose of our people to carry on the war even to our own extermination".²² Slidell on his side pressed an inquiry into Thouvenel's views as to Lord Palmerston's assertion that British and French policies were identical. Thouvenel evaded the answer by saying that French action had been purely verbal.²³ The interview was, on the whole, satisfactory to Slidell, though a warning that only great Confederate victories at Corinth or in Virginia would warrant European recognition should have impressed him as ominous.

On the sixteenth of May, Slidell received fresh intimations of the emperor's good intentions—these from M. Billault, whose March speech had caused him such anxiety. "He assures me," writes Slidell, "that the Emperor and all the ministers are favorable to our

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Apr. 28, 1862.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ May 3, 1862.

²² May 14, 1862.

²³ *Ibid.* A part of this letter is printed in Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II. 251.

cause, have been so for the last year and are now quite as warmly so as they have been. Mr. Thouvenel is of course excepted, but even he has no hostility."²⁴ The darker side of the picture was that Billault, in contradiction to Thouvenel, declared that the emperor was far from satisfied with Mercier's visit to Richmond.²⁵

Meanwhile McClellan's Peninsular Campaign was in full progress, and Slidell looked for the capture of Richmond. "Things look gloomy," he admitted to Mason, "but if we can repulse the enemy before Richmond and hold it (of which I feel by no means confident) and Beauregard defeat Halleck, I think that we will have a good prospect of early recognition. Even if we abandon Richmond retiring in good order beyond James River and we achieve a decided victory in the neighborhood of Corinth, I shall entertain hopes of being recognised."²⁶ He suggested to Mason that it would be well for both, in the event of a military success in either quarter, to act in concert in a demand for immediate recognition.

But such a plan involved a number of objections. The governments of Great Britain and France were not equally friendly to the Southern cause. Joint action might be premature. On the other hand, too early a demand upon Paris might isolate London completely. The difficulties a battling confederation would have in forcing recognition from unwilling powers were really insuperable, and Slidell fell back into the pessimism from which the promises of Napoleon had temporarily lifted him. "I am heartily tired and disgusted," he complains, "with my position here and so far as I am personally concerned, if our recognition is to be indefinitely postponed, I would very much prefer to bring my mission to an immediate close, but of course I must remain at my post however disagreeable, until authorised by the President to withdraw."²⁷ In these views of Slidell upon the desirability of action or a prompt withdrawal from Europe, Mason concurred.²⁸

But new issues arose to make a permanent residence desirable, even in default of recognition. Of these, one was Mexico. Slidell's first reference to Mexican developments was in an outline to Mason of a projected letter to Thouvenel. "I am inclined . . . to touch upon the Mexican question, saying that while foreign occupation of that country would excite the most violent opposition at the North, we, far from sharing such a feeling, would be pleased to see

²⁴ May 16, 1862.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ May 27, 1862.

²⁷ June 1, 1862.

²⁸ See Slidell, June 6, 1862.

a steady, respectable, responsible government established there soon."²⁹

Distance did not blind Slidell to the vast significance of the military decisions pending East and West, and in the middle of June he again sounded Mason on the proper course for each to pursue when the victory should be heralded. To Slidell, London looked like the most promising field for an aggressive demand.³⁰ He regarded Russell as the chief obstacle in the Confederate path, but felt that a formal demand, backed by a victorious army, might induce even him to yield to the policy of Palmerston and the other members of the cabinet. If, however, Great Britain showed a disposition to mediate between North and South, "it would perhaps be better to postpone the demand for formal recognition as such an offer would be virtually to recognize us".³¹

To Billault Slidell expressed himself as favoring recognition far rather than mediation,³² saying "that it was impossible to overestimate the importance of such a step, that if it had been taken last summer the war would long since have terminated. That the same effect would now follow in a few months, it would give courage to the peace party at the North to speak out in time to operate upon the approaching Congressional elections".³³ Billault, however, gave Slidell no encouragement to think that recognition would soon be forthcoming, and reiterated that French determination to act only in concurrence with England was unchanged. He recommended him to consult Thouvenel once more,³⁴ and admitted that the Southern attitude toward French intervention in Mexico might have an influence upon the question of recognition, the more so as Slidell took occasion to renew his assurances "that all we desired there was the establishment of a respectable and responsible government and were quite indifferent as to its form, and that he was well aware that such were not the sentiments of the Washington government".³⁵

Hope deferred was making the heart sick, and on June 21 Slidell unburdened himself in a very correct analysis of events. He put no confidence in Lord Palmerston. Disraeli and Walpole were well intentioned but futile. There was no use in applying to Thouvenel.

²⁹ June 6, 1862.

³⁰ June 14, 1862.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² June 17, 1862.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

I have seen enough since I have been here to be convinced that nothing that I can say or do will advance for a single day the action of this government, and I am very much inclined to tender my resignation: The position of our representatives in Europe is painful and almost humiliating. it might be tolerated if they could be consoled by the reflection that their presence was in any way advantageous to their cause, but I am rather disposed to believe that we would have done better to withdraw after our first interviews with Russell and Thouvenel.³⁶

More patiently, but no more optimistically, he wrote a few days later, "I think that it is now more evident than ever that England will do nothing that may offend the Lincoln government, and I shall await, as patiently as I can, the course of events."³⁷ Five months of his mission had expired, and Slidell had made little progress. In the social world, he was obtaining a recognition that was soon to result in an acquaintance and even a friendship with the emperor. In the political, he was pitted against forces too mighty for even the most adroit of diplomats to overcome.

These forces, nevertheless, seemed for the moment to favor Slidell when McClellan's withdrawal from Richmond admitted the failure of the Peninsular Campaign. He wrote Mason to reassure him of Napoleon's good-will. "I hear that the attempt is renewed to excite the impression in England that the Emperor is not disposed to recognise us and that the hitch is here, not at London. You can run no risk in giving any such report a most emphatic contradiction."³⁸ Persigny gave him once more to understand that intervention was imminent. But he realized the difficulty of Mason's position because of Palmerston's recent display of strength in Parliament. "Indeed that august body seems to be as much afraid of him, as the urchins of a village school of the birch of their pedagogue."³⁹

At last, in July, 1862, came an interview with the emperor. Slidell had won the confidence of the emperor's friends. It remained for him to bring Napoleon himself into the circle of his influence. The improved military position of the Confederacy doubtless had its share in bringing about a meeting. It took place at Vichy.⁴⁰ Napoleon was apparently somewhat noncommittal in respect to Slidell's demand for immediate action, but gave Slidell to understand that his heart was in the right place. The interview lasted seventy min-

³⁶ June 21, 1862.

³⁷ June 29, 1862.

³⁸ July 11, 1862.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ July 16, 1862.

utes and was marked by extreme graciousness on the emperor's part.

He talked freely, frankly and unreservedly, spoke in the most decided terms of his sympathy and his regret that England had not shared his views. He said that he had made a great mistake in respecting a blockade which had for six months at least not been effective, that we ought to have been recognised last summer while our ports were still in our own possession. He spoke freely of the Mexican question and of the probability of its soon bringing him into collision with the U. S. That the treaty with Mexico if ratified by the Senate would place them virtually in a hostile position towards him. He asked if he offered mediation how the question of boundaries could be settled? What we would insist on? I said that we would insist on all the States where a majority of the people had already determined by their votes to join our Confederacy, leaving the people of Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland to decide for themselves whether they would or would not unite their fortunes with ours. He expressed his regret that he had not been able sooner to see me and on parting said that he hoped for the future I should have less difficulty in seeing him.

On the whole he left on my mind the impression that if England long persisted in her inaction, he would be disposed to act without her, although of course he did not commit himself to do so. He said that he had reason not to be well satisfied with England, she had not appreciated as she should have done his support in the Trent affair. There is an important part of our conversation that I will give you through Mr. Mann. On the whole my interview was highly satisfactory. I have as yet made no mention of my having seen the Emperor but to his very confidential friends. I prefer that it should be known through other channels and as yet I have seen no notice of it in the papers.⁴¹

Armed with fresh confidence after these expressions of imperial favor, Slidell soon sought a fresh interview with Thouvenel, who had been kept in ignorance of the meeting at Vichy. Thouvenel discouraged any immediate demand for recognition, but indicated the right procedure if Slidell was determined to act, giving him to understand that no reply could be expected until some time after he himself had returned from Germany, where he was going for a ten days' absence.⁴²

Mason meanwhile was pressing similar demands upon Lord Russell, and Slidell felt the most anxious solicitude as to their reception. "If the present moment be not opportune (to use his favorite phrase), I can imagine no possible contingency short of recognition by Lincoln that will satisfy his Lordship."⁴³ He wished each negotiation, however, to stand upon its own merits, and urged Mason to secrecy regarding the manoeuvres at Paris, which were apparently going well, for "I received yesterday a letter from Mr. Persigny

⁴¹ July 20, 1862.

⁴² July 23, 1862.

⁴³ July 30, 1862.

who had been to Vichy since I saw the Emperor. He writes most encouragingly."⁴⁴ Contact with the emperor led to overconfidence. And Slidell wrote on August 3, when suspense over Russell's decision was growing unbearable, "It seems to me impossible that Russell can be acting in concert with this government, and if he has undertaken to solve the question for England without full consultation and understanding with France, I should be *very much* surprised and disappointed if the Emperor do not take the matter in hand on 'his own hook'".⁴⁵

Again Lord Russell refused to sanction these unofficial moves of Napoleon, giving as his reason the existence of a strong Union party at the South. Slidell's indignation at this matched the seriousness of the decision. He suggested to Mason that England's failure to move was due to the fact "that they desire to see the North entirely exhausted and broken down and that they are willing in order to attain that object to suffer their own people to starve, and play the poltroon in the face of Europe".⁴⁶ There was still room for hope that Russell had acted without consultation, that Napoleon would resent the rebuff, and that action by France alone might be the result. If so, "Russell's prompt reply ought not to be regretted. France will for us be a safer ally than England."⁴⁷ That this would prove to be the case seemed undeniable to Persigny, but Slidell had begun to discount the latter's over-sanguine temperament. "He is very enthusiastic," Slidell wrote to Mason, "and I am not as confident as he appears to be."⁴⁸ Action at this juncture was in any event made more doubtful, in Slidell's judgment, by the movements of Garibaldi.⁴⁹ Events in Italy would require the full attention of Europe, and would militate against Confederate hopes. Very curious testimony this to the influence of one liberal movement in aiding another oceans away!

Concern at the indifference of England, the timidity of France, and the tumult of Italy did not, however, move Slidell to hold out the olive branch to the Federal government. He tells Mason of a chance which the Duc de Morny, intimate of the emperor, afforded him to talk to Seward through the medium of a Frenchman known to be in communication with Washington upon the subject of a peace by reconciliation and reconstruction. "You may be assured, in no

⁴⁴ July 30, 1862.

⁴⁵ Aug. 3, 1862.

⁴⁶ Aug. 6, 1862.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

measured terms," he writes, "of the scorn with which such a proposition would be received."⁵⁰

But if in America the bridge was already burned, in France it was desirable to keep open all avenues of communication. Chief of these was a confidential intercourse with the Foreign Office. Thus it was a real service which a friend at the Foreign Office did Slidell in giving him a chance to signify his wish for a delayed reply concerning his demand upon Thouvenel for recognition of the Confederacy. "If made it would be merely dilatory, probably more amicable in its tone than Russell's but arriving at the same conclusion."⁵¹ Only the actual withdrawal of McClellan from the Peninsula would warrant Slidell in pressing Thouvenel for an immediate reply. And in any event such a reply must await the emperor's return from Chalons or Biarritz.⁵² This in the event of good news. If the news proved bad, an immediate withdrawal from Paris might be advisable. Meanwhile "the affairs of Italy are giving great uneasiness and with all the Emperor's desire to get rid of his English commitments, he can do nothing until Garibaldi is disposed of".⁵³

Two weeks later affairs were in much the same state. Slidell felt that the iron was hot to strike and that failure to gain recognition in 1862 would leave "no reason to hope for any favorable action here until we shall have ceased to desire it".⁵⁴ But the usual alteration of mood soon came to his relief. Lee's first invasion of Maryland was raising high hopes, and Slidell allowed himself some rosy dreams of victories to come. McClellan was to attack Lee and be defeated. Philadelphia was scheduled for capture, and Washington would lie at the Confederate mercy. But in Slidell's opinion it would be unwise to enter the capital, for "if we do we ought to destroy the public buildings and that might produce a bad impression in Europe".⁵⁵

At the same time with Lee's advance, came the first overtures for the Confederate cotton loan. "I have been quite surprised," Slidell declares, "at an uninvited suggestion on the part of a respectable banking house of a disposition to open a credit to our government of a considerable amount. No distinct proposition as to the terms or amount, but the basis to be cotton to be delivered to the parties making the advance at certain ports in the interior."⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Aug. 20, 1862.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Sept. 12, 1862.

⁵⁵ Sept. 26, 1862.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Slidell felt disposed, in default of specific instructions, to assume responsibility for carrying through the projected loan on the basis of his general powers, subject to concurrence by Mason in the terms arranged. "Pray let me hear from you at once on the subject as I intend to see them again on Monday."⁵⁷ The cup of joy was pretty full. A much-needed loan was broached, and better still (September 30), it seemed once more as if recognition would not be long deferred. This from Thouvenel, the quondam skeptic. But once again a string was tied. Nothing could be done before the emperor's return.⁵⁸

On October 14, 1862, Slidell was at *qui vive*. A ministerial council at St. Cloud would decide next day the course of French policy, and recognition ought to be officially agreed upon in time for communication to England before the twenty-third.⁵⁹ On the seventeenth he knew the worst. The Roman question had produced a cabinet rupture. Thouvenel resigned; Drouyn de Lhuys took his portfolio; "and for the time our question has been lost sight of".⁶⁰ A complete reorganization of the cabinet was averted only by the personal intervention of the emperor. All eyes were upon Italy. The Confederacy might wait.

The political deadlock did not interfere, however, with the negotiations over the cotton loan. On October 29 Slidell took Mason more completely into his confidence on this head. He named the Erlangers as the principals, representing them as "one of the richest and most enterprising banking houses of Europe, having extensive business relations throughout France and free access to some very important men about the Court. They will in anticipation of the acceptance of their propositions actively exert themselves in our favor and enlist in the scheme persons who will be politically useful."⁶¹ Slidell advised acceptance of their terms, subject to possible modifications, and completed his budget of good news with information that Napoleon was exerting himself to bring Russia as well as England into a proposal for a six months' armistice, North and South, "with our ports open to all the world",⁶² a project the more likely of success because of the support of King Leopold, who was believed to have much influence with his niece, Queen Victoria. "The Emperor thinks that his counsels will have great influence and

⁵⁷ Sept. 26, 1862.

⁵⁸ Oct. 2, 1862.

⁵⁹ Oct. 14, 1862.

⁶⁰ Oct. 17, 1862.

⁶¹ Oct. 29, 1862.

⁶² *Ibid.*

perhaps Lord Palm^a, when he finds the Queen with us, may be willing to act."⁶³

Reverting to the loan, Slidell evidently feared that Mason might balk at the terms it contemplated, for he urged repeatedly that the final decision would rest not with them, but at Richmond, "while in the meanwhile the mere anticipation or hope rather of their acceptance will be useful here".⁶⁴

In politics, Slidell so far misread the Russian temper as to believe that Napoleon's advances would meet a favorable response, "perhaps with some reservation".⁶⁵ It was unfortunate, to be sure, that Captain Maury, who had been selected for St. Petersburg, had not been appointed earlier. "We should have had an agent there long since."⁶⁶

Slidell's correspondence for the year 1862 comes to an end with these reflections upon Russia,⁶⁷ with a belief that France was on the point of demanding a cessation of the war in the interest "of humanity not only in America but in Europe",⁶⁸ and with a suggestion that army contractors and armament makers would prove useful if properly approached.⁶⁹

The year had been one of immense activity, anxiety, and, in view of a cause predoomed to failure, of achievement. Many wires had been pulled, many friends recruited, and much pressure brought to bear toward recognition, the great object of the mission. In a sense, Slidell's achievements in Paris were the counterpart of the military situation at home. It too was foreordained to failure, but the year 1862 closed with what appeared to many minds as an even chance for victory.

Appeals for recognition and details of the cotton loan occupied Slidell in the opening days of 1863. It was reassuring to be told by Persigny that

Mr. Drouyn de L'Huys wrote to Mr. Mercier last week instructing him to make an earnest appeal for a cessation of hostilities and to suggest at all events a conference between the parties belligerent even without an armistice. Mr. Dayton was informed of the instructions and did not remonstrate against them. Mr. Drouyn is now heartily engaged in the matter and Mr. Persigny is confident that if Lincoln refuses to act on the suggestion made by him, recognition will immediately follow.⁷⁰

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Oct. 1 (erroneous date for Nov. 1), 1862.

⁶⁵ Nov. 14, 1862.

⁶⁶ Nov. 28, 1862.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Oct. 1 (*i. e.*, Nov. 1), 1862.

⁶⁹ Dec. 6, 1862.

⁷⁰ Jan. 21, 1863.

Again the exuberance of Persigny required to be discounted, for Slidell's next account of the instructions to Mercier admits that they were conciliatory to a degree, carefully avoiding "anything calculated to excite Yankee susceptibility".⁷¹ But it was something to have enlisted the active co-operation of Drouyn de Lhuys.

The affair of the loan came, meanwhile, to a head, and on February 3, 1863, Slidell was able to announce its consummation, but not the particulars. Not so the arrangement for a peace conference: Slidell learned through his friend at the Foreign Office on February 10 that while Seward favored an armistice, Lincoln was "determined to carry on the war at all hazards",⁷² and Dayton, who had been passive when a conference between the belligerents was first proposed, now exerted himself in protest against French intervention.⁷³ But Slidell was hopeful that French policy would adhere to its new programme, and trusted to the emperor's forthcoming speech to the Chambers to "say something significant about our affairs".⁷⁴ French assistance was then the chief hope, because it had soon become apparent that nothing was to be anticipated from King Leopold's influence at the British court.⁷⁵

By the fifteenth, Slidell was in a position to announce the terms of the cotton loan. It called for £3,000,000 seven per cent. bonds at 77 per cent., "convertible into cotton at 6 *d.* deliverable within six months after peace at a port".⁷⁶ This was highly satisfactory to Erlanger, though it might seem a hard bargain to the Confederacy.

In default of recognition, which continued to be the rainbow of illusion, Slidell reverted to the blockade issue.

I shall not make it matter of formal communication [he wrote Mason], but will endeavor to induce this government to reconsider the whole question of blockade. All here admit that a gross error has been committed in recognising the efficiency of the blockade and only desire to find some plausible pretext for retracing the false steps. The evidence of the repeated intermissions of the blockade at many points and for several days which I presented was conclusive, the voluntary relaxation of the blockade offered in my opinion much stronger grounds for declaring it inefficient than its temporary suspension from 'force majeure'.⁷⁷

On this point, nevertheless, as on almost all others, Slidell's hopes were doomed to disappointment, for Drouyn de Lhuys informed him

⁷¹ Jan. 25, 1863.

⁷² Feb. 11, 1863.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Feb. 15, 1863.

⁷⁷ Feb. 19, 1863. See also Mar. 1, 1863.

that France was already too far committed in recognition of the blockade for her to withdraw without the co-operation of England. "He asked me however to write him an informal note on the subject, when he would carefully examine it."⁷⁸ Here of course was the trouble. Such examination only demonstrated the folly of action. And of the blockade, as well as of the war, France continued but a passive spectator.

The only avenue for really constructive developments lay in semi-official and private negotiations with ship contractors. And 1863, in France as in England, was a year of activity in this direction. The cotton loan made ship-building possible. And Slidell soon turned his attention to this auxiliary development of his mission. "We can not only build ships here but arm and equip them. I am only waiting to know with tolerable certainty the success of the loan to suggest to Captn. Maury the expediency of coming over here, where I have no doubt he can build on as good terms as in England, but will have no difficulty in carrying his ship to sea."⁷⁹

In the more diplomatic sphere of Slidell's mission, one excuse after another arose for French delay. In 1862 it was Garibaldi and Italy. In 1863 the troubles in Poland occupied the stage, and Slidell, in a refrain grown almost habitual, observes that "Until the Polish imbroglio is settled I do not hope that anything will be done here in our affairs".⁸⁰

The world of European politics thus complicated a task already diversified enough. Recognition, intervention, recall of the blockade, ship-building, and the cotton loan made in themselves a fairly formidable programme for an agent not officially recognized. And already in April, 1863, the problem of Confederate credit had arisen. The bonds, now on the market, had declined three or four points;⁸¹ Spence, the English agent, feared a drop of fifteen; and stock-exchange operations to bolster the bonds were already a subject of discussion. Slidell displayed on this economic subject, as well as upon the more strictly diplomatic questions in his purview, a strong acumen.

I do not see at present [he declares] any sufficient motive for buying on acct. of our government, but the time may arrive before the settling day when it may be good policy to do so. In the meanwhile, I think it would be well to agree that the amount of the loan should be reduced to two millions with the privilege however of taking the other million

⁷⁸ Feb. 23, 1863.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Mar. 15, 1863.

⁸¹ Apr. 5, 1863.

within some fixed delay. This would leave very little floating scrip for the operators for a fall to work on.⁸²

Along with these sound ideas on conservative policy, are revealed some details of the loan which betray their writer's familiarity with high finance. He mentions that if the sales go badly the Erlangers have the option of withdrawing from the entire transaction, by a payment to the Confederacy of £300,000, but says, "I have no idea that under any circumstances they will take this ground, for they would be very heavy losers, having as they inform me expended large sums in conciliating certain interests and influences."⁸³

Mason's arrangements for price-bolstering were successful for the time being, and on the thirteenth, Slidell anticipated an early premium of five or six per cent.⁸⁴ His own affair of the ship-building also gave favorable prospect of success, involving as it did direct permission of the emperor, who alone can be alluded to in the following: "B[ulloch] is about making contract to be binding only when I shall have recd. assurance from the *highest* source that he can use the articles when ready."⁸⁵

Slidell in turn made himself useful to Napoleon by providing him with evidence of Yankee shipments of arms to the Mexican government. This, he told Mason, he had secured through "the recklessness or stupidity of Mr. Charles Francis Adams".⁸⁶ The influence of these disclosures was not confined to Napoleon, for Slidell noted with satisfaction a new truculence in John Bull.⁸⁷ The time was nevertheless ill chosen, in Slidell's opinion, to press Great Britain for direct permission to export arms. He preferred to work through a neutral agency, and on April 27 made the following report to Mason: "I am now in treaty with the agent of a foreign government for an arrangement that will enable our ships to leave England armed and equipped without any danger of interruption. Capt'n. Bullock goes over to-morrow and he will give you full details. I am sure that you will consider the proposed arrangement as in every way desirable."⁸⁸

Quite impossible achievements were anticipated of this new British-Confederate navy. Slidell even predicted that if the ships

⁸² Apr. 5, 1863.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ April 13, 1863.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Apr. 22, 1863.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Apr. 27, 1863.

once got to sea, "we can open the Mississippi and retake New Orleans".⁸⁹

In May, 1863, interest shifted from blockade-runners and Confederate cruisers back to the loan. Spence, the British agent for its flotation, was pessimistic, and rumors, which Slidell believed to be without foundation, concerning negotiations for a second loan, were injuring the confidence of "the City" in the first loan. On his own responsibility, Slidell denied that such a loan was in contemplation, but he had an uneasy suspicion that after all it might be. His anxiety was increased by an entire lack of confidence in Spence. "I am obliged to confess that I have no faith in Mr. S.'s judgment or business qualities, and am almost equally sceptical about his fair dealing or disinterestedness."⁹⁰

From Spence himself, who claimed to have specific authorization from the Confederate Treasury for the negotiation of this new loan. Slidell demanded to see the instructions.⁹¹ The reply was evasive. Spence spoke of rumor only, mentioned Oppenheim and Co. as the probable bankers, indicated \$100,000,000 in six per cent. bonds as the proposed sum, recounted his own efforts in the *Times* to bolster confidence in the cotton loan, admitted that this would be fatally jeopardized by such an issue as they were discussing, and concluded evasively without any reference to the supposed instructions, that "it is now better to wrap this matter entirely in oblivion for the present", taking especial care to keep it a secret from Erlanger and Co., who might, in an effort to extricate themselves from the cotton loan, only embarrass it further.⁹²

This reply was far from satisfactory to Slidell. He not only noted its spirit of evasion, but objected to its assumption of authority in the expenditure as well as in the flotation of the loan. To Mason he wrote that "Spence appears to consider that the powers of Secy. of Navy as well as of Treasury are vested in him. I am getting heartily tired of his meddling."⁹³

The consolation of Slidell's mission was that, although something or other was going wrong nearly all the time, not everything did so at once. In the same month of his anxiety over Spence and the loans, developments in Mexico freed Napoleon's hands, and augured well for a policy of intervention. "I am to have an audience with the Emperor on Friday," wrote Slidell, "from which I hope good

⁸⁹ May 6, 1863.

⁹⁰ May 8, 1863.

⁹¹ May 10, 1863.

⁹² Spence to Slidell, May 11, 1863.

⁹³ May 15, 1863.

results, as the recent successes in Mexico leave him freer to act than he was before. In the meanwhile [and here Slidell shows an attention to preparation and detail which marks the conscientious diplomat] pray endeavor to ascertain what will be the probable result of Mr. Roebuck's motion on the thirtieth and let me know. The motion will in all probability be alluded to by the Emperor."⁹⁴ But the interview came and passed, with intervention still a dream of the future, and Slidell thought it best to await the outcome of the French elections before making his next move.⁹⁵

In June, 1863, while Lee was gathering his army for the mighty push towards Gettysburg, Slidell was quietly working on the shipping problem. He favored selling a certain vessel to Russia, in order to be in funds for the building of two others of a more suitable type, and he declared mysteriously that "Another advantage would result from the sale to Russia. it would give increased facilities to another operation you wot of."⁹⁶

In the more conventional field of his negotiations he faced the old issue of procrastination. Napoleon's attitude of friendliness toward the Confederacy remained unchanged, but so did his disposition not to act without England. With a view to securing this co-operation, however, he had once more, June 22, sounded Palmerston, the emperor himself writing a note to his minister at London Baron Gros, in which he used the words, "*je me demande s'il ne serait bien d'arrestar Lord Palmerston que je suis décidé à reconnaître le Sud*".⁹⁷ Slidell learned this through his confidential friend at the Foreign Office, and he allowed himself an exultation keener than any he had known since first he learned of Napoleon's friendly sentiments, keener, it may be added, than his previous disappointments should have countenanced. In his exuberance he wrote to Mason that

This is by far the most significant thing that the Emperor has said either to me or to others—it renders me comparatively indifferent what England may do or omit doing.

At all events, let Mr. Roebuck press his motion and make his statement of the Emperor's declarations. Lord Palmerston will not dare to dispute [and] the responsibility of the continuance of the war will rest entirely with him.⁹⁸

Again everything led only to disappointment. Mr. Roebuck presented a motion which indicated no cognizance of the emperor's

⁹⁴ Another letter of the same date.

⁹⁵ May 23, 1863.

⁹⁶ June 26, 1863.

⁹⁷ June 29, 1863.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

intentions. But Slidell was disposed to acquit the emperor of any blame. "I am satisfied," he wrote Mason, "that he has kept his promise with good faith. Either the Minister of Foreign Affairs or Baron Gros or both have failed to carry out his instructions or Messrs. Russell and Layard have asserted what was false. *Perhaps* Lord Palmerston may have recd. the communication and failed to inform their [*sic*] colleagues of the fact. I hope that this may prove to be the fact."⁹⁹

Gettysburg and the prospect of French intervention failed together. The high-water mark, both on the battlefield and in the field of diplomacy, had been reached. From that time on, the history of the Confederacy was that of a decline and fall. Nor was it otherwise with the Slidell mission. Occasional gleams of hope illuminated the monotony of disappointment. But the realist could see only final despair. The true barometer of foreign aspirations lay in England. By September, Slidell was as gloomy over the lukewarm aid of friends as over the avowed antagonism of enemies. "Sir James Ferguson and Mr. Gregory in the debate on Roebuck's motion seemed to be as indisposed to recognize us as Russell and Bright. They give us fair words it is true, but beyond these we have nothing to expect of them."¹⁰⁰

For such satisfaction as was to be gleaned, one was obliged to turn to social rather than to diplomatic life. In the *beau monde*, the Slidells were conspicuous. Slidell pictures their life at Paris with a justifiable pride at the position of his wife and family.

My family and I have been twice to the receptions of the Empress. She received Mrs. S. and the girls most graciously. At these parties men are not presented to her but at her request. On both occasions she sent for me. on the first she talked with me for more than 20 minutes. She is perfectly well posted about our affairs, and understands the question in all its bearings thoroughly. At my second visit she conversed probably 10 or 12 minutes and was very particular in inquiring about the siege of Charleston.

She sympathises most warmly with our cause and so expresses herself without any reserve. I mention these facts because the Empress is supposed, I believe with truth, to exercise considerable influence in public affairs. . . . I forgot to mention that the Emperor at the second reception of the Empress was present—he came to me and shook hands and conversed very cordially for several minutes.¹⁰¹

The correspondence with Mason apparently ceased in September, 1863, for the remainder of the year, so that Slidell's views upon the course of affairs in the autumn and winter are not available from

⁹⁹ July 9, 1863.

¹⁰⁰ Sept. 16, 1863.

¹⁰¹ Biarritz, Sept. 16, 1863.

this source. It is not difficult to imagine, however, that the round of diplomatic calls continued to be engrossing, nerve-destroying, and fruitless, while in the world of society, the fascination of Paris brought the Slidells more and more under its spell. Certainly the busy record of the first two years leads one to believe that Slidell continued at his task, indefatigable and urbane, ready for every opportunity to advance the cause nearest his heart.

Communication, at any rate as far as the files are now preserved, was renewed in March, 1864. Slidell discusses with Mason some details of the naval war,¹⁰² puts him on his guard against Fortunatus Crosby, formerly a consul at Geneva, now posing as a friend of the South, but more probably an emissary in the pay of Seward,¹⁰³ and denies the rumor that French intervention is imminent. He reports a very friendly interview with M. Drouyn de Lhuys in which the latter expressed his Southern sympathies with more than usual warmth, and intimated that Lord Palmerston also was full of admiration for the Confederacy and confident of its ability to maintain itself, information to this effect having come to the Foreign Office through a Frenchman high in the confidence of the emperor, who had been honored with a recent interview with the British premier.¹⁰⁴ Drouyn apparently did not feel entire confidence in the correctness of these statements, inasmuch as he urged Slidell himself to ascertain Lord Palmerston's intentions, a not very easy task, to be sure, but one which Slidell attempted to carry out through the assistance of Colonel Mann, in the supposed absence of Mr. Mason from London.¹⁰⁵

Judging, however, from the course which the government actually pursued, the real views of M. Drouyn de Lhuys were far removed from those which he expressed to Slidell. To one of his colleagues he declared that the supposed renewal of negotiations between France and England tending toward a recognition of the Confederacy was "absolutely without foundation".¹⁰⁶ It was true that France and possibly Lord Palmerston also took a friendly attitude toward the Confederacy, but the time to manifest this was by no means opportune, more especially as Napoleon was as determined as ever not to act alone.¹⁰⁷

Contradictions like these of Drouyn de Lhuys were becoming

¹⁰² Mar. 6, 1864.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Mar. 9, 1864.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Mar. 13, 1864.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

familiar to Slidell, but in the present instance there was the added chagrin of the failure to secure a promised interview with the Archduke Maximilian, who was on the point of leaving for Mexico. Slidell's comment on this is bitter.

I have reason to believe that in declining to see me, he followed the advice of the Emperor influenced by Mercier saying that Lincoln had assured him that the Imperial government in Mexico would be recognised at Washington provided no negotiations were entered into with the Confederacy.

All this is very disgusting and I find it very difficult to keep my temper amidst all this double dealing. . . . This is a rascally world and it is most hard to say who can be trusted.¹⁰⁸

Pious lamentations upon the world's duplicity did not prevent Slidell from contributing his mite toward the sum total thereof. Unable to see Maximilian directly, he worked upon the sympathies of General Wold, his aide-de-camp, and the only Frenchman in his suite, therefore the most likely of all to present the Confederate cause in a favorable light to the emperor. "I have talked to him very freely," writes Slidell, "as to the consequences that will result from a refusal to be on good terms with the Confederacy. He agrees with me fully and will have ample opportunity of impressing his views on the Archduke during the passage to Vera Cruz."¹⁰⁹

These subterranean methods made the £500 received in June, 1864, for secret-service account a welcome addition to the \$1500 allowance for a contingent fund.¹¹⁰ Perhaps it oiled an occasional cog at the Foreign Office and procured for him such gossip as "that the British Government has made definite overtures of energetic measures to curb the German governments and that they are favorably listened to here—my informant would not be surprised at a general European war this summer. he is very reliable. I give you this for what it is worth."¹¹¹

The war had now dragged on into mid-1864. Its outcome was more and more dubious. The advantages which an early recognition by Europe might have won for the Confederacy were already forfeited. In Slidell's words,

the time has now arrived when it is comparatively of very little importance what Queen or Emperor may say or think about us. A plague I say on both your houses. I have an autograph letter of the Emperor to a friend, saying that he *had* given an order to let the *Rappahannock* go

¹⁰⁸ Mar. 13, 1864.

¹⁰⁹ Mar. 22, 1864.

¹¹⁰ June 9, 1864.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

to sea. the letter is dated 7 inst. and yet the permission is still withheld by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.¹¹²

In default of material aid from France and Great Britain, Slidell was skeptical of the advantages to be derived from the moral aid of the Papacy. Thus, in December, 1864, when Sherman was well on his way to the sea, Slidell opposed the publication of a letter from Cardinal Antonelli, the papal secretary of state,

as it was much less decided in its tone than the Pope's letter to the President of Decr. 63. . . . Mr. Mann does not agree with me in opinion. he thinks the publication of Antonelli's note desirable. I am never very tenacious of my opinions unless in matters of very grave importance and this is not of that category.

Pray let me know what you think. if you agree with me I will write to Mann that I do not object to publishing the letter in Belgium but that I would rather that it should not appear in the London or the Paris papers.¹¹³

Mason sided with Mann, and Slidell yielded to their judgment.

In Slidell's mission, as in the affairs of the Confederacy at home, 1864 was a year of reverses. Less is heard of even the possibility of intervention. A possible break-up of the blockade is not once mentioned. Comments upon naval construction and the interpretation of the law of prizes¹¹⁴ are pessimistic. Even in Mexico, where a ray of hope might be said to gleam, failure to establish a direct contact with Maximilian was disappointing. Such a weight of despair the polite nothings of Drouyn de Lhuys, the imaginary favor of Palmerston, and the conventional benedictions of Antonelli were by no means adequate to counterbalance. The hopes of the Confederacy were sinking.

Early in the new year came rumors of peace which to Slidell at first appeared incredible.

I am completely bewildered about the peace rumors¹¹⁵ [he wrote]. I attached no importance to them until the news of Blair's return to Richmond. This indeed looks as if some serious negotiation were on foot, and yet I cannot conceive on what it can be based. From what point of departure can it commence? Our affairs have never appeared to be in a worse condition and it is difficult to imagine that Lincoln would now entertain the idea of separation which he has so long and so studiously rejected.

On the other hand, I cannot permit myself for a moment to suppose that President Davis would listen to any terms of which independence was not the indispensable preliminary condition. I have endeavored to get some information here but without success. are you better posted

¹¹² July 17, 1864.

¹¹³ Dec. 16, 1864.

¹¹⁴ See a letter of Dec. 18, 1864.

¹¹⁵ Feb. 3, 1865.

than I? I have not written you for a long while, but I have had nothing to communicate and there has been little in the news from home to invite comment.¹¹⁶

But until peace became an actuality, Slidell's mission went on in its accustomed rut. Lord Russell continued to be the *bête noir*;¹¹⁷ Mason continued to receive advice on the proper approaches to Lord Palmerston in the light of developments at Paris;¹¹⁸ and agreeable but fruitless sessions with the emperor, his cabinet, and intimate friends, continued to absorb the time of Slidell.¹¹⁹ An interview with Napoleon on March 5, 1865, brought him no nearer the goal than their first colloquy at Vichy in 1862. "My interview with the Emperor resulted as I supposed it would. He is willing and anxious to act with England but will not move without her."¹²⁰ And England had rejected his overtures too often to warrant the expectation that she would ever heed them. In fact, in the judgment of Napoleon, it was useless for Mason himself to press the issue further, until Beauregard should prove his ability to stop the northward progress of Sherman's army. This notwithstanding the fact that in other matters England was manifesting a disposition increasingly conciliatory toward Napoleon.¹²¹

Mason, it appears, had doubted the fact of the overtures to which Napoleon had alluded, for Slidell took occasion to remind him of Lord Palmerston's "implicit admission" to that effect.¹²² It was in their last interchange of letters before Appomattox. A curious blindness to events and their significance obscured from Mason even the finality involved in Lee's surrender. He continued to hope against hope. The more practical mind of Slidell grasped the issue in its fullest bearings. His letter to Mason of April 26, 1865, is the swan-song of their mission.¹²³

My dear Sir.

I cannot share your hopefulness. we have seen the beginning of the end. I for my part am prepared for the worst. With Lee's surrender there will soon be an end of our regularly organised armies and I can see no possible good to come from a protracted guerilla warfare. We are crushed and must submit to the yoke. our children must bide their time for vengeance, but you and I will never revisit our homes under

¹¹⁶ Feb. 3, 1865.

¹¹⁷ Feb. 14, 1865.

¹¹⁸ Mar. 5, 1865.

¹¹⁹ Mar. 5, 6, 1865.

¹²⁰ Mar. 6, 1865.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Mar. 22, 1865.

¹²³ Apr. 26, 1865.

our glorious flag. For myself I shall never put my foot on a soil over which flaunts the hated stars and stripes.

I went yesterday to the Foreign Affairs but Mr. C. had already left his office. I have sent Eustis [his secretary of legation] to make the inquiries you desired and shall keep my letter open to give you the result—but before you receive this you will probably have another steamers news with Lincoln's program of pacification and reconstruction. I am sick, sick at heart.

Yours faithfully

JOHN SLIDELL.

Slidell's comments upon the assassination of Lincoln are not preserved in the files of his correspondence with Mason. But in the accession of Andrew Johnson he foresaw mischief. To Mason's suggestion that there were elements in the situation promising a new lease of life for the Confederacy, Slidell replied without enthusiasm. "I confess I can see no grounds for the hopes you entertain unless some drunken outbreak of Andy Johnson should induce Grant to take possession of the government and thus produce a civil war in the North. A few months, however, perhaps a few weeks, will decide which of us is right."¹²⁴

The personal fortunes of Slidell declined with the cause for which he labored. The capture of New Orleans, followed by the confiscation of his property by the Union authorities, cut off his chief source of private income. He was obliged at that time to discontinue an annuity of \$600, previously paid to a maiden sister, and for his own wants to depend upon his salary as a commissioner. With the war at an end, this also terminated, though all arrears in salary were made good to him and Mason from a small unexpended balance of Confederate funds still in the hands of Fraser, Trenholm and Co., fiscal agents for the defunct government. Slidell accordingly gave up his expensive apartment and economized in various other ways. "I little thought," he wrote Mason, "when we left the Confederacy that the time could arrive when I should be compelled to make these calculations, but so it is and I trust that I bear the change with a considerable degree of philosophy."¹²⁵ That he was in some straits is clear enough from his decision to sell his library.¹²⁶ Yet his desire to realize upon all available assets proceeded not so much from immediate want as from a conviction that no more funds would ever be forthcoming from America. "We [Mr. Mason and I] are peculiarly situated," he reminded an English correspondent, "as we can have no expectation of ever returning

¹²⁴ May 1, 1865.

¹²⁵ May 29, 1865.

¹²⁶ July 26, 1865.

to our homes or recovering any of our property (our children may some day or other save something from the general wreck), for even if we were disposed to apply for grace, I cannot stomach the word pardon, no amnesty would be extended to us, certainly neither to Mr. Mason nor to me. Mr. Mann might possibly have some chance of being forgiven, but I have no idea he will make the experiment."¹²⁷

There can be no doubt of Slidell's sincerity in desiring never again to set foot on American soil, but the interests of his children in the confiscated estates which he had meanwhile deeded to them caused him to humble his pride to the extent of applying to President Johnson in August, 1866, for permission to visit New Orleans. The communication was forwarded through the courtesy of John Bigelow, who had been Union chargé d'affaires at Paris throughout the war. Slidell is mindful of the dignity of the cause which he had represented, but with his usual perception of facts he does not disguise that he must now be the suppliant. The letter is notable.¹²⁸

Mr. President.

I have for the last year been desirous to return, at least for a limited period, to the State of Louisiana, but have deferred asking permission to do so, believing that the policy which you intended to pursue towards persons situated as I am, had not yet been decided on by you, or if decided, that the time had not arrived for promulgating it. The condition of the world would now seem to authorise the hope that the day is not distant when that reserve will no longer be considered necessary.

My antecedents are known to you, and it would be worse than useless [to] trespass on your valuable time to recur more particularly to them. It may not however be improper for me to say, that since the month of May '65, I have without intruding my counsels on any one, invariably advised such *ci-devant* Confederates returning to their former homes as have thought fit to ask my opinion, to accept frankly the issue of the past struggle with all its legitimate consequences, the first of which I consider to be an unreserved submission to the authority of the government of the United States. With this brief explanation, I solicit permission to visit the State of Louisiana and respectfully ask to be informed on what conditions, if on any, I may be allowed to do so.

I have the honor to be with great respect

Your Mt. Obedt. Sr.

JOHN SLIDELL.

To the President of the United States,
Washington.

I have thought it proper to send this letter unsealed through the Legation of the United States at Paris.

Four months having passed without reply, Slidell concluded that

¹²⁷ July 26, 1865.

¹²⁸ Aug. 6, 1866. Quoted in a letter to Mason, Oct. 7, 1866.

none was intended. He wrote an account of the whole episode to Mason, emphasizing that the proposed visit was solely in his children's interest, and reiterating his determination not to apply for a special pardon, though admitting his willingness to take advantage of any general pardon which might cover his case without the imposition of humiliating conditions.

For instance [he declared], I would not object to pledge myself to do no act hostile to the government of the U. S. for without any such pledge, I should discourage any attempt for a renewed movement, satisfied that our people have been too dreadfully crippled to make one successfully for many years. Nothing would induce me ever to become a citizen of the U. S. nor will any of my children, I trust, ever establish themselves there. Indeed could I return tomorrow to Louisiana, be elected by acclamation to the Senate and received without contradiction at Washington, I would shrink with disgust from any association with those who now pollute the Capitol.

One word of explanation—my declaration about advice given to Confederates returning to their homes is strictly correct, but I have never advised any so to return, who were not absolutely without means to reside abroad or the necessary qualities and connections to enable them to support themselves decently elsewhere, nor had leave been given to me to visit Louisiana would I have accepted it coupled with any other condition than a parole of honor to do nothing hostile to the government.¹²⁹

Nevertheless when Mason found in 1869 that he was one of those who would be better off at home in Virginia, Slidell approved the move, and admitted that in similar circumstances he would have done the same.¹³⁰

But having one daughter married in France and Mrs. Slidell with the two others having become not only accustomed to but satisfied with Parisian life—having no interest which could be advanced by my presence in America—feeling that I could not possibly render any service to any one or any cause at home, I have made up my mind to let the remainder of my days, in the course of nature it cannot be a long one, glide away quietly in Paris. There is no great hardship in this, for there is no spot on earth where the “*dolce far niente*” can be more fully enjoyed.¹³¹

He goes on to say that his son Alfred is leaving next day for New York to enter the bond business, and to acquire residence and citizenship as a step toward the prolonged litigation which would be involved in a recovery of the confiscated property in Louisiana. Thus reconstruction was weaving even so torn and shattered a thread as the Slidells into the woof of a new nation, and the mission

¹²⁹ Oct. 7, 1866.

¹³⁰ Nov. 3, 1869.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

of the emissary of Confederacy and disunion had come to its philosophical as well as its technical end.

In the fullness of reconstruction, scarcely begun in 1869, but a reality in 1920, it is fair to include Slidell in the calendar of distinguished American diplomats. Destiny called him to serve a section rather than a nation, at a time when the whole had lost all meaning to some of its parts. Yet Time with its healing touch has removed most of the agony of the period, leaving the outstanding figures of an heroic age to claim the homage of their countrymen, North and South. Among these, Slidell, always at his post of duty, moving heaven and earth to win friends for his cause, resolute to the end, and undaunted by its consequences, merits a place as one of the great Americans who, like Franklin, have pleaded an American issue before the bar of world opinion.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

A CAUTION REGARDING MILITARY DOCUMENTS

IN view of the interest in the study of military history evidenced by floods of divisional or regimental histories and more pretentious accounts of American military operations it may be timely to suggest to the historical student certain characteristics of military documents that necessitate the application to them of the most careful critique. Indeed, when the official character of a military document is established, the task of the student is only begun. He has further to learn the circumstances under which the document was produced; he has to estimate the character and reliability of the information on which it was based, the possible motives of its framers for concealment or modification of the truth as they knew it. He has further to consider whether the application of a critique in the framing of his document may not have made a secondary account of what purports to be a source. All these inquiries, it is true, have normally to be made with respect to any documents; for military documents, they must be most searching.

An illustration will make this apparent. The documents from which we would seek to learn the position of the front line held by a unit on a given day would be a body of reports, probably those from corps or division to higher authority. These reports would be based on reports from brigades, the brigade reports on regimental reports, regimental reports on battalion reports, battalion reports on company reports, company reports on platoon reports. The platoon commander, as the original source of information, perhaps in fading daylight or early dawn, perhaps in a dense forest where no landmarks are available, possibly subject to a stinging fire if he climbs a knoll to look about him, must determine his position as best he may. This done, perhaps with a very hazy knowledge of map reading, he sends back what he guesses are the map coordinates of his position. If, as may easily happen, neither he nor his company commander has been able to look at a map for more than five minutes, he sends a rough position sketch only. His company commander, battalion commander, regimental commander, each corrects the data in the light of what seems to him more authentic information. Each may use reports of scout officers, reports from officers who have been

part way up to the front, reports more or less confused by officers and men who have come back wounded; possibly a calculus of probabilities based on the report of some neighboring unit that it occupies such and such map coordinates and is ahead of, or abreast of, his own. If runner or phone communication is uncertain he is most likely to use the supplementary information indicated rather than attempt to verify the original report. Accordingly a document that at first sight appears to be a source may well be a source plus a critique, the value of which depends on the skill or information of the officers who have applied it.

That such critiques may be extremely inaccurate in their results any officer can testify who knows the degree of exact information normally in possession of rear posts of command during an engagement. Despite all protests a unit is ordered to occupy a given trench, being assured it is vacant. It obeys orders and pays in casualties for the knowledge that the information on which the order was based was, to speak mildly, inaccurate. Information reaches a unit that men in a given position are Americans when the men commanding the unit are morally certain the men in question are enemies, as later experience proves. Within the writer's own experience is an order to an officer in charge of combat train based on the supposition that the American troops had taken Fismes, and Fismettes, its suburb north of the Vesle, and that he would find his commanding officer in Fismettes, the enemy supposedly being fast retiring on all sides. In fact, the officer was held up on the road some five miles from his objective by heavy enemy fire and on parking the train in safety and exploring for his unit found it not a quarter of a mile away from his train-park but very far from the position he had been assured it occupied.

Furthermore, the student of military operations must remember that a document is not always compiled under the circumstances in which it purports to be. Documents prescribed by army regulations to be compiled from day to day and supposedly a contemporary record of events may be, and often are, in reality, compiled months after the events, often by people who have had no part in them. A typical case is the war diary prescribed to be kept on campaigns by battalions and larger units and containing a brief account of operations, positions held, etc. At first sight, such a document might seem a contemporary record. In one case that came under the writer's observation, and in many of which he has heard, such diaries have been compiled months at a time by adjutants and sergeant-majors with no personal experience in the events and from miscellaneous

information, adjustments, and guess work. Here again, what seems to be a pure source is in reality one with much added critique.

To a less degree, the same applies to orders, to training orders, and to drill schedules especially. In many instances such documents are compiled for the benefit of higher authority as much as for guides to performance. They are subject to interruption, to being practically disregarded by officers in command of troops with a tacit connivance of superiors, etc. Often they may represent in but a small degree the actual training that a unit receives.

Understanding of the degree of reliability attaching to military documents is common property among the more intelligent officers and men. Even in popular regimental and divisional histories that have recently appeared, the authors, though not trained historians, often instinctively control documentary information by information received from participants while the events were still fresh in mind. The trained historian likewise must bear in mind that the military document is often a meaningless formulary, or, worse still, has an interpretation written into it. To comprehend the formula, or to separate source and interpretation, he has no better recourse than to the narrative of the eye-witness whether in diary or letter written while the facts were fresh in mind and when hasty first impressions had been corrected in the light of fuller information. In such narratives personal bias is more easily detected than in impersonally couched official reports; and where the use of several such narratives is possible the personal element may be in great measure eliminated. Such material of course cannot supersede the document; at best it can but assist in the divesting of the source from the interpretation or give warning that the document is so corrupted or so remote from the actual occurrences it purports to describe that it should be altogether rejected.

THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.

DOCUMENTS

General M. C. Meigs on the Conduct of the Civil War

WHEN President Lincoln was inaugurated, Montgomery C. Meigs (1816-1892), who had been graduated from West Point in 1836, was a captain in the corps of engineers in the United States army. For several years he had been occupied with the construction of public works in and near Washington—chiefly the Potomac aqueduct and the enlargement of the Capitol. On May 14, 1861, he was commissioned as a colonel. On May 15 he was commissioned as a brigadier-general and appointed quartermaster-general of the army, which position he occupied throughout the Civil War and until his retirement from the army in 1882. In 1887 or 1888 he was invited by the editor of the *Century's* war book, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, to write an account of the relations of Lincoln and Seward to the military commanders, the argument being that Meigs was in a position to make an authoritative reply to the charges made on that subject by General McClellan in the posthumous book, *McClellan's Own Story*, then recently published. The general "was not a literary person and had no taste for writing except of official reports of work done", but he wrote the article and sent it in (1888). It was never printed. Col. J. R. M. Taylor, U. S. A., a grandson of its author, has kindly placed a copy of it at the disposal of this journal. The original is in the possession of the general's younger brother, S. Emlen Meigs, of Philadelphia.

Though the *Century* editor doubtless had his reasons for not printing the contribution, which in truth lacks form, it has in 1920 a distinct value for the student of civil war history, as presenting the opinions of a capable observer whose position had given him special opportunities for knowledge. General Meigs also contributes interesting testimony as to several particular transactions. The two episodes having most interest, of those which he mentions, are, first, the expedition which he and Secretary Seward, in the anxious closing days of March, 1861, devised for the reinforcement of Fort Pickens, Pensacola, and, secondly, the councils held at the White House in January, 1862, in the endeavor to obtain some action from McClellan.

It so happened that, soon after this manuscript was presented to

the *Review*, descendants of General Meigs gave to the Library of Congress a large number of volumes of diaries and other records from his hand, and it was natural to seek in them for further light, from his point of view, on the two transactions named. What was found is presented as sections II. and III. of the ensuing documents. The material respecting the Fort Pickens episode appears in shorthand in a thick quarto volume containing journal-matter, newspaper clippings, and photographs, of 1860 and 1861. Most of the shorthand matter relating to the origin of that expedition has already been transliterated, and used by Nicolay and Hay in their life of Lincoln, in which (III. 430-441, IV. 1-7) is the best account of the affair. The secretary of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has kindly revised the transliteration and completed it to the end of Meigs's stay at Fort Pickens, but only the earlier part is used here.

The planning and execution of the Fort Pickens expedition still remain an astonishing transaction—an expedition planned and carried out by the President and the Secretary of State (amateur strategists in March, 1861, if ever there were such), with the aid of a captain of engineers and a lieutenant in the navy, all in such secrecy that neither the Secretary of War nor the Secretary of the Navy knew anything of the preparations, and important plans of the latter, which had received the President's approval, were wrecked by conflicting secret orders of the President himself! We already have accounts of the affair by two of the chief participants, one by Gen. Erasmus D. Keyes, in his *Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events*, pp. 379-393, and a jaunty one by Admiral Porter in his *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War*, pp. 13-25. Crawford's account, in his *Genesis of the Civil War*, pp. 407-416, is based on information supplied by both Porter and Meigs and on Navy Department papers obtained by him in Secretary Robeson's time, and since published in the *Official Records, Navies*. The view which Welles not unnaturally took of the matter is set forth in his *Lincoln and Seward* (*Galaxy* articles), pp. 55-62. He gives further information in a narrative written some years after the events, prefixed to his *Diary* (I. 16-26, 38-39). The account in Soley's *Admiral Porter*, pp. 100-114, has advantages from the special knowledge of an assistant secretary of the navy. His predecessor Fox tells what he knew in letters written shortly after and recently published, *Confidential Correspondence*, I. 31-35, 40-45, and in a later narrative printed in *Contributions of the Old Residents' Historical Association, Lowell, Mass.*, II. 52-54. Moreover, Meigs himself gave a

guarded account of the matter in the *National Intelligencer* of September 16, 1865, called out by a *Tribune* editorial of September 12. But it is an advantage to have in full the contemporary private record of a principal participant in this extraordinary transaction.

On the momentous councils of January 10-13, 1862, respecting and with McClellan, we already have the statements of three of the principal participants. The fullest and most authoritative is that of McDowell, confirmed by Lincoln, in Raymond, *Life of Lincoln*, appendix, pp. 772-777. McClellan's account is in *McClellan's Own Story*, pp. 156-159. Secretary Chase's diary for January 12 is printed in Maunsell B. Field, *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women* (London, 1874), pp. 267-269. Meigs's account in the manuscript intended for the *Century* (I., *post*, pp. 292-293) adds a number of particulars and is much fuller than the entries (III., *post*) drawn from a little pocket diary for 1862; but the latter have seemed to be worth preserving.

I. THE RELATIONS OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND SECRETARY STANTON TO THE MILITARY COMMANDERS IN THE CIVIL WAR.

When the actual war began in the firing on Fort Sumter, probably the only expeditions determined on were those to reinforce Fort Pickins and to supply Fort Sumter.

The first originated with Mr. Seward and the President himself.¹ It was kept secret, its object and its composition communicated to the smallest number of persons consistent with its due preparation and dispatch; no member even of the Cabinet, except the Secretary of State, was made acquainted with the intention to send off such an expedition. Captain Meigs of the Corps of Engineers, and Lieut. Col. Keyes, Military Secretary to Gen'l Scott, were ordered by the President to prepare a scheme for this movement, to submit it with an unwritten message from Mr. Lincoln to Gen. Scott; and, after his approval, they were charged with the preparation of the necessary orders to be signed by the President.

Lieut. David Porter, U.S.N., at a later, but early period, was associated with them in preparing the instructions for the co-operation of a naval vessel to the command of which he was assigned by executive order signed by the President, but not made known to the Navy Department.

This careful secrecy was successful in so far that the destination of the Expedition remained unknown to friend or foe until the steamer Atlantic appeared off Fort Pickins.

The Sumter Expedition originated, I believe, in the mind of Gustavus Fox, an ex-officer of the Navy engaged in Civil pursuits, very highly esteemed by his former comrades, and, later, Assistant Secretary of the Navy to the end of the War.

I never knew, directly, with whom the other and later Coast expedi-

¹ See section II., *post*.

tions originated, but it is to be presumed that, in their long preparation, most officers of high position concerned in their dispatch and preparation, were more or less consulted or heard. General McClellan, no doubt, had his say in regard to them. They were the result of many men's thoughts,—they began in the attempt to organize a coast force for operations in the bays of Virginia and Maryland.

The propriety, as soon as the national forces grew strong enough, of shutting up the ports through which the adventurers of Europe hastened to introduce military supplies to the South was evident to all, and these expeditions followed the creation of a military power.

The President's approval and sanction was necessary to the raising of troops for them; to the engagement of transports; to the appointment by State Governors of the officers of the Volunteer regiments; and no secrecy was possible except perhaps as to the exact date of sailing and the exact period of landing.

Undoubtedly the Cabinet fully discussed all points of importance, and General McClellan must have been in the executive councils of the time. It is to be supposed that he had the military orders or instructions drawn up for final approval of the Executive,—the Commander-in-Chief.

Neither the President nor the Secretary of War had then the military experience,—probably neither of them knew the official routine or manner of framing and recording military orders and instructions at that early day of their official experience. Such matters would naturally be intrusted to the Commanding General.

Mr. Lincoln, as an officer of volunteers, had commanded a company of infantry in a short campaign during the Black-Hawk War. This could not have given him much military knowledge, but even that must have proved useful to him in the end.

General Scott, the senior and Commanding General of the Army, was in Washington at the inauguration of President Lincoln. He collected there a few troops to protect that inauguration. His military capacity had been proven on many fields and he had conducted great and successful campaigns in Mexico. He was held by the people of the United States to be the highest American authority on all military questions. Undoubtedly his advice was sought, obtained and relied upon by the President, Cabinet and advisors.

The circumstances, political and geographical, forced certain preliminary operations on the Government. We had seen how the importance of holding two forts on the Southern Coast induced earliest action by Mr. Lincoln, who dispatched military and naval expeditions in less than a month after his inauguration. The enemy collected forces in front of the Capital, and their sentries walked post at the Virginia ends of the three bridges which cross the Potomac. Their hostile sentries were daily in sight of the citizens of the Capital and of the legislators who remained true to their duties.

The loyal citizens of the southern border states,—Western Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, demanded protection. This compelled the gathering of troops along the Ohio, and at the confluence of that river with the Mississippi.

St. Louis, torn by hostile parties, called for troops to protect the loyal, and to prevent the resources of that rich and powerful city being seized by the disaffected of the city and state. Ohio hastened to the

assistance of the loyal of West Virginia; and, as early as April 31st 1861,² the Governor appointed McClellan Major General of Volunteers. On the 14th of May the President commissioned him Major General U. S. Army, with orders to disperse the rebel forces then over-running West Virginia.

General Scott gathered a strong force at Washington and in the Shenandoah Valley; and, early in July,³ a council was called in the East Room of the Executive Mansion at which were gathered the Members of the Government and the principle officers of the forces at hand. At this council General Scott opened the proceedings by stating that "Our forces had at length become considerable, and were now strong enough to justify some expeditions."

The composition of a corps to attempt to drive the enemy from his position at Manassas was then discussed; its proper proportion of infantry, cavalry and artillery settled. After some remarks by the General, apparently drawn out by the evident hesitation of officers so much his juniors in years and service, to utter opinions in the presence of one whom all looked up to as the great master of the art of war, he said he "desired their advice; that he felt the burden of many years, and it was not right to leave upon him, at his age, the whole weight of such a responsibility,—that younger men must soon take it up".

In the end, the question was freely considered,—the important details of the force settled; the action of Patterson's army near Winchester discussed, and General Scott distinctly assumed the responsibility of giving such instructions to Patterson as would occupy Johnson's⁴ troops, and prevent their coming to the battlefield in time to interfere with McDowell who was to command the advance on Manassas. He said,—"I assume the responsibility for having Johnson kept off McDowell's flank."

I think that so far as campaign plans go, this first campaign originated in Generals Scott and McDowell. Some such movement everybody looked for,—they prepared and executed it.

With new troops not in training for marching, the movement was slower than anticipated and Johnson escaped from Patterson who occupied his attention as he believed, during the time prescribed to him, and then fell back. The result was that Johnson fell fresh on McDowell's tired and exhausted troops and turned their victory, in the moment of triumph, into a severe defeat.

I understood that General Scott's general plan was to send a strong column down the Mississippi, with which the people of the Northwest,—even then powerful and growing rapidly, though none foresaw then the immense and wonderful increase in population, in production and in wealth, which we have lived to see in the twenty-seven years which have passed since the McDowell Campaign was ordered,—should break the barrier audaciously and impudently drawn across the Nation's path to the Sea.

This column was spoken of in Press and conversation as "Scott's Anaconda", which should crush the rebellion in its coils.

The expulsion of the enemy from West Virginia, as has been already

² Apr. 23. *McClellan's Own Story*, p. 41.

³ June 29. Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, IV. 322. Cf. McDowell's testimony as to this council, *Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War*, II. 35-37.

⁴ Johnston's.

said, fell to General McClellan with whom served General Rosserans.⁵ Both had been Engineer officers of high character. McClellan had gone through the Mexican War with Scott's column, but, while he acquired great reputation, he had command only of a company of Engineers with which he did good service in the siege of Vera Cruz, and in the battles attending the successful march to the City of Mexico. His further military experience was limited to a visit to the trenches at Sebastopol besieged by the French and British armies, and their auxiliaries. This was military experience, but in inferior command, and not such as developed great and successful generals; but the American of that generation surviving with age not too great, had no other; and on McDowell's defeat McClellan was, at the instance of Scott, fresh from his successes in West Virginia called to the command of all the Armies of the United States; Scott retiring in favor of the younger man.

I have always believed that Scott impressed upon the war its first general direction and scheme of operations; but the air was full of military opinions and plans of campaigns. The Press gave voice to their authors. Everybody's attention was turned to military affairs, and upon the retirement of General Scott, burdened with years, and infirmities which made it impossible for him to take the field, there were left no officers of the War of 1812, and few of the veterans of the Mexican War whose history recorded such services as to give much authority to their opinions. The nature of the country indicated the general lines of operations defensive and offensive, on both sides of the contest.

Troops collected at Charleston attracted the patriot naval and military forces to Port Royal and to Charleston Harbor. Savannah's Fort Pulaski was besieged and fell in due course. The troops of the Northwest collected at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, and there fell under the command of General Grant, whose active military experience had been acquired in command of a company in Mexico; not greater, therefore, than that of McClellan before described.

To command the Mississippi column, Halleck, also a former officer of Engineers, was made Major General and stationed at St. Louis. Grant at Cairo soon showed ability and initiative. He seized Paducah, an enterprise which had important results both military and political. He attacked Belmont with raw troops in inferior force; and, inflicting much damage on the enemy, withdrew successfully with prisoners and captured guns, and taught the Southwest not to rely upon the belief that one Southerner was the equal of five Yankees. He took Fort Henry after urgent request to Halleck to allow him to attempt it, and he took Fort Donaldson⁶ without permission, and captured 15,000 prisoners, and all this he did by the 16th of February 1862; when McClellan's first known plan of campaign for the Army of the Potomac was only two weeks old.

In these events is seen the gradual hardening into form of a plan of campaign extending over the whole country; its general features suggested themselves, doubtless, to many intelligent minds in civil as in military life, whose tastes inclined to such studies and speculations.

Schalk wrote in 1861, and printed in 1862, a summary of the Art of War in which a chapter on the war in America anticipated with great

⁵ Rosecrans.

⁶ Donelson.

success the operations of the armies, not in particular and exact detail, but in general terms such as justified his later work on the campaigns of 1862 and 1863.⁷

I do not believe therefore that any man has a just right to claim to be the author of all the plans of campaign finally executed,—neither Mr. Lincoln, nor Stanton, nor McClellan.

The initiation is due to Scott. He soon learned that he could not sit in a chair in Washington and personally command an army engaged in battle thirty miles distant, with safety to that army or to his own great and well won reputation; and soon after the Battle of Bull Run he voluntarily retired from public life, and left to McClellan, whom, upon his success in West Virginia, he had invited to Washington, the further conduct of the war.

General McClellan showed great ability in the organization and drilling of the Army of the Potomac. He fancied that in every night's telegraphic conversation with Halleck and other commanders he really devised and governed their movements; he grew to believe that he had great military capacity; he said one day, there were very few men who could command and manoeuvre 100,000 men but that he believed he could do this.

For want of better, the President yielded his own judgment, and allowed the line of the Chickahominy to become the line of operations of the Army of the Potomac. His letters, heretofore published, show that he did not approve it, and only consented to allow it.

The General was an Engineer, and sat down to another siege of Vera Cruz or of Sabastopol before Yorktown. He called upon the Navy to do his work for him. It seemed to become a habit with him to call upon others to undertake the hard end of the military campaigns. He wished the squadron of wooden ships to do what Sabastopol gave every reason to believe was impossible,—what he then learned, able, and aged chief of his old corps of Engineers, General Totten, had, in official public reports on the relations of ships and forts, repeatedly pronounced impossible; what the most powerful British squadron at Sabastopol had tried in vain. This call was not obeyed, and the Army was left to its own efforts.

The country was impatient. The President felt the pressure, and finally against his protest, he sent Burnside to relieve McClellan; but at Burnside's earnest plea, left with him discretion, after acquainting McClellan with the contents of the order in his pocket, not to deliver it, if any assurance of progress could, under this pressure, be obtained from him.

Burnside obtained such assurances as he thought justified him in not taking command of the Army on the Peninsula, and returned to the President and reported, leaving McClellan in command.

McClellan showed capacity to move an army of 100,000 men in the ordinary operations of a campaign, but not to guide them to victory except at Antietam, and that was a victory from which the beaten army escaped with the loss only of what it suffered on the battlefield. It was not such a victory as Napoleon had accustomed the world to demand

⁷ Emil Schalk, *Summary of the Art of War, written expressly for and dedicated to the U. S. Volunteer Army* (Philadelphia, 1862); *id. Campaigns of 1862 and 1863, illustrating the Principles of Strategy* (Philadelphia, 1863).

from its Generals, but it was an important one, and it put an end to the invasion of Pennsylvania, though it left the hostile army in condition to renew that invasion on the next opportunity.

McClellan seemed to have no sufficient appreciation of the fact that an American soldier costs his country \$1,000 a year, whether merely drilling, or engaged with the enemy. He seemed satisfied, with 200,000 men in his army, to rest quiet and drill and review them; to ride the picket line occasionally; but, when urged to move his troops to accomplish something, it was always some distant corps whose movements he suggested.

He seemed to show the disposition of which Marshall Marmont accuses most generals: "They", he says, "prepare for battle with intelligence and skill; but then hesitation commences." "A battle is such a chance medley, success depends on so many chances, that the General doubts and hesitates till the favorable moment is lost before he makes up his mind to give the word."

On Friday, January 10th, 1862, the President, in great distress, entered my office.⁸ He took a chair in front of the open fire and said, "General, what shall I do? The people are impatient; Chase has no money and he tells me he can raise no more; the General of the Army has typhoid fever. The bottom is out of the tub. What shall I do?"

I said, "If General McClellan has typhoid fever, that is an affair of six weeks at least; he will not be able sooner to command. In the meantime, if the enemy in our front is as strong as he believes, they may attack on any day, and I think you should see some of those upon whom in such case, or in case any forward movement becomes necessary, the control must fall. Send for them to meet you soon and consult with them; perhaps you may select the responsible commander for such an event."

The council was called.⁹ On Sunday, January 12th, McDowell and Franklin called on me with a summons to the White House for one P.M. These officers, and Messrs. Seward, Chase and Blair of the Cabinet attended. The President announced that he had called this meeting in consequence of the sickness of General McClellan, but he had that morning heard from him that he was better, and would be able to be present the next day; and that, on this promise, he adjourned the discussion for twenty four hours.

The next day, Jan. 13th, the same persons and General McClellan appeared at the rendezvous. The President opened the proceedings by making a statement of the cause of his calling the Council. Mr. Chase, and Mr. Blair, if memory is accurate, both spoke. All looked to McClellan, who sat still with his head hanging down, and mute. The situation grew awkward. The President spoke again a few words. One of the Generals said something; McClellan said something which evidently did not please the speaker, and again was mute.

I moved my chair to the side of McClellan's and urged him, saying, "The President evidently expects you to speak; can you not promise

⁸ The office of the quartermaster-general, moved that day to the Winder Building, still standing, at the corner of Seventeenth and F Streets in Washington. See the diary of this date, *post*, III.

⁹ There was such a meeting on Jan. 10, at which Meigs was not present. McDowell's statement in appendix to Raymond's *Lincoln*, pp. 772-774.

some movement towards Manassas? You are strong." He replied, "I cannot move on them with as great a force as they have." "Why, you have near 200,000 men, how many have they?" "Not less than 175,000 according to my advices." I said, "Do you think so?" and "the President expects something from you." He replied, "If I tell him my plans they will be in the New York Herald tomorrow morning. He can't keep a secret, he will tell them to Tadd." I said: "That is a pity, but he is the President,—the Commander-in-Chief; he has a right to know; it is not respectful to sit mute when he so clearly requires you to speak. He is superior to all."

After some further urging, McClellan moved, and seemed to prepare to speak. He declined to give his plans in detail, but thought it best to press the movement of Buell's troops in the central line of operation. After a few words that brought out nothing more, Mr. Lincoln said, "Well, on this assurance of the General that he will press the advance in Kentucky, I will be satisfied, and will adjourn this Council."

I did not discuss the affair with others, but it left on me the impression that McClellan would prefer to send forward any other troops than those under his present command. After the evacuation of Yorktown, he sent his army in pursuit, and remained at Yorktown to embark Franklin's corps.

Though the immediate results of this council was so meagre and unsatisfactory, it perhaps had a useful effect, for, on Feby. 3d, 1862, about two weeks later, McClellan wrote a letter proposing a plan of campaign for the active portion of the Army of the Potomac, which he wished to land at Urbana on the lower Rappahanock, and march in one day to West Point, where, crossing the Fork, he expected to reach Richmond in two marches and apparently to surprise that City and capture it before the Army at Manassas could interpose. But, though at this Council Mr. Lincoln yielded in despair to his wilful General, he, in "McClellan's Last Words",¹⁰ gives an account of the meeting with the assertion that it grew out of some intrigue of officers desirous of replacing him in the enjoyment of the honors of command.

It originated in his own typhoid fever and the President's distress at the lamentable condition in which that put all the affairs of defence and finance. The President may have consulted others than myself, but, if so, I never knew it. This history has given it exact.

Thus grew up the details of campaign operations. Four important letters have been made public. In the written and earnest declarations of their authors, Lincoln and Stanton, are positive proof that both the President and his great War Minister dealt faithfully, honorably, and patriotically with their subordinates.

The first is a letter of May 9th '62, dated at Fortress Monroe (See Appendix folio A) to General McClellan,¹¹ in which, with patience, with kindness, and with sincerity, he deals with objections to the establishing of Army Corps in the Army of the Potomac, then over 150,000 strong. He also gives him some good advice showing a knowledge of human nature in which the General seemed to be deficient.

The reference to the reports of threats of a dictatorship in the letter to Hooker (see Appendix, folio B)¹² are illustrated by a scene at Har-

¹⁰ Meaning, *McClellan's Own Story*; see pp. 157-158.

¹¹ Lincoln, *Works*, ed. Nicolay and Hay, II. 149.

¹² Lincoln to Hooker, Jan. 26, 1863. *Ibid.*, II. 306.

rison's Landing. I sat by a camp-fire near the tent in which Halleck consulted with McClellan, and a circle of officers of rank gathered around the fire in the twilight. Mutterings of a march on Washington to "clear out those fellows" were uttered, when Burnside moved into the circle opposite me and said aloud: "I don't know what you fellows call this talk, but I call it flat Treason, By God!"

"Come fellows, let's go," some one said, and the circle melted away without another word.

I spoke to Halleck of it as important as indicating a bad spirit in the Army, but he made light of it as only Camp-talk, which meant nothing. Probably this occurred also in other camps, and evidently it reached Mr. Lincoln's ears. The letter to Hooker accompanied a commission to command the Army of the Potomac after Burnside's defeat at Fredericksburg.

The third is Mr. Lincoln's letter to General Grant (see Appendix, folio C)¹³ on taking command of the whole of the army before entering on the Wilderness Campaign.

The fourth is the letter of Mr. Stanton to the Rev. Mr. Dyer (see Appendix, folio D)¹⁴ not made public till after the death of the writer, who preferred to suffer the obloquy cast upon him by McClellan's friends and partisans, to risking the least injury to the cause to which he as truly gave his life as did any soldier, who died in battle.

These are true letters, written from the heart. They express the true and honest feelings and policy of their authors and will, wherever read with impartial mind, satisfy the reader that no just accusation of treachery or bad faith can lie against their authors. My constant intercourse with both never left me a doubt or suspicion as to their intentions or their loyalty, to those intrusted by them with command. They asked for action, for progress, for victory; they sometimes were urgent, when patience failed under costly inaction,—when it became difficult to raise men and money, and to procure the supplies loudly demanded by those who failed to make effective use of them, but who well knew that without such costly and continuous supplies, the Armies they commanded must speedily dissolve and disperse. Commanders in such cases, were sometimes displaced, but never capriciously or without absolute necessity. Amongst other obvious reasons such changes were limited by the difficulty of finding better qualified successors. There were many brave officers available,—none with experience in war proving their ability to command such large bodies of troops. These had to be painfully sifted out from the mass of men of all ranks coming forward to serve their country.

Mr. Lincoln's letter to Hooker is a monument of patriotic self-abnegation, and that to Grant, perhaps too much sacrificing the just right and authority, and even the duty, of the Head of the Nation to have knowledge, and influence, in the course of the application and use of the enormous supplies of men and money entrusted by the Constitution and laws and by the devotion of the people, to the Commander-in-Chief. He could never free himself from his great responsibility.

These things and their direction were entrusted by the Nation to the Executive Head, and not to any of the Generals who were his creatures,

¹³ Lincoln to Grant, Apr. 30, 1864. *Works*, II. 517.

¹⁴ Stanton to Rev. Heman Dyer, May 18, 1862. *Gorham, Stanton*, I. 426-432.

made and unmade by his breath, and for whose capacity and conduct he bore the whole responsibility. They sometimes, in the intoxication of suddenly attained power, forgot their dependence upon the Executive. He was refused admittance to the bedside of one General when he knocked at the door, tormented with the cares and anxieties of his position. He, it was believed, was spoken of, as unable to keep the important secrets held in the breast of his creatures and their subordinate creations. A spectacle to make gods and men ashamed!

Had there been comrades or rivals of McClellan equally esteemed by the people, he had been earlier replaced. But his early and successful campaign in West Virginia had given him prestige and had borne him into command of the defeated Army of the Potomac, and later, of the whole Army of the People.

Why Mr. Lincoln endeavored to force McClellan to cross the Potomac after the Army had driven Lee across and into Virginia, and why he at the last sent Burnside to relieve him at Warrenton, perhaps no one fully knows. Letters of Mr. Lincoln on this movement, which appear to show that he had at that time pretty clear ideas of military principles, are in print. They urge greater rapidity of movement.

At length patience seems to have been exhausted and Burnside replaced him, and moved quietly to Fredericksburg. In due time he delivered his attack and failed. He behaved honorably about it, and stood ready to obey orders without murmuring or to give up the command, as might be thought best.

He was followed by Hooker, who with wonderful skill, reorganized a defeated and discouraged army, and infused into it a new and hopeful spirit; but who, after planning and conducting to apparent certain success, in the very hour of greatest hope and triumph, broke down disastrously and was the cause of dreadful defeat and loss. Lee moved round his right flank and he followed vigorously. Some differences arose during the march about the disposition of the garrison at Harpers Ferry and he asked to be relieved, if not permitted to carry out his wishes and views. The President took him at his word, and in the very crisis of a great movement, placed Meade in command. He had shown daring and initiative in the disastrous battle of Fredericksburg, where his division penetrated the hostile line of battle and, failing of expected support, was successfully and skillfully withdrawn. It was known that Hooker's habits before he reached such high command had been bad; his breakdown at Chancellorsville was ascribed by many to a relapse; by others to the shock of a ball which struck a post near him. It has never been settled what was the true cause, though he himself is alleged by an old friend to have, when questioned, replied that he was not drunk, but at the moment he had "lost confidence in Hooker."

Whatever the cause, no one can blame the President for accepting in such an extreme crisis, the opportunity afforded by the demand for relief from command of one who had shown that he could not be relied upon in a supreme moment to exercise in the highest degree the military talent he undoubtedly possessed when entirely in command of his faculties. The risk was too great, and the result of the battle impending, justified the choice of General Meade, who won a brilliant victory.

He was blamed for not risking more by following and attacking the defeated army. It is not here in order to discuss this question. No

great pursuit has followed any battle of this war. The country does not afford the paved roads and open fields over which European armies have fled; and, in a former age of short-range fire arms, Napoleon followed and dispersed defeated armies, and Bluecher followed Napoleon himself, when his army melted away at Waterloo. The nearest approach to such pursuit was that, I believe, of Early by Sheridan's mounted infantry and cavalry, which drove him without an army out of the Shenandoah Valley.

Much complaint has been made by McClellan and his friends about the retention of McDowell's troops when the former, against the judgement of the Executive, attempted to take Richmond by surprise. Published documents prove that he disobeyed the express command of the President, founded on the opinions of the officers commanding his corps d'armee, and on that of those left to be responsible for the safety of the Capital. The President did not then detach McDowell from his command, but required him to be moved direct towards Richmond, being kept in position, on any movement threatening the Capital, to defend it. McClellan protested loudly, asserted that McDowell coming upon his right would be useless to him,—while, if sent by water to his left, *i.e.* between him and the deep sea, he would be of the greatest value—that it was impossible for Lee to detach troops to threaten Washington while he was on the Peninsula. While he thus protested and showed that he was not competent to alter his plans to suit his orders, the country was shocked by telegrams announcing that detachments of Lee's army had attacked the Shenandoah troops under Banks, and, driving them in confusion across the Potomac, spread terror in Maryland, and doubt in Washington. Then, and not till then, did the President order McDowell to march to the Shenandoah and striking hands with Fremont west of Jackson, intercept him if possible and destroy his power for mischief. The movement failed of success, and Jackson, after doing infinite damage, escaped to do still more injury by joining Lee at Richmond, and, fresh from this double march through a country held by McClellan to be impracticable, striking, and doubling up his right flank and driving him to the James River. This movement was designated not a defeat, but a change of base. A euphonious amendment of title.

The Battle of Malvern Hills, a well fought defensive battle, showed that the troops kept up a better heart than their commander shows in his hysterical despatches, railing against those whose advice he had rejected, whose orders for the safety of the Capital he had disobeyed, and yet, who were the creators of his rank, command, and power for good or evil.

The argument of the withdrawal from the Peninsula has been repeatedly published. Both sides have debated it ad-nauseam. I, after reading the despatches of dreadful discouragement first received from Harrison's Landing, made up my mind that it would be necessary. Mr. Lincoln found out that this was the opinion at Washington and expressed great regret that such was the opinion. He waited, sent Halleck to McClellan who was demanding 100,000 reinforcements and great supplies and promising nothing definite, only a hope that he could do something from the new refuge under the naval guns which he denominated the "new base", as though it had been from the beginning his objective point. It is not worth while to renew this exhausted discus-

sion. The campaigns of the greatest soldier of the war with carteblanche from the Executive, occupied from the 4th of May to the middle of June in a bloody march to Richmond. After inflicting great damage upon his adversary and suffering a loss of 60,000 to himself, he reached the vicinity of Harrison's Landing in the middle of June, and, crossing the James, on April — '65,¹⁵ after 10 months from McClellan's refuge of a defeated army, Grant captured Richmond. It seems clear that McClellan, with a defeated army, could not have done better.

In his account of the council of Jan'y. 1862, he distinctly states that he declined, at the call of the President, to declare his plans then. His posthumous work of his "Own Story" contains his project under date Feby. 3d 1862, in reply to a letter of the President of same date, and in his account of the council held on Jan'y. 12th, he says that he had some weeks before, of his own volition, to comfort the Secretary of the Treasury troubled with financial operations by the uncertainty as to military operations, communicated to him his plans with which he was highly delighted.¹⁶ From another page,¹⁷ it appears that this was early in December, 1861, when his plans were sufficiently matured to make this possible. This, evidently from his letter of Feby. 3d, was the movement to Urbana, which, in execution, became the movement to Fortress Monroe.

It is not worth while to discuss the question whether he formulated, or had ever made known, plans for the campaigns of other armies. The Peninsula Campaign occupied so much of his military career, with its eventuality,—the operations arising in Lee's escape from the Army of McClellan, to the defeat at Antietam, that he had no opportunity to carry on other military operations. It may be proper here to say that so far as relates to the suspicion of the General that McDowell originated the council of January, it is improbable that he had any connection with the suggestion; and that of the secret examination into the condition of the Army which McClellan says had been entrusted to McDowell and Franklin by the President at that time, I never heard till I read with surprise his "Own Story". He speaks certainly of the part in it of McDowell and Franklin and thinks that Meigs was one of those thus entrusted. If so, I never knew it. I think it a delusion of a brain under typhoid fever, remembered in after years.

General McClellan's "Own Story", a posthumous publication but mostly from his own pen, reveals to the world his inner feelings and thoughts. It adds nothing to his glory. It shows that his mind made himself too much the centre of his plans and thoughts. It has been wittily described as a case of "posthumous *felo de se*".

Discontent with the President, with the Secretary of War, with Mr. Chase, suspicion of them, ingratitude to General Scott, suspicion of General McDowell, always a thoroughly patriotic officer, loyal and true,—appear throughout its pages. It is a pity for his fame that his weaknesses have thus by his friends been published to an unsympathising world.

General Pope had been active in the affairs of Island No. 10, in

¹⁵ Apr. 3. The meaning is that Richmond was occupied on that day, ten months after the crossing of the James.

¹⁶ *McClellan's Own Story*, pp. 229-236.

¹⁷ P. 203.

which Mr. Lincoln had taken great interest, requiring frequent telegraphic reports of progress in the casting and boring of the 13 inch sea coast mortars, the casting of their shells, the building of the huge solid timber rafts or floats, to carry them to their destination and to bear the shock of the discharge of their mortars. By the way, he afterwards said he had telegraphed for weeks several times a day and when all was over, he had never been able to learn that the bombardment had killed one hostile soldier.

After the evacuation of Corinth, Pope was active in pursuit. His reports as the press printed them, described great devastation and loss inflicted on the enemy as gathered from the waste and destruction seen on the routes by which they retired. The thousands of prisoners claimed in the printed accounts never reported at Halleck's headquarters, and later, Pope denied the authority of the despatches.¹⁸ But, he was then prominent, and was called to Washington and commissioned to command the scattered bodies of troops assembled for defense of Northern Virginia, and the Capital behind the Potomac; and to co-operate with the Army before Richmond. He was unable to prevent the march North of Lee, after McClellan was shut up at Harrison's Landing on the James, and, while McClellan was protesting that Lee could not move to threaten Washington so long as he was near Richmond, Pope was driven back, and it became necessary to hasten the slow transfer of the Army of the Potomac to save the Capital and Pope's army threatened, and defeated with great loss; while the daring enemy crossed the Potomac and invaded Pennsylvania.

I know nothing of the conception of Halleck's Corinth Campaign. I think the collection of a strong force at this point attracted Halleck's troops to the attempt to disperse them. An enemy has much to do with the determination of military movements. I once heard Halleck say to the President, "Mr. President you will remember that you directed me to take Corinth; early, if practicable, but in any case not to fail to take Corinth, and I did take it, Mr. President."

I do not think that Mr. Lincoln interfered in any important degree with General Halleck. They were in momentary telegraphic communication, and no doubt conferred frequently, even constantly.

When the Army of the Potomac carried on its rolls 200,000 men they cost the people, whether idle or employed, \$200,000,000 a year. This was not the only army. This was the ordinary rate of expenditure or cost per man of the American Army. And this without the enormous cost of steam transports waiting on them. The annual revenue and expenditure of the United States for all purposes in the year 1860, did not exceed \$60,000,000. The Executive looked of course with apprehension at such expenditures with no positive results which could be used to encourage the people to provide the money,—unorganized as was business, manufactures, and finances, for such burdens, with a cost of \$600,000 a day he was anxious that McClellan's army should show progress. This consideration did not seem to affect McClellan.

I doubt that in any other state or country could the Chief of the State and his Ministers of War have submitted to what Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton bore. Stanton hoped great things from McClellan and received him cordially. The "Own Story" accuses him of treachery, it makes

¹⁸ See Force, *From Fort Henry to Corinth*, pp. 190-191.

the same vile accusation against General Scott, and it attempts to argue that the Administration did not wish the Army of the Potomac to succeed. Its pages, however, bear witness to the gradual and slow destruction of the hope and confidence at first given.

Many military names from this War will live in History but Lincoln's and Stanton's will outlast all but Grant's. These three are the great men of the War. I knew them all during its course. They differed in talents and in temperament, and in manner. Lincoln was easily first; Grant and Stanton occupied the second place. I will not attempt to say which should be the first of those two. But, all won my regard and such reverence as I have felt called on to give to no other men in the course of a long life in which I have shaken hands with every President since Adams,¹⁹ that is, with 16 of the 21 men who have held that high office.

Between Lincoln, Stanton and Grant, I believe there was never a dispute.

II. FROM GENERAL MEIGS'S LARGE DIARY, MARCH 29—APRIL 8, 1861.

[*March*] 29. To Great Falls. When we came home I found a request from the Secretary of State to come to see him. I went with him to the President who wished to see me. He said that they were in a difficulty and he wished to have the President talk with some man who would speak of what he knew—not of politics in military affairs and one who could get on a horse in the field too. He said they had had Gen. Scott and Gen. Totten but no one would think of putting either of these old men on horseback.

The President talked freely with me. I told him that men enough could be found to volunteer to endeavor to relieve Fort Sumter, but that persons of higher position and rank than myself thought it not to be attempted, that this was not the place to make the war, etc. He asked me whether Fort Pickens could be held.²⁰ I told him certainly, if the Navy had done its duty and not lost it already. The President asked whether I could not go down there again and take a general command of these three great fortresses²¹ and keep them safe. I told him I was only a captain and could not command majors who were there. He must take an officer of higher rank. Mr. Seward broke out with "I can understand too how that is, Captain Meigs, you have got to be promoted". I said, "That cannot be done; I am a captain and there is no vacancy". But Mr. Seward told the President that if he wished to have this thing done the proper way was to put it into my charge and it would be done, that I would give him an estimate of the means by 4 P. M. of the next day. He complimented me much. Said that when Pitt wished to take Quebec he did not send for any old general but he sent for a young man whom he had noticed in the society of London, named Wolfe, and told him that he had selected him to take Quebec, to ask for the necessary means and do it and it was done. Would the President do this now?

¹⁹ Meaning, John Quincy Adams.

²⁰ Captain Meigs, sent down from Washington in the preceding winter to strengthen the defences of Fort Jefferson, at the Dry Tortugas, was familiar with the circumstances of Fort Pickens.

²¹ Fort Taylor, at Key West, Fort Jefferson, at the Dry Tortugas, and Fort Pickens.

He replied that he would consider on it and would let me know in a day or two.

I walked home with Mr. Seward, who said he was much gratified at the result of this interview. That they²² had been in a strait. Gen. Scott objected to relieving Fort Sumter or Pickens, thought it best to give them up and thus put a stop to all cry of coercion. For his own part, his policy had been all along to give up Sumter as too near Washington and leaving a temptation to Davis to relieve it by an [attack] upon Washington. That he wished to hold Pickens, making the fight there and in Texas, and thus make the burden of the war, which all men of sense saw must come, fall upon those who by rebellion provoked it. That I must wait for a day or two and I should hear again from him.

30. Drew my pay for the month, \$168.20. Club at our house, quite a large meeting and a pleasant one.

31. As I was about to start for church this morning Col. Keyes,²³ Gen. Scott's military secretary, called and said that Mr. Seward had sent for me. We went to his house and he requested us to put down upon paper an estimate and project for relieving and holding Fort Pickens in consultation with Gen. Scott and to bring it to the President before 4 P. M.

I learned from the President himself the other day that he had verbally directed Gen. Scott to hold all these forts and make arrangements to reinforce them on the 5th of March. That about the 10th, finding nothing done, he had thought it best to put himself on record and had repeated the order in writing.²⁴ That he learned that the *Brooklyn* had gone to Key West and as she had the troops for Pickens on board he supposed that his orders had fizzled out.²⁵

That Gen. Scott had told him he did not think that Pickens ought to be held and this had given him a cold shock. He had not slept the night before he saw me, that is Thursday night. Felt much relieved at my assurance that the place could be held against all opposition by proper arrangements. Keyes and myself went to the engineer office, wrote out, after looking over the plan for Pickens, our views; compared notes, agreed, and were at the President's at 2½ P. M. Told him that we found we had not time to see Gen. Scott and be back with the result before 4 and had called to report. He with some effort [?] directed us to read our papers and then ordered us to see Gen. Scott, tell him instructions of the President and that he wished this thing done and not to let it fail unless he can show why the refusing him something he asked is necessary. "I depend upon you gentlemen to push this thing through."

We went to the house of Gen. Scott, showed him our papers which he approved saying there was nothing in them not necessary and little to be added as necessary. Mr. Seward came in and the matter was talked over and resolved upon.

April 1. At Gen. Scott's office laying out plans. To the President's.

²² Meaning, the Cabinet, at the meeting held that day; it is fully reported in Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, III. 429-433.

²³ Lieut.-Col. Erasmus D. Keyes. See his *Fifty Years' Observation*, p. 380.

²⁴ Scott to Vogdes, Mar. 12. *Official Records, Navies*, IV. 90.

²⁵ Before sailing to Key West the *Brooklyn* had transferred her troops to the *Sabine*, but this was not known in Washington.

Got Lt. D. D. Porter ordered to go to N. Y.,²⁶ take any vessel ready and suitable, and proceed to sea and not draw rein until he was inside the Pensacola harbor, to capture [watch?] the place[?] strictly and to prevent any boat crossing the harbor with troops to attack Pensacola. I sent a despatch to commandant of the Brooklyn Navy Yard to get the *Powhatan* ready for sea with least possible delay. This was signed by the President.²⁷

Hard at work all day making orders for the signature of the President and for myself. We had much discussion as to who was to command this expedition. Secretary of State wished me to be promoted and take command, and when Gen. Scott showed him that this could not be done as the law would not allow it, he asked me to go. I told him I was ready for any duty in any place in any capacity at any pay, so long as it was in my country's service.

Gen. Scott said it was cruel to ask me to go away from these great works²⁸ and that in a rank so low as that which my captain's commission must give me. Seward said any arrangement which I could make for carrying on the works in my absence would be carried out, to this he pledged himself; and I got [my] pay anyhow; that fame would come from Pickens as well as from the Capitol; the Capitol might stop. There was no use in a capitol unless we had a country.

April 2. Having completed our plans Col. Brown²⁹ and Col. Keyes set out for New York to-day.³⁰ I follow. Have to transact other necessary business to-morrow.

3. Receive \$10,000 secret service money for hastening and helping the expedition.³¹ This is paid to me. I do not account for it. I gave to my wife of the money I have some \$300 and set out at 3:20 P. M. Took Thomas³² with me to N. Y.

4. Reached New York at 4 A. M. to-day. Set every thing going.

5. At work. Evening, telegram from Secretary of Navy to detain the *Powhatan*.³³ Porter in despair. Says he will do nothing more for this government. He will go to California and spend his time in surveying. He was under orders for California on the Coast survey, to sail on the 11th when I got him put upon this duty.³⁴

²⁶ Porter says that Meigs had already talked to him of his plan. *Incidents and Anecdotes*, pp. 13-14.

²⁷ Text in *Official Records, Navies*, IV. 109, and in G. V. Fox, *Confidential Correspondence*, I. 15.

²⁸ The Potomac aqueduct, the extension of the Capitol, and the constructing of its dome.

²⁹ Brevet-colonel Harvey Brown, U.S.A., who was to command the expedition.

³⁰ Keyes, p. 388, says that Meigs and Porter went by night train of Apr. 3, and that he went with them to Philadelphia and thence to New York the next morning. It is likely that Meigs wrote up his diary a few days later, at sea.

³¹ There being no military or naval secret-service funds, Seward went to his department, procured \$10,000 in coin from its secret-service fund, took it to his house, and there turned it over to Captain Meigs, who later returned \$6000 of it. Crawford, *Genesis of the Civil War*, pp. 411-412.

³² Thomas Allen, says a later annotation; a servant, presumably.

³³ Text in Soley's *Admiral Porter*, p. 110.

³⁴ Welles describes Lieutenant Porter at this time as being under Southern influence and anxious to go to California to avoid being put into action against the South. *Diary*, I. 19-20.

6. Everywhere. Had to go to the Navy Yard to endeavor to save the *Powhatan*. This did twice, and I succeeded in taking her though written orders from Secretary of Navy to send her to help reinforce Sumter on the 11th were in the yard.³⁵ I took the ground that Capt. Mercer had been relieved by orders signed by President,³⁶ that she was promised to our expedition, was a necessary and most important part of it, and that no man, secretary or other, had a right to take her, and that the secretary could not do it as I was by the President made responsible and told not to let even the Secretary of the Navy know that this expedition was going on. They gave her up to us and Porter sailed about noon. He was seen going down the harbor at 3 P. M.

7. We got to sea at 3 A. M. with order to set out [?] and pass the Light Ship about 7 A. M.

We are in the Collins steamship *Atlantic*, the first made Collins steamship and a noble vessel. We have on board 399 persons connected with our expedition, among them the engineer company of sappers and miners, a company of light artillery, with 73 sailors, 5 companies of troops altogether. I have in my pocket the commission of the marshal to be appointed at Key West. I have got the appointments of best men [for] district attorney and navy agent made. The district attorney will sail in the *Illinois*, which follows us tomorrow. A good set of officers and a good set of men. Our ship of 2846 tons is loaded with stores and people and sailors.

8. . . . Well, Keyes and I have done our duty and have set a ball in motion. Porter, the officer whom the whole Navy has by acclaim selected from the profession, is on his way into the harbor of Pensacola and into it he will go, God permitting, for man will not be able to prevent him.

III. FROM GENERAL MEIGS'S SMALL DIARY, JANUARY 10-13, 1862.

Friday, January 10, 1862:

Moving office of Q M Dept into Winders Building.

To Navy Dept to see the mode of making new gunboats.

President came to talk to me much depressed at inactivity of the army. McClellans sickness.³⁷

Sunday, January 12, 1862:

McDowell and Franklin called to discuss matters and invite me to a meeting with the President at 1 pm.

Met Presdt, Seward, Chase and Blair of Cabinet and these officers. McClellan had grown better and would meet us tomorrow.

³⁵ Welles to Capt. Samuel Mercer, commanding the *Powhatan*, Apr. 5. *Official Records, Navies*, IV. 235.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 109.

³⁷ Added note dated May 22, 1888: "I advised him that typhoid fever meant 6 weeks disability. He should see the officer next in rank, consult and determine who should command if the enemy, believed by McL. to be in great force should attack while he was ill or if any move become necessary. He sent for the Council 13th [meaning 12th]: Seward, Chase, Blair, Meigs, Franklin, and on 13th McClellan, Presidt Lincoln. See McL. Own Story Posthumous publication."

Monday, January 13, 1862:

At Prsdts.

Secy Chase, Seward, Blair. Gen. McClellan, McDowell and Franklin. Much discussion not much accomplished. McClellan declined giving his detailed plans. Indicated some thing of them generally.³⁸

³⁸ Added note, May 22, 1888: "See Gen. McLellans acct of this council in McL. Own Story, a Posthumous publication. He suspects all of intrigue against him. Thinks McDowell originated the whole." [*Remainder illegible.*]

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Maintenance of Peace. By S. C. VESTAL, formerly Colonel, 339th Field Artillery, National Army. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1920. Pp. xiv, 584. \$5.00.)

THIS is a book neither lightly to be taken up nor lightly to be put aside. It is too long and too cumbrous in its arrangement. Its bulk consists of that terror of the historian, a history of the world constructed to point to a particular moral, sections of which rest thinly upon inadequate material, as the chapter on the Incas, which is described as a "*précis* of Book I. of Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*" (p. 56). It is frequently careless in details, as when Lubbock is described as writing of spiders and Fabre of ants (p. 5), or Washington as leading an army in the field to suppress a rebellion in Pennsylvania (p. 20). But it is founded on broad reading, on deep and earnest thought, and contains much common sense. Its theoretical portions are far inferior to its historical.

The central idea of the historical review is to trace the fate of the "balance of power". By this term, which he considers inadequate, Colonel Vestal means not equal balance, but the preponderant balance of smaller or maritime states against land powers seeking world control. Equipoise, or equal balance, the condition existing before the late war, he regards as the greatest menace of peace, but a true balance as the surest bulwark against war. In periods when such a balance has existed he finds conditions favoring the maintenance of peace. Attempts at world empire have proved unsuccessful, or if successful within the range of endeavor, as in the case of the Incas, stagnating. Attempts at confederation, such as the Holy Roman Empire, the Papacy, and the Holy Alliance, have proved abortive. Federation, which he defines as a supergovernment resting and operating directly upon the individual citizens of the several states which comprise the federation, he considers at present impossible, whether it be desirable or not. He believes then that the foundations of peace rest upon the existence in the world of strong nations, with strong boundaries, united, either in purpose, or by common declarations, or even by mutual treaties, to oppose the dominance of any one nation. He believes that democracy is the strongest basis for domestic peace, but he points out, in the best-constructed portion of the book, that domestic peace has nowhere long existed without the maintenance of armed forces.

The greatest weakness of his discussion is, as is true of all such discussions, not vulgar inaccuracy, but simplicity. He discards all

forces except that which he believes to be dominant, which may be described as that of nationality. He fails to mention such vital things as the force of example, of law, either domestic or international, of religion, and barely admits that of economics. His history, moreover, is static, and he feels no real movement in the world. He idealizes the particular force, that Balance which he selects as the world's peacemaker; saying for instance: "No victorious coalition formed for defence against a strong usurping power has ever dismembered the defeated state or wantonly abused its victory in any way" (p. 108). One seeks without result for an explanation of how the force of the majority, which in the case of nations is transmuted into power by organization, is, in the case of the world, to become power, without organization.

But how many of the reviews of history which have of late years been put forward to point the finger of the past directly toward a "Parliament of Man", have been without similar defects? Most of them were the work of men earnestly hoping that a world league would come, and reviewing the past to convince themselves and others that it was possible. This is a review by a man who believes such a league impossible, and who has sought in history some other solution for the problem of peace. It is not as historical works that such books are to be evaluated, but as contributions to thought, and the function of the historical reviewer is to pass his opinion on, so to speak, the historical grammar. Practically none of these books show authoritative powers of historical interpretation, though many are suggestively interpretive, and none more so than this. Colonel Vestal, as compared with the others, shows a medium degree of accuracy, but quite the widest scope and broadest background of any with which the reviewer is acquainted. His facts, moreover, are facts that most of the others disregard, and by combining his book with some on the other side, a chance for a comprehensive view and a real personal interpretation of the foundations of peace is afforded, which the average reader might not get by a first-hand reading of sounder general histories. Colonel Vestal, moreover, displays an intellectual activity in his comments which is refreshing, and six pages of quotations from Demosthenes would give distinction to any book (p. 146-150). Quite apart from its use of history, the book deserves consideration for its constructive ideas with regard to peace. Its destructive analysis of other proposals now current is almost too ill-natured to be useful.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

The Writing of History: an Introduction to Historical Method. By FRED M. FLING, Ph.D., Professor of European History in the University of Nebraska. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1920. Pp. 195. \$2.00.)

In this little book Professor Fling offers an instructive guide to the student within or without college walls who desires to learn by experi-

ence the technique of historical research and exposition. Although the author believes that relatively few of his readers may be ambitious to contribute to the body of historical facts scientifically established, he is urgent that all serious teachers of history undertake at least one task of investigation, for otherwise they cannot understand the basis of historical knowledge or distinguish between the products of sound scholarship and the writings of popularizers and rhetoricians. He recommends that those who intend to teach or to write history should carry out a definite scheme of work from an early period of the undergraduate course. His estimate of what such an undergraduate should be able to accomplish is likely to provoke on the part of some college teachers the anxious query, Where shall beings of this sort be found? A part of the reading suggested for the study of literary criticism and of philosophy seems beyond the capacity of most undergraduates. Moreover, not every student who aspires to teach history is of exceptional endowment. These questions are discussed in the introduction. Here also is an excellent statement of the distinction between the methods of sociology and of history in dealing with facts.

Chapters II.-V. present the classification of sources, and the determination of genuineness, time, place, and authorship. Then follows an explanation of the exact process by which indications drawn from these sources become established facts. The last two chapters are given to the grouping of facts and their exposition in an historical account or narrative.

In explaining the application of the critical method to historical material Professor Fling deals chiefly with the different forms of testimony. His illustrations, which are mostly from the period of the French Revolution, are selected from the determination of those facts which make up a narrative of events. It is obvious that the problems of testimony are the most varied and difficult with which the young investigator has to deal. Nevertheless, it would have been helpful had the author included brief directions for the use of documents which are more in the nature of "remains" than of "tradition", that is, laws, administrative acts, etc. Professor Vincent's somewhat more extended work on *Historical Research* contains three suggestive chapters upon the use of such material. The student interested in the history of social and political institutions is likely to deal with such documents more than with memoirs or even pamphlets and newspapers.

It might have been well for Professor Fling to have warned the student that success in the establishment of facts depends upon ability to interpret the meaning of acts or words and that something more than correctness of method is required. He emphasizes this point of view later in what he says about the organization of facts. There he explains that unwearied industry and a sound method are not enough. An imagination capable of discerning the relationships of facts must be

added. He remarks, "This part of the historian's work must depend largely upon genius and genius cannot be taught."

Professor Fling believes that serious pieces of historical writing should be intended primarily for the perusal of scholars, and that the author should, therefore, quote liberally from the sources and should indicate in notes the documents upon which each detail depends. He has in mind apparently even such details as the particular hour at which an important session of an assembly opened. Is this not carrying fidelity to method too far? Must we not assume that trained historical investigators know how to find out such facts? The instance Professor Fling cites of an erroneous statement by so distinguished an historian as M. Flammermont proves simply that historians occasionally "fall asleep at the switch". Of course, if the detail is controversial, evidence for the conclusion should be cited. The author recognizes the fact that there must be histories for the general reader, and that they need not include critical apparatus, although they should be based upon scholarly investigation either by the authors or by those upon whose works they depend. He adds that "the ideal condition would be to have the scientific and the popular histories written by the same men".

This book should arouse college teachers to the need of early directing promising students toward systematic preparation for the later and more serious tasks of historical research. The severity with which Professor Fling condemns defective and superficial processes will have a stimulating effect also upon those who are face to face with the practical problems of research courses.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Coal, Iron, and War: a Study in Industrialism Past and Future. By EDWIN C. ECKEL. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1920. Pp. 375. \$3.00.)

We have become so familiar with the facts of impending depletion of our extractive resources that there would be little novelty in a study that concerned itself merely with the general danger of exhaustion of mineral resources. This study of coal and iron, however, is much more than a jeremiad on the subject of conservation. The dependence of our present industrial system upon extractive enterprise is frankly and fully explained; little encouragement is held out of significant substitutions of less predatory methods of obtaining power, so that there is no attempt at superficial evasion of the fundamental question, What is to be done? The answer is explicit: slower rates of growth in mass of population and in the basic industries; actual decline in production before many decades; greater diffusion of industry leading to notable economies in the use of power for transportation; serious changes in the balance of political power and forbidding antagonisms between different political ideals.

This study will not afford much encouragement to those idealists who were disposed to believe that modern civilization tends naturally towards world peace. Again and again strong emphasis is laid upon the inherent instability of industrial prestige and leadership.

In the end, then [says Mr. Eckel in his last paragraph], we come back to the fact that there are very serious material difficulties in the way of future peace. These difficulties are of natural origin, being ultimately dependent upon the unequal distribution of important natural resources. They may act directly, as in the case of the coal of Westphalia and China, the iron of Lorraine, the oil of the Caspian and Caribbean—all of which may serve as immediate causes of war or as the bases for that competition which is in the end more crushing and deadly than war. Or they may act through their effects upon political development, so as to create the possibility of international conflicts (p. 370).

The thesis is carefully developed and well maintained, although the historical chapters fail to present the antithesis between the machine civilization based on minerals and the earlier industrial order based upon agricultural resources. The contrast would have placed the conclusions of the book in still stronger relief, but such an undertaking would doubtless have seemed out of place to the average reader. Suffice it to say, a more sumptuous historical setting would merely confirm the thesis of the work.

This brief setting-forth of the essential idea might arouse a suspicion that we are dealing here with a crude instance of materialistic determinism, but there is no trace of such superficiality. The relation of physical resources to inventive effort is stated with unusual felicity, and the striking feature of the book is the openness of mind with which the future is examined. The underlying assumption of all discussion is that things will not remain as they are: technical processes will be different, rates of growth of population will be different, requirements will be different. The reader already familiar with the general tenor of these modes of analyzing industrial problems will find much that is stimulating, and any who may have failed to come in contact with such principles of interpretation will find in this book an especially fine presentation of a body of doctrine that is certain to captivate the imagination.

Although the historical portions of the book are sound in the main there are some statements with reference to the eighteenth century that can scarcely be accepted. The advances in the textile industries during the industrial revolution (p. 12) were not merely effects of the revolution. Iron was not a basic industry in the eighteenth century (pp. 21, 187). Consideration of the relative importance of the textile and metal industries would affect the implications of the statement (p. 20) that the colonies were producing as much iron as Great Britain about 1740. Elaborate treatment of these historical questions, however, would undoubtedly strengthen the conclusions of the text. These slips do not in any way affect the validity of the doctrines presented.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

An Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic. By TENNEY FRANK, Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1920. Pp. xi, 310. \$2.50.)

IN contrast to the practices of certain contemporary historians who have analyzed Roman economic conditions, Professor Frank has wisely laid down the principle (p. 110) that "*a priori* methods of interpreting historical development by means of generally accepted economic and psychological maxims must be applied to Roman history only with great reserve". He therefore follows closely the evidence furnished by the inscriptions, by archaeology, and by literature. So far as literature goes, the favorable opinion which he expresses (p. 34 f.) of the trustworthiness of the leading ancient historians of the Republic meets the reviewer's hearty approval, and incidentally leads the author to take a conservative attitude toward certain controverted questions like the patricio-plebeian theory (p. 10), the date of the first treaty with Carthage (p. 30), and the authenticity of the Licinian-Sextian laws (p. 44). From the remains of the intricate draining system in early Latium (p. 6 f.) Frank draws the inference that this region was very fertile and densely populated, and this fact helps us to understand the conquests made by its people. Under Etruscan domination industry and commerce developed in Latium to some extent (p. 27 f.). An interesting side-light is now thrown on trade conditions in this period by the newly published fourth volume of Gsell's *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*.

The treaties with Carthage and the history of Roman coinage show that trade declined after the expulsion of the Etruscans, and that the Romans turned again to their farms. The first Roman coins do not go back beyond the fourth century, and it is interesting to notice that their issuance acted as an over-issue of currency acts to-day (p. 49). Somewhat the same results followed Alexander's Eastern conquests, when large quantities of silver and gold were put in circulation in the Mediterranean world (p. 69 f.). The deforestation of the Volscian mountains and the gradual exhaustion of the soil made it impossible for the dense population of Latium to win a livelihood from their own land, and the pressure was relieved by territorial expansion. If relief had not come in this way manufacturing, commerce, and the arts might have gained a better foot in Rome (p. 63). The two chapters on Industry constitute one of the most valuable contributions which the author has made to our knowledge of Roman economic conditions. In them he has given us a study of certain industries, like the making of glass, bricks, metal ware, and earthen ware, and has investigated the factory system, so far as the facts concerning it are ascertainable. Of peculiar interest are the inferences which he has drawn from the examination of a typical *insula* in Pompeii (p. 191 ff.) in which there were forty shops and ten resi-

dences. We earnestly hope that he may have the time and opportunity to extend his survey to cover the whole city. All through the Republican period and under the Empire industry and trade suffered because of the Roman's contempt for them, because goods were transported slowly and with difficulty, because the needs of a household were supplied by its slaves, and because the plentiful supply of cheap labor prevented the development of labor-saving devices. The government was at fault, too, in failing to enact patent laws, or to supervise banking, and in not developing business law.

The chapter on Public Finance seems to the reviewer inadequate. While the sources of income and the expenditures of the state are described, nothing is said about financial administration, the appropriation of money by the Senate, and the Roman system of public accounting. The racial situation which Italy faced toward the end of the Republic and in the Early Empire reminds us forcibly of similar conditions which confront us to-day. From the large number of Oriental names in the cemeteries of Italy the author infers that the peninsula was swamped by immigration, mainly from the East (p. 162). Consequently the fact "that reform through orderly compromise gave way (under the Gracchi) to revolution through bloodshed is largely due to the displacement of real Italic peoples by men of Oriental, Punic, and Iberian stock" (p. 119).

It will be clear from this review that this book is not intended to present a survey of the economic life of the whole Roman world; but as a study of the economic development of the city of Rome, the governing centre of the civilized world, it stands alone in its completeness, in the thorough use which the author has made of available evidence, in the sound judgment which he has shown, and in the clear, convincing way in which he has set forth his conclusions.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Mennonites: a Brief History of their Origin and Later Development in both Europe and America. By C. HENRY SMITH, Ph.D. (Berne, Ind.: Mennonite Book Concern. 1920. Pp. 340. \$2.25.)

A TIME when a world war is hardly ended and when conscientious objectors are still persecuted and lingering in prisons, is not an auspicious time for a history of the Mennonites. It is most timely, however, for the Mennonites themselves, who have passed through a deep experience and have been compelled to search their souls anew for the basis of their faith. They will find strength in learning that their forbears for four centuries have suffered martyrdom for conscience' sake. It is for them that Dr. Smith's book, which is the fruition of two decades of hope, is written.

That the Mennonites are little known is to be expected from their small, widely scattered numbers—under 300,000 all told. The ordinary impressions of them are gained from such sources as Helen Martin's *Tillie, the Mennonite Maid*, Mrs. Fiske's *Erstwhile Susan*, Wildenbruch's *Der Mennonit*, or—equally misinforming—the superficial newspaper accounts of conscientious objectors during the war. These play up this or that characteristic of some branch of the Mennonites, their dress, their austerity, their non-resistant doctrine. None of them gives a picture that the Mennonites themselves would recognize.

Individual and literal interpretation of the Scriptures is the basic principle of Mennonitism, from which its major tenets emanate. These are: baptism on confession of faith, hence adult baptism, originally designated anabaptism; religious toleration; love of one's fellowmen, and a responsibility for them that in some instances developed into communism, and always into genuine charity; literal acceptance of the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" and of Christ's injunction "Swear not at all", hence, non-resistance, opposition to war, and refusal to take an oath; and the separation of Church and State. Simple or specified garb, refusal to hold office as being something "worldly", non-intercourse with those of other faiths, and the prohibition of membership in secret societies are principles advocated by some branches of Mennonites.

These represent the major common principles of Mennonitism. It should go without saying that since this sect is individualistic, the beliefs of the several branches or congregations vary infinitely, and that its adherents are to be found among the common people, and not among the so-called upper classes who accept the established order and the state church. To write the history of a numerically small sect, which, because of its fundamental principles of non-conformity, suffered much schism and was frequently disturbed or dispersed by the authorities, is not an easy task. Dr. Smith is to be complimented on the patience and skill which has enabled him to produce what is undoubtedly the most authoritative work on the Mennonites in our language. His impartiality in dealing with the present-day rival branches of the sect is also worthy of commendation. He goes but little into the theological aspects of Mennonite doctrine, rightly appreciating that the contribution of the sect lies rather in the political and sociological field than in the field of dogma.

The volume falls into two parts: the Mennonites in Europe, and in America. Beginning with the Anabaptists in Switzerland, and the indigenous movements of a similar character in Germany and the Netherlands, and their unjust and unwarranted identification by the authorities with the tragedy at Münster, the book leads to the systematizing of Anabaptist views by the Dutch ex-priest, Menno Simons, after whom the religion is named. The early scattered congregations in the Netherlands, Switzerland, Cleves-Julich, East and West Prussia, East Friesland, Hamburg, Holstein, Bavaria, Württemberg, Alsace-Lorraine and

France, Moravia and Galicia, and their leaders all find their place. The story is one of martyrdom, division, confiscation, dispersion, but of abounding willingness to die for faith. The source for much of this is Thielman von Bracht's *Martyr's Mirror*, one of the monuments of Mennonite literature. The contact of the Mennonites and the Quakers is not overlooked, and the interesting story of the migration of German Mennonites into South Russia under Catherine II., and the later chiliastic exodus to Tashkend and Bokhara is well told.

The section devoted to the Mennonites in America is a reworking of Dr. Smith's earlier treatise on the *Mennonites in America*. Noting the casual Dutch Mennonites who came to New Amsterdam and settled in "Manhate", on Long Island, and on the New Jersey coast, the book proceeds to detail the first substantial colonization by Mennonites under Penn at Germantown, which owes its name to their coming. Step by step their expansion into Western Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia is traced and their experiences with the frontier Indians and during the Revolutionary War are related.

The founding of the United States, the land of freedom, with the guaranties of religious liberty and the separation of Church from State, offered a haven which the Mennonites of the Old World, long oppressed and now experiencing the conscription of the Napoleonic Wars, were quick to recognize. Accordingly the nineteenth century saw a steady stream of Mennonite immigrants proceeding to the American frontiers and subjecting new lands to cultivation and prosperity. Settlements found root chiefly in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Dakota, Minnesota; and in Ontario and Manitoba. The most extensive migration occurred in the seventies, when the descendants of the Mennonites who settled in Russia under Catherine II. were deprived of military exemption and came in hundreds to America and settled in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Manitoba. Their important contribution in introducing Turkey hard wheat into the United States, which is related in one of the publications of the Department of Agriculture, has escaped Dr. Smith.

The final chapters of Dr. Smith's study are given over to special topics, such as Mennonite doctrine on Church and State, including their fate as conscientious objectors in all countries in the Great War, Mennonite schools and missions, literature and hymnology, and statistics. He also devotes a chapter to the significant attempt of the last decades to overcome the inherent tendency of Mennonitism to split up, and the two resultant conference-groups which now loosely unite the major portion of the sect. In this connection he gives two useful, but very poorly drawn, charts. There is a good bibliography, but no index, a regrettable omission in a work that deals with minutiae so complex and scattered.

The author of a history of his people may be expected to dwell on their achievements. Dr. Smith shows much moderation, by no means

making all the claims he has heard in his daily contacts. Few in numbers, a rural people except in the Netherlands, where they have exercised great power in mercantile lines and even upon the government, often exceedingly conservative in such external matters as dress, travel, and education, exclusive usually to such a degree as to refuse to hold office or to resort to civil courts—though always adhering to the injunction to submit to the authorities when not contrary to conscience—the Mennonites have nevertheless exercised an influence in conformity with the trend of civilization. From the beginning they advocated religious toleration, the separation of Church and State, and the congregational church system. Their influence on the establishment of the Baptist, Congregational, United Brethren, and Adventist denominations is part of history. George Fox, William Penn, and Robert Barclay in 1677 visited the Mennonite body in the Netherlands, then at least a century old, and though Quakerism arose independently, Barclay wrote: "So closely do these views correspond with those of George Fox, that we are compelled to view him as the unconscious exponent of the doctrine, practice, and discipline of the ancient and strict party of the Dutch Mennonites". To the Germantown Mennonites, too, belongs the credit of issuing the first recorded public protest in America against slavery. And the League of Nations, to end wars, is so obvious an endorsement of Mennonite fundamentals as to require no comment.

EDWARD KREHBIEL.

A History of France: from the Earliest Times to the Treaty of Versailles. By WILLIAM S. DAVIS, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. xv, 642. \$4.00.)

CERTAIN peculiarities of Professor Davis's *History of France* are explained when one learns from the preface that it is an expansion of a popular narrative originally intended for the American troops in France, and that portions are paraphrases and summaries of standard French histories for secondary schools and of manuals like Rambaud's *Histoire de la Civilisation Française*. The result is well adapted to its purpose of interesting American readers by a non-technical account of the outlines of French history. A French critic would perhaps be shocked by the shifting proportions of the volume and especially by the brief treatment of the Middle Ages as compared with that of modern times. Professor Davis knows better, however, the desires of his countrymen, to most of whom France since the Revolution is more interesting than France under feudalism or even under Louis XIV. In consequence the history of the country down to Napoleon takes up the first half of the volume, and the second half deals with the nineteenth century to the armistice of 1918. The work seems, therefore, better suited in its completed form to individual students or to reading circles

than to college courses, where a more harmonious combination of the parts might be advisable.

Professor Davis has the knack of vivid and fluent narrative. The tale reads well and is interesting. The author makes the great figures of French history appear living, and has wisely preferred to emphasize the connection of history with important aspects of social life, such as art, letters, and institutions, rather than to stress the details of warfare and of field strategy.

The necessity for quick results in the composition of the volume is accountable for evidences of haste and for certain slips in nomenclature, by way of accents, which slips betray the writer not thoroughly at home in French. "Eventuated" (p. 86) and "quite a few" (p. 170) are more journalistic than soberly historical. "The nature of the monarchy and power of Louis XIV. have been set forth" (p. 170) is not the best way to begin a chapter. "For Napoleon III. to have refused to answer the challenge would have cost" (p. 498) is but one instance of Professor Davis's over-fondness for double past tenses. We read of Marie de Medici on page 131 and of Marie de Médicis on page 132. "Boutéville" (p. 137), "Abbéville" (p. 162), "Jerôme" (p. 347), "Uzés" (p. 550), and "Jaurés" (p. 586), testify, among other instances, to uncertainty with accents, as do "tricouleur" (p. 275) and "pays légale" (p. 421) to uncertainty with French. "Luson" (p. 134), "Gustine" (p. 312), and "Lacomte" (p. 514) may be misprints, but Loménie de Brienne should not be designated as "Archbishop of Brienne" (p. 239), and it is misleading to call Marshal Ney "Prince of Moscow" (p. 369), which would be in French *Prince de Moscou*, instead of his real title *Prince de la Moskowa*. The present republic was not finally acknowledged by a "so-called Walloon amendment" (p. 532) but by an amendment proposed by M. Wallon, and Molière may be a Gallic Aristophanes, but scarcely a "Gallican Aristophanes" (p. 173) any more than an ultramontane one.

Professor Davis has wisely concentrated his attention in recent French history to certain great events like Boulangism, the Dreyfus case, and the disestablishment of the Church, but the Panama scandal caused too much turmoil and bitterness in politics and finance, and forms too convenient a transition between Boulangism and the Dreyfus case, to be neglected.

C. H. C. WRIGHT.

English Economic History: Select Documents. Compiled and edited by A. E. BLAND, P. A. BROWN, and R. H. TAWNEY. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xx, 730. \$2.25.)

PUBLISHED first in 1914, the present issue is merely the third impression and in appearance much inferior to the original. The field covered is from about 1000 A.D. to the corn-law debate of 1846. These

eight centuries and a half are divided into three periods, the middle one being from 1485 to 1660. Probably every student of English economic history has his own conception of what the middle period is, but only those not yet emancipated from political history would follow the editors of this volume in their choice. Within each period, the arrangement is topical. It is curious to note that while public finance is dealt with in the first and last periods, it is omitted in the middle period.

The selection of documents seems on the whole to have been carefully made. It is a bit unfortunate, however, that the very first document should be one of the most difficult in the whole book to interpret. But such a collection as this is made neither for continuous reading nor for immature students. The teaching of history to undergraduates by reading original documents presumably belongs to the days when professional historians failed to distinguish between research and teaching, and between graduate and undergraduate instruction.

The editors were misguided in publishing the customs document of 1302. It is quite long and was superseded a few months later by the document of 1303, the very next one in the book. The latter, the well-known *Carta Mercatoria*, is given the incorrect heading, "The Custom on General Imports". It really includes export as well as import duties, and is not confined to customs. The editors have followed precedent in printing the *Carta Mercatoria* from a later confirmation, rather than from a more accurate record on the contemporary Fine Rolls.

About twenty pages are devoted to "The Feudal Structure". Similar records can be found in readily accessible collections. The space so used might have been more profitably given up to manorial accounts which are not included at all, to the Hanseatic League entirely ignored, or to the Revolt of 1381 which is inadequately dealt with. The demands of the peasants both at Mile End and at Smithfield constitute one of the best commentaries on economic conditions in fourteenth-century England, but they find no place in this collection. Much space is taken up by selections from the well-known and easily accessible *Commonweal of this Realm of England*, while the regulations of 1565 concerning piracy and the corn trade, and the bounty acts of 1673 and 1689 are omitted.

All documents are given in English, regardless of the language of the originals. The difficulties of interpretation which the originals present are mostly solved in the translation. If the editors had put in brackets the original word after the English term in all cases of difficulty, the student would not have to go back to the original quite so frequently. Translation is interpretation; and when we read the word "interest", we want to know whether it really means interest or usury; similarly whether "slave" is really a slave or a serf, and "prisage" really prisage or modulation.

The editors have produced a useful and scholarly book and we are all grateful. It is to be hoped that the success of this work will induce

others to do the same for French, German, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish economic history. Perhaps this is the logical step after the new series *Handbuch der Wirtschaftsgeschichte* has been published. All single-volume collections covering so wide a field, however, should be regarded as pioneer efforts. They should be followed by more special collections. Whether these special collections should be on shorter periods or on certain topics is a question for debate. While a well-rounded collection of records confined to a certain period will show interrelations between various forces, an ample source-book devoted to one institution or kind of production, such as commercial association or manufacture, would show development from beginning to end, the genesis of history. The latter plan is coming to be the more useful, but at present it is more difficult because historical training tends toward the compartment treatment—ancient, medieval, and modern—and of course for the very good reason that it is (or seems to be) more feasible.

The service that the editors have done for the reader in providing him with a useful list of readings and commentaries on the subject and the contents of the documents, and also with explanatory foot-notes, must not be forgotten.

N. S. B. GRAS.

Poland the Unknown. Translated from the French of K. WALISZEWSKI. (London: William Heinemann, 1919; New York: George H. Doran Company, 1920. Pp. xiii, 263. \$2.25.)

M. WALISZEWSKI, already well known to the Western public through his long series of studies on Russia from Ivan the Terrible to Catherine II., returns in the present volume to the history of his own country. This is, however, by no means a narrative of Polish history, and it can scarcely be read with much profit by those who are not already familiar with that subject. It is rather an essay on the causes of the decline and fall of the old Polish state.

The literature available in Western languages on that grave but fascinating theme is mainly the work of German and Russian scholars or of others who derived their information or their ideas almost solely from them. These writers commonly proceed by first drawing a veritable caricature of old Poland, and then concluding that the nation deserved all that it has suffered: "Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht", and people who are struck down by assassins invariably die of internal organic trouble. The Polish side of the case has seldom been heard, for Polish historians have rarely had the good fortune to be translated.

M. Waliszewski's book is largely a vigorous and effective polemic against the misrepresentations of Polish history so long and systematically inspired by Berlin and St. Petersburg. Unfortunately, his own views as to the causes of Poland's downfall are nowhere very concisely

summed up. In general, he ascribes comparatively little importance to constitutional factors, but lays great emphasis—too great in the opinion of the reviewer—upon the economic changes that took place at the close of the Middle Ages: the deflection of the old routes of European trade with the East, which, in the author's opinion, struck a fatal blow at the prosperity of the Polish cities, and reduced Poland to the rank of a poor, exclusively agricultural country, in which one class, the *Szlachta*, henceforth was bound to assume a monopoly of both power and responsibilities. This situation gave the political and economic structure of Poland too narrow a basis, and made demands upon the ruling class which, in spite of heroic efforts to "carry on", it proved unable to meet.

Nevertheless the author is obviously of the opinion that the chief cause of the ensuing catastrophe—in so far as that cause lay within Poland—was neither political nor economic but psychological. "In every stage of its career", he says, "the Polish people has been the conscious possessor, for good or evil, of a quality which differentiates it from all its neighbors, which marks it as an exception among the nations." But what this *quicquid unicum* is, the author does not very clearly state. Apparently, he discovers it in "a substratum, deeper than is found elsewhere, and more intact, of the Christian element" in the Polish character: a kind of transcendent idealism, a love of liberty, justice, and truth, which made Poland incapable of competing in the rough game of international politics with the rapacious, unscrupulous, militarist absolutist monarchies by which she was surrounded. In the Europe of the eighteenth century Poland appears to him like a "bewildered dove among birds of prey", or "a lamb struggling with wolves".

Such explanations and many others that might be cited may appear to be one-sided and inadequate, as is almost inevitable in view of the complexity of the subject; and the circumstances of the case and of the hour (the book was written towards the close of 1918) may serve to excuse a certain amount of patriotic exaggeration. The author may be criticized for great carelessness in the matter of names and dates; *e.g.*, one is introduced on page 184 to a Roman patriot named "Scylla"! But such faults by no means obscure the merits of a volume packed with ideas and vivaciously and often brilliantly written; a volume which should help materially to produce a more just appreciation of the cardinal factors in Poland's history and of the many original and highly creditable features of the old Polish state. In particular it may help to refute the still-current legend that the Poles have proved themselves historically to be incapable of independent political existence.

R. H. L.

Mediæval Heresy and the Inquisition. By A. S. TURBERVILLE, M.C., M.A., B.Litt., Lecturer in Modern History in the University College of North Wales, Bangor. (London: Crosby Lockwood and Son. 1920. Pp. vi, 264. 10 sh. 6 d.)

"THE aim of this book", says the author, "is to provide, within a short space, and primarily for the general reader, an account of the heresies of the Middle Ages and of the attitude of the Church towards them." Half the book, accordingly, is given to the story of the heresies, half to that of the Inquisition. But "its main concern is with doctrine, and for that reason chapters on Averrhoism and on Wiclifitism and Husitism have been included". Within these limits it is a useful little volume, easily and companionably written, with insight and with an evident purpose to be fair. It rests mainly on "H. C. Lea's immense work", but with much use of later books, especially of Catholic ones, and by no means without first-hand dipping into the sources.

Its limitations are perhaps best suggested by the ten-page "note on authorities" added at the end. "All that is attempted here", we are told, "is to give a select list of a few of the most useful, important and most easily accessible works"; but the list, though it contains both things rare and things unimportant, has serious lacunae. For both heresy and the Inquisition it is, however, ample as a basis for this book; but for sorcery and witchcraft, to which a chapter is devoted, it is sadly inadequate and out of date. So, too, our author's critical acumen has limits. In the field of the Inquisition his personal study and his native shrewdness stand him in good stead; but when he quotes from Caesarius of Heisterbach (he calls him "Caesarius Heisterbach") the story of the heretics at Béziers and abbot Arnaud's "Kill them all, for the Lord knows his own", he can write like this: "The chronicler does not relate a fact, but tells a story, which may or may not be fact." Of course he tells a story, and of course the story may be gossip (Caesarius himself gives it only as a report—"fertur dixisse"); but who that has read the honest old monk's preface can doubt that he believes it fact? And, whether it be fact or no, is it nothing to the historian of the attitude of the Church toward heresy that a contemporary cleric, a fellow Cistercian, could tell to the novices of Heisterbach, and with naught but admiration, this utterance of the great abbot of their order; or that, embalmed thus in the most widely known collection of edifying anecdotes, it passed for centuries unquestioned and unblamed? Again, speaking of the Inquisition's use of torture, he makes the astounding statement that "torture had been known to both Roman and barbarian law, being used even for such minor offences as theft"; and in support of it his footnote cites "Tanon, p. 362". But what Tanon says is only that "torture, bequeathed by the Roman law to our tribunals, perhaps never completely disappeared from the practice of secular courts". Not a word about barbarian law. Only this about barbarian practice; and even for bar-

barian practice Tanon admits the evidence slight. He is, indeed, able to cite instances of its use, and one was in a case of theft; but the thief had stolen the treasure of a church, and the bishop had turned him over to the lay judge to be tortured. And how, asks Tanon, could secular justice have ceased to use this means of conviction, when it had never ceased to be in use in ecclesiastical courts—though forbidden by the canon law? But of this use, though Tanon devotes pages to its demonstration, our author makes no mention.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales. Volume IV. *A Terrier of Fleet, Lincolnshire*, edited by Miss N. NEILSON, Ph.D., Mt. Holyoke College; *An Eleventh-Century Inquisition of St. Augustine's, Canterbury*, by the late ADOLPHUS BALLARD. (London: Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. lxxxv, 214; xxvii, 33. \$9.45.)

THE terrier of Fleet displays with exceptional fullness the economic organization of a Lincolnshire manor in the early years of the fourteenth century. It contains a survey of the tenements classified according to the nature of the tenure; another survey of them as they were located geographically; a rental; summary statement of special rents, services, or customs, such as the fees due from the salt-works on the manor; a number of charters, including two papal letters not listed by Potthast; records of judicial proceedings; and miscellaneous memoranda of the kind apt to find its way into cartularies of the period. The record is supplemented by documents illustrative of the type of manorial economy found in Fleet. These come from such diverse sources as the plea rolls, the ministers' accounts of the Duchy of Lancaster, the chancery miscellany, and monastic cartularies.

The text has been edited with great care, so far as the reviewer can judge without reference to the original. The reader, however, might reasonably expect from the editor more critical apparatus. Dates are generally left without identification, and the dates of some documents cannot be established without reference to manuscript sources. Extracts from the Cottonian manuscript Claudius C. xi, for example, are printed without indication of the date (pp. 168-170), though it is clear in the original that they form part of an inquisition made in 1277.

The manor of Fleet was located in the fen country, where the physical characteristics of the land produced peculiarities in the manorial organization. Miss Neilson's introduction is in large part a study of these exceptional aspects of manorial life. In two chapters she describes the customs which governed the common use of the different fens by the adjacent vills, giving her attention mainly to rights of pasture and turbary and to duties of maintaining dikes and drains. Her evidence,

which is drawn almost entirely from manuscript sources, displays the system when the lords of manors possessed the wastes in legal theory; but the men of the villas still had rights which point to a "non-seignorial origin of the custom of intercommoning". In the third chapter she deals with the economic arrangements in Fleet and neighboring villas, treating the topography of the manor, the status of the tenants, among whom were freemen, molemen, workmen, and Mondaymen, the condition of the demesne, the salt-works, and the customs with regard to assarts. A map of the manor and a map displaying the villas of the fen district as they were grouped for the purpose of intercommoning are nearly indispensable adjuncts of the treatise, though the latter is rendered difficult of use by the failure to distinguish rivers graphically from roads and dikes.

The work is a valuable addition to our knowledge of manorial economy in general. For the study of local conditions in the fen country it is of fundamental importance.

The inquisition of St. Augustine's is found in the cartulary of the monastery now preserved in the Public Record Office. Mr. Ballard edited it in parallel columns with extracts from the Exchequer Domesday. It is entitled *Exce(r)pta de compoto solingorum comitatus cancie secundum cartam regis videlicet ea quae ad ecclesiam sancti Augustini pertinent et est in regis domesday* (p. iii), and evidently bears some relation to Domesday Book. Both give the same information on many particulars, but one is not a copy of the other, and each contains some material not to be found in the other. The excerpts give some information, lacking in Domesday, which, in the opinion of the editor, indicates a greater local familiarity with the whole of east Kent than any one person was likely to have possessed. He argued, therefore, that the compotus of the sulungs, from which the Excerpts were taken, was not the work of one man, but was the returns from the hundreds from which Domesday Book was compiled. In other words the Excerpts have the same relation to Domesday Book as the Cambridge and Ely inquests. Another document known as the Domesday Monachorum, which is among the muniments of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, is similar in character to the Excerpts, but relates in the main to other estates. In the small portions where the two documents cover the same ground, the statistics from the three sources are printed in parallel columns. The significance of the new material is thoroughly explained in the introduction. Its chief value is the additional aid given to the interpretation of the Exchequer Domesday by the additions to and the variations from that text.

W. E. LUNT.

L'Intendant Tourny (1695-1760). Par MICHEL LH  RITIER, Agr  g   d'Histoire et de G  ographie, Docteur   s Lettres. In two volumes. (Paris: F  lix Alcan. 1920. Pp. xvi, 453; 607.)

THIS is one of those "lives" the interest of which derives not from the hero's character, but from his r  le; a biography of the sort that finds its justification not so much in the intrinsic worth of its subject, his moral or intellectual greatness, as in what might be termed his extrinsic importance, his activities and relations. The Marquis de Tourny, intendant of the Limousin, and later of Guyenne, was, undoubtedly, a man of large affairs; his official career, extending over thirty years, was crowded with feverish activity; he projected much, and achieved—less than he undertook, it is true, but still much, so much as to have entitled him to a meed of gratitude from his own generation, and of praise from those who, coming after, entered into his labors. But the Marquis de Tourny was not a *great* man. Not even the conscientious effort of M. Lh  ritier can quite succeed in expanding him to heroic dimensions. He even falls short of the stature of an "administrative genius". He possessed a daring imagination, and conceived magnificent projects; he possessed inexhaustible energy, and threw himself into his enterprises with a vehemence almost torrential. But, like many another self-sure, strenuous, and indefatigable public servant (and Tourny was sincerely devoted to the public interest, as he understood it), he found in his very virtues the chiefest obstacles to his success. His imagination led him on to plan more than he could have executed in double the term of his intendency; and his impetuosity (what Turgot called "*l'humeur imp  tueuse de M. de Tourny*", vol. I., p. 171, n.), his impatience of delay and restraint, more than once betrayed him into hasty decision and precipitate and ill-advised action. A striking exhibition of this characteristic weakness is afforded by his fiscal measures in the Limousin. For the arbitrary *taille* he proposed to substitute the *taille tarif  e* (the theory of which had been elaborated by the Abb   St. Pierre), a measure sound enough in itself, rational and equitable. But so great was his haste to erect the structure of reform, that he neglected to secure the foundation; his census and surveys were inaccurate and incomplete, so faulty that Turgot, coming twenty years later, had to make entirely new estimates and assessments (I. 371 ff.).

Moreover, Tourny himself constantly balked his own undertakings. His jealousy for his own authority, his imperious temper and peremptory manner, antagonized the objects of his paternal care, provoked resistance, and rendered willing co-operation impossible. He would be everything, all powers in one, and all at once. He knew what his province needed, and was determined to "serve it in spite of itself" (II. 13). He quarrelled with everybody in turn—the bishops of Limoges and Angoul  me, the *jurats* of the cities, the Academy of Bordeaux (over the trifling matter of the location of a building), the governor of

Guienne, the Parlement of Bordeaux; he even incurred the reprimand of his chief, Machault. He ended by bringing his *généralité* almost to the point of revolt, and thus necessitating a recall that was but thinly cloaked under a nominally voluntary retirement. An administrator who generates friction can hardly be rated as a "genius".

Embittered, but self-confident to the last, Tourny refused to admit failure. History would vindicate him! "Vous me maudissez", he said to the stiff-necked, ungrateful Bordelais, "mais vos enfants me béniront" (II. 11, n.). And curse him they did, as "overbearing toward his inferiors, obsequious toward his superiors, arrogant, harsh, contentious"—the "Satrap of Guienne" (II. 347-348 and n.). Their children may not exactly "bless" his memory; but they have so far fulfilled his prophecy as to raise his monument, in token of their appreciation of his services, and their pride in his achievements. For Tourny did do much to place Bordeaux in his debt. He fostered its industry and encouraged its commerce; he improved its communications with the interior by great highways; he embellished it with noble avenues and imposing buildings. "Administrateur clairvoyant et un peu rude, créateur au génie profond et impérieux", was the judgment pronounced upon his work by the orator at the dedication of his statue (II. 565); "Terrible homme, en vérité, et qui aurait pu devenir un tyran, s'il n'avait été un grand bien-faiteur", says his biographer (II. 12).

As a contribution to the administrative history of the Old Régime, the work of M. Lhéritier is of immense value and cannot be too highly praised; as a biography, however, the portrait of a man, its merit is impaired by excessive length, faulty proportions, and surfeit of details.

THEODORE COLLIER.

The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M., Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Enlarged from Original MSS., with Notes from Unpublished Diaries, Annotations, Maps, and Illustrations. Edited by NEHEMIAH CURNOCK, assisted by Experts. Volumes VII. and VIII. (London: Robert Culley; New York and Cincinnati: Abingdon Press. 1916. Pp. 528; 476, iv. \$21.00 for the eight volumes.)

THESE two volumes now under review bring to completion the latest edition of the *Journal* of John Wesley, the first six volumes of which were reviewed in the *American Historical Review* in January, 1916 (XXI. 346-348). It is very probable that no further work will ever need to be undertaken to bring together material relating to the life and career of John Wesley, for the editor—who died before the last volume was through the press—searched the world for Wesleyana.

The seventh and eighth volumes cover the closing years of the life of the Wesleys, 1789-1791. In 1784 John Wesley was eighty-four years of age, but still as active as ever, and his ceaseless travelling, preaching,

and writing he continues without interruption to within a few days of his death. He has now become one of the most conspicuous figures in the British world and is everywhere respected. Persecution has ceased and he is crowded with invitations to preach in the churches of the establishment, while clergymen of the Church of England frequently come to hear him (VII. 365). The habits of his long life continue as rigid as ever; he rises at four, as his Diary, now for the first time published, invariably shows, and each moment of the day is filled with serious duties. Indeed the most remarkable thing about John Wesley was this ability to keep at his task through the stirring years of a long life.

Wesley's chief concern in 1784 was the organization of American Methodism. The authority of the English ecclesiastical law had ceased in America and Wesley was anxious to perpetuate the American societies. Meanwhile the Americans were demanding the sacraments, for none of their preachers were ordained men and they had been depending upon the Church of England for the ordinances. This situation led Wesley to ordain several preachers especially for America and to send them across the Atlantic to organize a separate American church. (See portraits of early Methodist oversea pioneers, VII. 301.) This was done without the knowledge or advice of Charles Wesley, who was always a staunch churchman. Later Wesley ordained preachers for Scotland, though he never ordained men for England. Soon there were accusations that he had separated from the Church of England, and Charles was greatly disturbed about his ordinations, but John Wesley steadfastly denied any intention of separation, though he did admit that he varied somewhat from the Church. (See Tyerman, *Life and Times of John Wesley*, III. 636.) One reading these last journals can readily see, however, that separation was bound to come just as soon as Wesley was removed from the direction of the societies.

It is interesting to note with how many reform movements Wesley was directly or indirectly connected. It was during these latter years of his life that the Sunday-school movement was begun in England, largely inaugurated by the Methodists, and always with the heartiest approval of Wesley. In the *Arminian Magazine* for 1784 Wesley writes "An Account of the Sunday Charity School, lately begun in various parts of England", and there is frequent mention in the *Journal* of the schools at Leeds, Manchester, and other places. Wesley gave encouragement and endorsement to the work of John Howard, whom he characterizes as "one of the greatest men in Europe" (*Journal*, VII. 295). Throughout all the latter years of his life he never lost an opportunity of striking at slavery. We find him announcing that he would preach on slavery, at Bristol in 1788 (VII. 359), when the "house from end to end was filled with high and low, rich and poor". It is a striking fact that Wesley's last letter was addressed to Wilberforce; in it occurs this sentence, "Go on in the name of God and in the power of his might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it" (Tyerman, III. 650; *Journal*, VIII. 128).

Space will not permit further reference to these volumes other than to say that the high standard of scholarship and mechanical make-up of the earlier volumes has been maintained throughout the entire eight. Volume VIII. contains, besides the last two years of the journal and diaries, several important letters and an extensive general index.

WILLIAM W. SWEET.

The Skilled Labourer, 1760-1832. By J. L. HAMMOND and BARBARA HAMMOND. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. ix, 403. \$4.50.)

THIS is the third volume of a trilogy. *The Village Labourer*, *The Town Labourer*, and *The Skilled Labourer* are all written on the same general subject, on the same period (1760-1832), from the same viewpoint, and by the same authors. Together they comprise a magnificent and authoritative treatment of the Industrial Revolution in its early and mid-career.

On that account it is impossible to review adequately *The Skilled Labourer* apart from the two preceding volumes, and this is the more true, not only because this book completes the trilogy, but also because in a peculiar sense it is a supplement to the second volume, *The Town Labourer*—more, indeed, a series of detailed and voluminous foot-notes, illustrating principles laid down in the latter book, than a separate entity in itself. Whoever attempts to read *The Skilled Labourer* without an acquaintanceship with *The Town Labourer* is speedily at sea. Detail follows detail in minute and intricate profusion. Generalization is but rarely met with, and, despite the logical sequence and charm of style which is characteristic of the authors, a sense of confusion and disappointment will inevitably result when this book is taken by itself.

The documentary material so freely drawn on by the authors is devoted primarily to one thing—to illustrating how the miner, the cotton weaver, the wool worker, and the artisan in the knitting trade acted when confronted by the social complexities resulting from the introduction of machinery. The mental reaction of these workingmen has already been described by the authors in the superb chapters of their *Town Labourer* devoted to the mind, the defences, and the ambitions of the poor. In this book they analyze simply the organization of the artisans and their uphill fight in constant competition with power machinery to better, or at least to maintain, their social and economic status.

This story is not new: but the full and authoritative account of it is, and the historian may here find source-material for which he might otherwise search many weary months. And herein lies the especial value of this book; it is a source-book in which we may fully trace the disasters which befell the old handicraftsman and his ultimate nemesis at the hands of the new God of the Nineteenth Century, machine production.

The closely packed pages of this book are devoted somewhat narrowly to this one theme. Problems such as those of child and woman labor, factory laws, the new town life, etc., are treated in the earlier volume, *The Town Labourer*. Except for some preliminary pages devoted to the coal miners and some forty-odd more at the end of the book given over to the work of a government spy, this is the book's principal theme.

In these latter pages the historian will find demonstrated what he has long ago suspected. Many riots and revolutionary disturbances in the Midlands and in Yorkshire owed their origin to agents of the government who attempted to draw the poor artisans into doing overt acts against the authorities. The chiefest of these, one Oliver, owed his downfall to his own ambition. He sought for more important prey, attempted to stir up trouble among the manufacturers, was caught red-handed by the *Leeds Mercury*, exposed and then deposed through the agency of that powerful journal. And with this exposé the book ends.

The authors have done their work well. One wishes that they might have been a little less liberal, in the more technical sense of that word, in their attitude toward the ruling classes of the early nineteenth century. After all, the tory squirearchy which put through the war against Napoleon did save England, and in their defense it might be urged that the more immediate emergency justified harsh suppression of dissent and revolt. The "binding" of the miners for the work of the new year was, after all, a species of contract, and there was something to be said for its enforcement. The destruction of machinery was to a considerable extent instigated by *agents provocateurs*; but it is also true that a general spirit of lawlessness characterized the country at that period, and anyone who studies carefully the minutes of the British Convention in Howell's *State Trials* may well come to the conclusion that a real revolution confronted Britain at the end of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, miserable as was the condition of the skilled artisans, one important fact has apparently escaped the notice of the authors. The actual construction of power machines which displaced the skilled craftsman called into being a new class of mechanics who made and repaired the new tools of production. The hand-weaver descended in the economic scale, but the mechanic rose. The making of tools speedily became a great industry in itself, calling for new adaptabilities and inventiveness, so the net social loss of the working class was considerably lessened.

The Skilled Labourer is, therefore, slightly biassed in its findings. Product of the new liberal school so ably led by Hobson and Hobhouse, it cannot help offering a stimulating and fresh outlook on the past; perhaps, inferentially, it cannot avoid its anti-conservative bias. To expect that would be to look for the millenium. As it is, these three books by J. L. and Barbara Hammond cover this important period of British industrial history with amazing thoroughness.

WALTER P. HALL.

The Lebanon in Turmoil, Syria and the Powers in 1860: Book of the Marvels of the Time concerning the Massacres in the Arab Country by Iskander Ibn Ya'qūb Abkārīūs. Translated and annotated and provided with an Introduction and Conclusion by J. F. SCHELTEMA, M.A., Ph.D. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1920. Pp. 203. \$6.50.)

THE appearance of this volume is peculiarly timely. On September 1, 1920, General Gouraud proclaimed in Beyrout the creation of the new state of Greater Lebanon, including that city and other coast-towns, with autonomous administration under the French mandate. The story of Iskander Abcarius deals with one chapter in the history of the Lebanon which terminated with the French occupation of 1860-1861. In a concluding paper Dr. Scheltema brings the history of the Lebanon down to the early days of the Armistice. He describes the Charter of the Lebanon, drawn up by the International Commission in 1861 (emended in 1864) by which the Mountain was recognized as an autonomous state under Turkish suzerainty, but with a Christian governor under the protection of the Powers. He shows how this constitution was violated during the Great War by the appointment of Moslem Turks to the position of governor and how Turkish rule came to an end with the Entente occupation of Syria in October, 1918.

Iskander Abcarius, the Armenian writer of the Arabic manuscript, here translated by Dr. Scheltema, was born in Beyrout, where for some time he acted as vice-consul for the United States of America. Writing as a Christian he dwells on the undoubted atrocities of the Druzes, in their war against the Maronites, but Dr. Scheltema points out in his foreword that "whoever reads between the lines . . . will become convinced of the underlying verity that the calamity which in 1860 befell the Christians of the Lebanon, and in particular the Maronites, was largely, if not wholly, of their own making". This conclusion is amply sustained by Colonel Churchill in his book, *The Druses and the Maronites*. He winds up his account of the first war in 1841—a war of which the conflicts of 1845 and 1860 were but the continuation—with this statement: "Thus ended a conflict, induced in the first instance by the grasping ambition and bigoted intolerance of the Maronite Patriarch, engaged in by the Druses with all the desperation of a people struggling for their nationality, and lashed into fury by the Turks." The importance of this passage appears to have been overlooked by Dr. Scheltema, who regards Churchill as having a bias in favor of the Christians. Colonel Churchill had intimate relations with both parties. He married the daughter of a Maronite emir, and, as he told the father of the reviewer, he planned the campaign for the Druzes in which they took the Christian town of Zahleh! It was the savagery of the Druzes in the war of 1860 that naturally awoke his sympathy for their victims.

The reviewer finds a certain bias in the florid narrative of Abcarius,

notwithstanding his declaration that he had been particular in the selection of his material, "endeavoring to sift it carefully". His allusions to the treatment of women by the Druzes are not in harmony with their theory of warfare, nor, according to American residents in the Lebanon at the time of the massacres, with their practice. We may add that Dr. Scheltema in his extended introduction rightly emphasizes the baleful influence of foreign interference in the affairs of the Lebanon—the French acting as patrons of the Maronites; the British, of the Druzes.

In his foreword the editor and translator apologizes "for not utilizing some documents which the war kept out of our reach". This apology is significant of the editor's meticulous scholarship, so abundantly illustrated in a wealth of foot-notes, in which geographical, historical, and political allusions are interpreted by reference to diplomatic correspondence; to reports in the press, contemporary with the events; to periodical magazines; to accounts of travellers, etc., etc. This valuable contribution to scholarship made by Dr. Scheltema lacks nothing but an index.

FREDERICK JONES BLISS.

A Monograph on Plebiscites, with a Collection of Official Documents. By SARAH WAMBAUGH. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. xxxv, 1088. \$5.00.)

MISS WAMBAUGH's timely and painstaking study of certain formal expressions of self-determination involving changes of sovereignty is an exceedingly valuable addition to the stock of definitely sifted and organized historical material available for a better informed and perhaps more reasonable disposition of international problems. Her work presents a brief historical summary of the theory and practice of plebiscites, followed by a detailed examination of the plebiscites of the French Revolutionary period—Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin (1791), Savoy (1792), Nice, the Belgian communes, the Rhine valley (1793), Mülhausen and Geneva (1798), those of the period 1814–1870 in Italy (1848–1870), in Moldavia and Wallachia (1857), in the Ionian islands (1863), in the islands of St. Thomas and St. John (1868), the proposals connected with the Schleswig question from 1848, and finally those of the period from 1871 to 1914 in St. Bartholomew (West Indies, 1877), the proposals associated with the Tacna-Arica question from 1883, and in the separation of Sweden and Norway (1905). Some thousand pages of documentary evidence offer substantial justification for the conclusions presented in the text of the monograph.

A somewhat more elaborate and comprehensive consideration of the theory of self-determination might well have prefaced so considerable an undertaking. Admirable as the introductory summary is, it is too

condensed and compact to be entirely satisfying. The growth of the doctrine of the plebiscite and its place in various schools of political thought is sketched, and the difficulties of practical application are indicated, but the discussion of these interesting matters hardly more than broaches the possibilities of the subject. The reader would surely appreciate a more expansive and pertinent development of the actual problems involved, along the lines suggested by the incisive exposition of Haskins in his *Tasks and Methods of the Peace Conference*. (Haskins and Lord, *Some Problems of the Peace Conference*, pp. 13 ff.)

Each plebiscite is treated minutely and judiciously, with some attention to the historical background and the general interests concerned: the qualifications for voting, the methods of polling, and the approximate justice of the results are described adequately. Questions of fraud, undue pressure, and the quality of the supervision at the polls are examined discriminatingly and without bias. In cases where there is no proof for the establishment of a definite conclusion the author sensibly proffers a working hypothesis. The documents are reproduced in the language of origin, with English translations where the original is foreign, in parallel columns. The selection is, in some instances, rather too much confined to official records wherein are contained the more formal pronouncements, attestations, or minutes. Necessary as these may all be in the interests of precision or completeness, they cannot convey the meaning or vitality which exists in many unofficial but nevertheless responsible and representative *ex parte* statements. Factors of motive and desire as well as of form deserve documentation.

National self-determination has been opposed, in theory, by those who have maintained that it has no place in international law, who do not admit the "expediency of leaving to a vote by universal suffrage a question of such importance as sovereignty", who believe that it violates the principle of the rule of the majority—leaving the minority the right of practical secession—and that it may deprive the conqueror of the fruits of victory. It has been deprecated, in practice, on the ground that a bare and possibly evanescent majority might determine an important decision, that it is subject to undue pressure and fraud, and that, actually, plebiscites have been "merely an unnecessary ratification of a *fait accompli*". These objections the author rather effectively refutes, explaining moreover that they have generally disappeared with the development of a new political philosophy and a new international outlook. Further difficulties are, of course, to be expected; it is not easy to establish definite lines with respect to the desires and ambitions of comparatively small minorities.

With the passing of the generation of statesmen who supported it, the principle of self-determination appears to have entered a sort of "academic retirement" from which it was rescued, minus its nineteenth-century prestige, by the war. If it did not, however, accomplish all that was hoped in the last century, it must not be forgotten that inherent

in the experiences with the plebiscites lay the positive value of the introduction and development of the idea and the creation of precedent.

Such thoughts, it is not unreasonable to assume, account in part for the spirit of some of the terms of the Versailles treaty. For however inadequate the detailed provisions of that settlement respecting self-determination may be, there is indubitable evidence of sincerity of purpose in the various efforts to apply the principle of the plebiscite in a full, free, and honest adjustment of cases where the proper residence of sovereignty is doubtful. Further information about these most important experiments will be afforded, it is to be hoped, in studies similar to the excellent monograph under review.

LAURENCE BRADFORD PACKARD.

D'Une Guerre à l'Autre: Essai sur la Politique Extérieure de la Troisième République, 1871-1914. Par CHRISTIAN SCHEFER. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1920. Pp. xi, 371. 12 fr.)

THIS remarkably interesting and valuable book by Professor Schefer, of the École des Sciences Politiques, is modestly described as an essay. The author holds that for many years to come, in the strict sense of the word, no history of the foreign affairs of the Third Republic can be written. Lack of perspective and the absence of much of the necessary evidence, he thinks, will make such an undertaking impossible.

He has written, nevertheless, as befits an historical scholar. Careful examination of the book, from the standpoint of accuracy in statement of facts, shows that the author, while giving no citations of evidence, has been as scrupulously accurate as the most exacting would require. While not concealing his own sympathies, when handling controversial topics, he is almost invariably tolerant and fair-minded. His estimates of the leading personalities, especially of Ferry, Freycinet, Hanotaux, and Delcassé, though expressed only in the form of brief comments of an incidental character, constitute a notable feature of the book. They are discriminating, sympathetic, and informing.

The ten chapters into which the book is divided depict the foreign policy of the Third Republic as falling into four well-defined periods. The first lasted from 1871 to 1879. It was for France a time of self-effacement, that policy being forced upon the country by the need for recovery from the disaster of the Franco-Prussian War, uncertainty about its form of government, and the pessimistic outlook of the monarchists who in the main directed the foreign policy. The second, 1879 to 1892, was a period of rehabilitation effected through the acquisition of a new colonial empire. This was the work of the Republicans when newly arrived at power. It was accomplished despite serious blundering in regard to Egypt, but it entailed a prolonged and unfortunate misunderstanding with England. Credit for the great result achieved belongs chiefly to Ferry. In the third period, 1892 to 1905, the balance

of power in Europe, which had been destroyed by the Franco-Prussian War, was restored by the creation of the Franco-Russian alliance and the development of the Entente Cordiale. The final period, 1905 to 1914, was a time of continued German aggression, developing through a series of crises into the catastrophe of 1914.

In only one important point do I find any ground for adverse criticism. But the one is very serious. As a Francophile of long standing I am profoundly impressed with the belief that at this critical time it is highly desirable that everybody, but Americans in particular, should get a correct conception of the real character of French diplomacy, both past and present. Such knowledge means increased respect and sympathy for France. I very much fear, however, that Professor Schefer's book, despite its admirable qualities, will impart to many of its readers, particularly to Americans, an entirely erroneous impression, one which the author certainly did not intend to convey. The impression to which I allude will come from the general tone of the book.

It would not be strictly accurate to describe the tone of the book as chauvinistic or even imperialistic. But it has that appearance. It is exactly the tone which has led many Americans, even among those who know a good deal about France and are most friendly to her, to believe that the French have been, since 1871, chauvinistic and imperialistic. The holders of this erroneous belief fail to perceive that this tone is often, as with Professor Schefer, more a form of expression than a reflection of the true thought of those who employ it.

Professor Schefer's comment upon the retirement of Delcassé in 1905 (pp. 267-271) affords an example of the tone which seems to me so unfortunate. It was well, he holds, that Delcassé was forced to retire. The reason given, however, is not because he was insisting upon a course of action which would lead to war, when, as the sequel showed, war could be avoided, but because he took that stand at a time when the army was not ready. Here, as elsewhere, it seems to me that Professor Schefer fails, in tone if not in substance, to appraise at its true worth a cardinal feature of French life under the Third Republic, one which has controlled at critical moments the foreign policy of the country. Without adopting the fallacies of the pacifists, though a good many Frenchmen went dangerously far in that direction, the French people were determined that peace should be preserved as long as possible, even if it did sometimes involve some loss of prestige and some yielding of things to which France felt that she had full right. This policy made France a unit in 1914 and won for her first the sympathy and finally the aid which enabled her to survive the terrible strain of the World War. The policy was fully justified by its results. Professor Schefer subscribes to the doctrine, but frequently fails, or seems to fail, to apply it.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

A Short History of the Great War. By A. F. POLLARD, M.A., Litt.D., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, Professor of English History in the University of London. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Howe. 1920. Pp. viii, 411. \$3.25.)

ALREADY a number of histories of the Great War have appeared, some of them in many volumes, others professing to be "brief" accounts. Prefaces and reviews comment on the difficulty of the task at this early date, before the great mass of official documents is available, and particularly before the facts from the enemy point of view are better known. In the meantime however it is decidedly worth while to attempt some general survey, and more than ample material for a substantially accurate picture is at hand.

Somewhere between the hastily compiled, profusely illustrated, picturesque, and anecdotal sets to be sold on the installment plan on the one hand, and the hopelessly detailed and technical military histories on the other, one looks to the professional historians for accounts of the years since 1914 which shall picture and at the same time interpret the tremendous movements which have convulsed the world. In such accounts large space must of necessity be given to campaigns and battles and purely military matters; but equally ample space should be given to the political and economic and psychological forces and developments which in large measure determined the military outcome.

In turning to Professor A. F. Pollard's *A Short History of the Great War* for such a broad and balanced picture of the events of the last six years one is somewhat disappointed. The book is almost entirely an account of military and naval movements, though there are of course incidental references to, and even brief discussions of, other topics. An introductory chapter deals with the outbreak of the war, and the last pages summarize and discuss the peace settlement. Junker precipitation of the war is ascribed to fear of socialism at home. While some of the details of the settlement are criticized, its great positive achievements are emphasized. Throughout the body of the book such topics as the economic organization of the nations for war, internal political struggles, the conflict between the military and the civil authorities—for instance, in Germany, that over the submarine campaign and the Russian peace—the diplomatic duels to secure the support of wavering neutrals, the working of the blockade, the various peace proposals and moves, and the attitude of the United States, are all given very brief treatment. One cannot criticize the author for not doing what he obviously does not set out to accomplish. But for the general reader, and particularly for a college class, a volume on the plan of Hayes's *Brief History of the Great War* seems distinctly more useful. Incidentally, the lack of bibliography and notes is somewhat against Pollard as a text-book. Some of the maps would be more useful if they contained the conventional marks indicating the position and movements of the troops engaged.

Simply as an account of military events however the volume leaves something to be desired. Rather too much space is given to details, and not quite enough to fundamental questions of topography, tactics, and strategy. There are a number of excellent summaries of events and expositions of situations and discussions of objects and criticisms of strategy; but not infrequently the attention is distracted from fundamentals by the information that "the Germans encircling Ciechanow found themselves encircled at Prasnysz", or that "a battery of Royal Horse Artillery was almost wiped out". The campaigns in Germany's African possessions are given a disproportionate amount of space. Judicious condensation would have made it possible to amplify the discussion of the original French-British plans, the numbers and advantages of the opposing forces, the theories of war of the various general staffs, the developments in tactics evolved by either side, and the like. The accounts of the war by such writers as Belloc and Simonds may perhaps be criticized by military experts, but they have the merit of making clear the general principles and primary objectives, and the average reader, in spite of his newspaper education during the war, needs this kind of information.

In spite however of what the book does not contain—and one cannot say everything in four hundred pages—the volume is well worth reading. Its tone is temperate and judicial, though there is an undercurrent of criticism of the Lloyd George coalition government. Except for the paragraphs in which one gets lost in a tangle of place-names, the account of events is clear and interesting.

ARTHUR P. SCOTT.

The Victory at Sea. By Rear-Admiral WILLIAM SOWDEN SIMS, U. S. N., Commander of the American Naval Forces operating in European Waters during the Great War, in collaboration with Burton J. Hendrick. (Garden City and New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1920. Pp. xiii, 410. \$5.00.)

THIS is a very interesting book carrying with it a comprehensive and intelligent description of the submarine and anti-submarine warfare of the late war, and is by far the best yet made known to the world.

It is especially in this respect of great historical and professional value, as it treats in a continuously progressive manner, technically correct, as well as illuminating, of the wonderful development of the campaign against the submarine, in the great trade routes and waters, converging about the British Isles. It states clearly the successive steps taken to avoid and counteract the German submarine warfare which at one time seemed to be on the point of success.

The concentration of shipping and transport in the narrow seas about Great Britain and Ireland afforded the salient objective for the sub-

marine of the Germans. The importance of this objective grew with the increased necessity for food and munition supply, for raw materials, for manufacture of supplies essential to the success of the war, and above all in latter days, for the safe transport of men and material from the United States both before and after our country had entered fully into the Great War.

It was fortunate for us that we had an officer of high rank, and especial experience, like Admiral Sims, available for the duty for which he was detailed practically as the head of naval affairs of this country in London, the natural centre of naval operations in European waters. Of untiring energy, his personality and accomplishments were well known to the British Admiralty circles, and as a *persona grata* he had little difficulty in establishing relations and co-ordinating his efforts with those of the British naval officials toward the common end.

After establishing himself in London and taking over the duties of naval attaché to our embassy, he directed his efforts to securing from home the necessary vessels for the anti-submarine war. The first squadron of destroyers under Taussig soon arrived at Queenstown and the others of all classes followed at varying intervals. As they came they were distributed to the various bases in the British Isles under the British commanders-in-chief, thus preventing divided effort and loss of power. In the meantime American officers of high rank had been placed in command of various bases on the French Atlantic coast, at Gibraltar, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. There was also a division of battle-ships under Admiral Slidell Rodgers of the convoying force which with the convoying forces in general on the European side was under Sims's directions.

Sims was however a naval administrator in his duties and not afloat as a commander-in-chief or as a fighter. Practically he was chief of operations as well as commander of the American naval forces operating in European waters. Rodman's squadron became a unit of the Grand Fleet under Admiral Beatty, though the internal matters still vested with Rodman. The position of a naval officer in a fighting command is very well differentiated from that of general by Lord Fisher when he says, "The general is somewhere behind the fighting line or ought to be. The admiral has got to be *in* the fighting line or he ought to be." Though Sims did not get afloat or in the fighting line, he served his country at his post, with remarkable fidelity and efficiency.

In his dispatch to the Navy Department dated June 19, 1917, Sims says, "As reported by cable dispatch, the British government has definitely reached the decision to put the convoy system into operation as far as it goes. . . . The British Navy is already strained beyond its capacity, and I therefore urgently recommend that we co-operate, at least to the extent of handling convoys from New York." We did co-

operate and with eminent success. This seems to be the beginning of the convoy system.

The personal narrative of Admiral Sims, his personal touch, as it were, as it occurs in various parts of the book, is spirited and interesting, but the most valuable and historical part of the volume before us is the history and description of the methods of attack by the German submarines and the various measures taken in the counter-attack and overcoming of these operations. These measures, stated more or less progressively, were, the arming of the merchantmen, zigzagging in the courses followed, the patrolling of the destroyers, the use of depth-bombs, the formation of convoys, the employment of mystery ships, which were disguised merchantmen, the use of the subchasers, and later and more successfully the employment of the allied submarines, aeroplanes, and hydroplanes.

Apparently the progress of the war developed ultimately that the most deadly enemy of the German submarine was the submarine itself. Absolutely the destroyers scored more heavily because they outnumbered any other craft, but relatively the submarine proved more successful. Of the vessels engaged, the allied destroyers, about 500 in number, sank 34 German submarines with gun-fire and depth-charges, though auxiliary patrol craft, such as trawlers, yachts, subchasers, and other light craft, numbering about 3000, sank 31 submarines; while the allied submarines, about 100 in number, sank 20 submarines.

The most striking story of the book is that of the mystery ship *Dunraven* under the command of Captain Gordon Campbell of the British Navy. The last fight and the last days of the *Dunraven* and the heroism exhibited by her commander and her crew are I believe unequalled anywhere in naval warfare. It reflects the greatest credit, not only upon those immediately concerned, but also upon the British naval service as well as the nation of which it is a part.

But the history of this submarine campaign, largely carried on by the young men of both services, British and American, of enlisted and commissioned rank, should be a cause of great pride and satisfaction to their respective countrymen and make them realize that the sea-instinct of the race only needs opportunity to show that it is as splendid as ever, exhibited as well whether they fight separately or unitedly as natural allies afloat.

Some Problems of the Peace Conference. By CHARLES HOMER HASKINS and ROBERT HOWARD LORD. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1920. Pp. xii, 307. \$3.00.)

IN this volume the authors present in print the lectures delivered by them at the Lowell Institute in January, 1920, on the territorial settlement of Europe determined by the Peace Conference. Professor Has-

kins contributes the first four chapters, on Tasks and Methods of the Conference, Belgium and Denmark, Alsace-Lorraine, the Rhine and the Saar; Professor Lord, in the last four chapters, treats Poland, Austria, Hungary and the Adriatic, the Balkans.

The book aims "to give a rapid survey of the principal elements" in the territorial settlement, and is, so far as my information extends, the first of its kind to appear. It will not be the last, by any means, but at this early date it sets a standard of workmanship which should discourage rivalry by authors less well prepared, and should save the public from much printing that its publication has made unnecessary. Professor Haskins was the responsible adviser and delegated representative of the American Peace Commission on the problems that he discusses. Professor Lord had a similar position in matters relating to the Polish settlement, and was in close touch with problems in other parts of the field that he covers. Both authors write, therefore, with an intimate knowledge of the facts, as these were prepared for the use of the American Commission, and as they developed in the course of the Peace Conference. It was their task to select from their abundant material the facts which appeared to them to show most clearly the nature of the problems; to discuss the various possible solutions; and to indicate what in their opinion will be the outcome of the settlement. They have accomplished their task with notable success. They make no appeal to the taste for the sensational. They present a volume packed close with information. Yet they show so clearly the relations of the facts that they hold the attention, and though their personal convictions are often apparent they treat the questions so candidly that they win the confidence of the reader. The book assumes, what we must devoutly hope to be the case, that the American public is really interested in those questions; and it offers to satisfy their demand not only with good matter but in an admirable manner. Bibliographical notes, appended to each chapter, are excellent; six maps inserted to illustrate the territorial problems are well enough designed, but technically are not well executed.

The plan of the work sets on it two important limitations. In the first place the book, having been prepared for delivery in the form of lectures to a general audience, is necessarily brief in proportion to the importance of the topics discussed. Occasionally the reader gets a glimpse of the elaborate studies on which the considerations relating to the settlement were based. As a rule the authors renounce the use of detailed arguments and present only a summary of the elements in the problem. In the second place, they do not feel free to describe the course of the negotiations, to indicate the attitude of the various powers that were party to them, and to estimate the share that each had in shaping the final result. In respect, therefore, both to extent and to content, the book leaves much to be contributed to the subject in the future, by the present authors or by other scholars. It does provide what is most

needed at this time, a well-informed and fair-minded sketch of the background and of the probable issue of the territorial settlement.

One noteworthy contribution of the book is the first chapter on Task and Methods of the Conference. There have been many misleading accounts, written by those who knew nothing about it, of the manner in which decisions were reached, and the public has thereby been seriously prejudiced against the settlement. It is high time that the facts were known, as they are set forth here. Professor Haskins's description of the way in which territorial questions were handled makes clear, at least, that they were soberly and carefully studied by commissions of specialists, that the findings of these commissions provided the basis on which decisions were reached by the heads of states, and that serious departures from the recommendations of commissions were rare. Selfishness and chicanery were found in this as in most gatherings of a humbler sort, but the dominant motive of the Conference was the demand for a peace that would satisfy the requirements of justice and would therefore stand the test of time.

Another part of this first chapter discusses the elements of boundary-making, the factors to be weighed in determining the line dividing two groups. Professor Haskins classifies these factors under two heads, geographic and ethnographic, and under the former head treats natural features (mountains, seas, rivers), and natural resources. I must confess to sharing the feeling of a delegate on one of the commissions who protested that an appeal to geography appeared to him absolutely irrational, that boundaries were made to serve human interests, and that nature could look after herself. Indirectly, of course, the natural environment has enormous influence in restricting and shaping the activities of a group, but to accept it as an immediate factor, rather than to analyze its effects and to combine with it such artificial factors as railroads, appears to me to put too high a premium on the study of contour maps, to discourage unduly the study of the technical and economic conditions on which the relations of people immediately depend. For "natural" resources, again, I should substitute "economic" resources. Coal or iron ore is always the same thing to the chemist, but it is a very different thing in economic importance, according to the stage of the arts, and its relative scarcity compared to the existing demand of a particular group. This plea, for the repression of dogmatic geography, and the analysis of geographic factors only in their directly human bearings (military, economic, and so forth), is thoroughly satisfied by the treatment accorded specific territorial questions in the course of the book.

In reading the chapters on the different boundary problems, which make up the greater part of the book, it is profitable to keep in mind this introductory discussion of the elements of boundary-making. One realizes then the endless variety of the problems presented. Against any line some sound objection could be urged. The task was not merely

to resist demands which were believed to be unjust; the hardest task was to decide between just claims in conflict. The variety and complexity of the individual territorial problems forbids any attempt here to summarize the discussion of them in the book.

There are some details to which I should take exception. While it is true as stated on page 33 that "No one could determine in advance . . . just how much of an indemnity Germany could pay", it is certain that one could determine how much Germany could *not* pay (*cf.* pp. 49, 142); and it seems to me unfortunate to base the League of Nations even in part on the particular form of the economic settlement. The book abounds in evidence of other and stronger reasons for the League. After one author has used the term "race" in its proper sense the other author can scarcely justify himself, even by a foot-note, in using the term "in its popular sense, as virtually equivalent to 'people' or 'nation'". In what period was it that Fiume's "commercial relations were mainly with Italy"? The most recent maps show not one (p. 260) but two narrow-gauge railroads from the interior to the Dalmatian coast. And from the view (p. 279) that the balance of evidence favors the claims of the Greeks to the Koritza district of Albania, I must dissent emphatically. To recount such details is, however, merely another suggestion of my conviction that the book as a whole is sound.

CLIVE DAY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The United States: an Experiment in Democracy. By CARL BECKER, Professor of Modern European History in Cornell University. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920. Pp. 333. \$2.50.)

THE purpose of this interesting volume is to present some of the main experiences of America as a democracy—or, more properly speaking, the experiences and strivings of a society taking more or less seriously the burdens and hopes of democratic theory and practice. Some portions are historical in the ordinary sense of the word, giving actual events and the emergence of principles or hopes and aspirations; considerable space is allotted to discussion and comment, and the value of the book must largely depend on the wisdom with which facts and tendencies are chosen and on the wisdom with which they are commented upon. The philosophic discussion—plain, simple, but by no means unlearned—is the product of reflection on American history and on American society as the author has seen and known it. These interpretations and reflective comments are well worth reading by the specialist and ought to be very helpful to the general reader. Such chapters as those on Democracy and Free Land, Democracy and Immigration, Democracy and Education, Democracy and Equality, perhaps especially the last, have distinct value.

The work is so admirable in many respects that the reviewer has a natural reluctance about calling attention to inaccuracies and careless statements. It is easy to make mistakes, indeed very difficult to avoid them entirely even in a short and rather cursory treatment; but it must be said, I fear, that the author has allowed himself more than his fair share of errors. The most serious single fault is in the treatment of the judicial system of the United States, one of those things that specially deserve to be given right. Other inaccuracies are not so important; but it is not right, for example, to speak of the United States as refusing to "indemnify the Loyalists according to the treaty of 1783", and it is doubtful if such "refusal" should be called the reason for Britain's refusing to surrender the western posts. Nor is it true that an appointment by the President is valid only when approved by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, or that Texas became a state in the Union in 1837, or that Illinois was admitted in 1819. It is not right to omit Arizona from the territory acquired from Mexico "in 1846", or to allow the printer to make 1853 into 1883. Donaldson figures that the government paid Texas in 1850 something over twenty-five cents an acre, not twenty. It is not quite accurate to declare that in all colonies save Rhode Island and Connecticut the governors were appointed by the crown, or that in 1783 "the western limits of the thirteen states did not extend beyond the Alleghany mountains, while the immense stretches of rich prairie and woodland from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi and from the Spanish province of Florida to the Great Lakes . . . became the public domain of the federal government", or that Plymouth maintained its separate government for eighty years, or that the states have all powers not "expressly" granted to the federal government, or to recount the Missouri Compromise struggle as it is here recounted. There can be no valid reason for using the word "federal" in such a statement as this: that the colonies had accepted "the federal theory of Empire—the theory that the colonies had never been subject to the Parliament, but only to the king".

People are interested just now, or ought to be interested, in just such discussions as the author has given; it is to be hoped that the inaccuracies will not seriously injure the usefulness of a readable book, which is on the whole filled with sagacious comment and treats in a telling way a number of traits and tendencies of American democracy.

A. C. McL.

The Pastor of the Pilgrims: a Biography of John Robinson. By WALTER H. BURGESS. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Howe. 1920. Pp. xii, 426. \$5.00.)

An Answer to John Robinson of Leyden by a Puritan Friend. Now first published from a Manuscript of A. D. 1609. Edited by

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE, sometime Librarian of Manchester College, Oxford. [Harvard Theological Studies, IX.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1920. Pp. xiii, 94. \$2.00.)

THE main facts of John Robinson's later and more conspicuous life have long been familiar; but recent researches by English and American scholars have made evident much that was obscure or even unknown as to his early history and development. Largely through a diligent use of the Probate Registry of York, the author of this volume has discovered that Robinson was born in the village of Sturton-le-Steeple, in Nottinghamshire, about four miles south of Gainsborough and some nine miles southeast of Scrooby, in the centre, therefore, of the region which was to be the cradle of the Pilgrim movement. The family from which he sprang, like that in the same village into which he married, were respected well-to-do yeomen, and the author gives many interesting facts as to their relations, possessions, and manner of life.

The region was, the author shows, one that gravitated naturally, educationally, to Cambridge, where Robinson became a sizar in Corpus Christi College in 1592 and progressed to a fellowship in 1597, which he held till just before his marriage in 1604. He then became attached, in some ministerial capacity, probably that of assistant, to the strongly Puritan parish of St. Andrew's in Norwich. The details of his suspension are unknown, but it was the time of the enforcement of the New Canons of 1604, and Robinson was soon deprived of his ministry by episcopal authority. This action led the deprived minister to return to the region of his boyhood home and brought him into association with, and speedily into leadership of, the growing Separatism of the district.

Mr. Burgess follows Robinson through the more familiar and significant portions of his career, and traces what may be known of his descendants after his death. The author analyzes Robinson's works, makes evident the significance of the controversies in which he engaged, and his influence on his own age. The volume shows wide study of the whole literature of contemporary Separatism and of its opponents, and may be heartily commended not only as a biography of the Pilgrim pastor, but as a most readable and informing account of the Separatist movement of his day not only for the specialist but for the general reader. Mr. Burgess strongly dissents from Professor Usher's inclination to minimize the official persecution to which the Separatists were subjected.

Mr. Burgess gives reasons for believing that John Smyth (the "Se-Baptist"), so variously associated with Robinson, was also a native of Sturton. He does not claim demonstration, and the problem awaits further investigation.

To that indefatigable and deserving student of Separatism, Mr. Champlin Burrage, we owe the publication, from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library of Oxford, of a little known criticism of Robinson's

Separatist positions, in or about 1609, by "a Puritan friend". Mr. Burrage leaves the question of authorship open, and expresses his opinion "that it is doubtful whether he can ever be identified with certainty". Mr. Burgess, in the volume just noted, attributes its composition, primarily on a comparison of handwriting, to John Burgess, sometime rector of St. Peter Hungate in Norwich, and, like Robinson, silenced in 1604, but who had not followed him into Separatism. The work is of value not only for the light which it sheds on Robinson's connection with Norwich. It makes evident some difficulties of Robinson's Separatist position. He had been a minister of St. Andrew's Church. He now denied that St. Andrew's, since a part of the Church of England, was a true church, and therefore "noe man maie be a member of St. Andrewes Church or communicate therewith in the worship of God". His opponent forces the argument and presents an interesting discussion of the whole problem of Separatism.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta: a Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona, 1683-1711. Edited and Annotated by HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, Professor of American History and Curator of the Bancroft Library, University of California. In two volumes. [Spain in the West: a Series of Original Documents from Foreign Archives, vols. III. and IV.] (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1919. - Pp. 379; 329. \$12.50.)

AGAIN has Dr. Bolton placed students of Arizona, Sonora, and California greatly in his debt by bringing to light and making accessible the invaluable treatise on the "Celestial Favors" by Fr. Eusebio Kino, covering the period of his missionary labors and explorations from 1683 to 1711.

Considered quantitatively alone [says Dr. Bolton] his work of exploration was astounding. During his twenty-four years of residence at the mission of Dolores, between 1687 and 1711, he made more than fifty journeys inland, an average of more than two per year. These journeys varied from a hundred to nearly a thousand miles in length. They were all made either on foot or on horseback, chiefly the latter. In the course of them he crossed and recrossed repeatedly and at varying angles all of the two hundred miles of country between the Magdalena and the Gila and the two hundred and fifty miles between the San Pedro and the Colorado.

Dr. Bolton's work is devoted to a translation of Kino's almost forgotten history, used by Venegas, Alegre, and Ortega, in their works published in the eighteenth century, but lost to sight of modern students until found, with the title *Favores Celestiales*, in the archives of Mexico, and now made available for the first time. This work by Kino is of the

first importance to the history of Arizona, Sonora, and California, embodying as it does a complete account of his missionary labors among the native tribes of the regions referred to.

Favores Celestiales consists of five books, divided into twenty-six parts of varying length and comprising from five to seventeen chapters each. Even a bare summary of the contents is out of the question here, but we may repeat Dr. Bolton's succinct characterization of the general nature of the work:

Part I. is a consecutive account of the spiritual affairs, the explorations, the Indian troubles and other temporal interests in Pimería Alta, with considerable attention to California, from the time of Kino's arrival in March, 1687, to November, 1699, and contains near the end a discussion of the spiritual and temporal advantages which might be derived from further conquests . . . Parts II., III., and IV. cover in a similar way the period from 1700 to 1707, with particular emphasis upon Kino's own exploring expeditions in Pimería Alta, along the Gila and Colorado rivers, and along the Gulf coast . . . Part V. was not originally written as a portion of the "Historia," but was incorporated, in Kino's last days, as a suitable conclusion. It is a report to the King, finished in 1710, the year before Kino's death, and consists of an extended argument in favor of the promotion of further conquests in California and other parts of the northern country, with a view to the establishment of a new kingdom to be called "New Navarre." In short, the *Favores Celestiales* is a history of Pimería Alta and of explorations therein and therefrom, with considerable attention to California affairs, for the twenty-three years between 1687 and 1710, written by the principal personage in the region during the period.

Dr. Bolton's introduction (pp. 27-82), characterized by the usual scholarship of the author, includes a biographical sketch of Kino, an account of his missionary explorations and observations, a discussion of the *Favores Celestiales*, its preparation and rediscovery, and a list of Kino's writings. Appended to the second volume are lists of the published works and manuscripts consulted, and an index. The volumes throughout are replete with explanatory notes, and are embellished with several plates and maps, the latter including "A later version of Kino's map of Pimería Alta", hitherto unpublished.

F. W. HODGE.

The Illinois Country, 1673-1818. By CLARENCE W. ALVORD.
[Centennial History of Illinois, volume I.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission. 1920. Pp. xx, 524.)

THIS is a notable volume, the capstone to a notable historical career. A decade and a half ago the *Illinois Historical Collections* comprised a single book of miscellaneous source-material brought together on the politician's principle of giving "the several sections of the state a fair share of representation in the volume". Professor Alvord was called to the editorship, and from his busy office has flowed year after year one

of the most prolific and fruitful streams known to American historical scholarship. More recently, as editor-in-chief of the Illinois Centennial Publications, he has planned and supervised the production of a comprehensive history of the state. The volume before us, although the last to come from the press, is the first of the *Centennial History*. Written by the editor-in-chief, a historian of note working in his own special field and with the resources of a great commonwealth at his command, the reader rightly expects the book to be of highest scholarly excellence and workmanship.

Nor, in the main, is this expectation disappointed. In twenty-one chapters and five hundred pages Professor Alvord portrays the history of the Illinois country with a breadth of outlook, an assured familiarity, and a wealth of detail unapproached hitherto in the literature of the subject. The theme of the book may be briefly summarized as the story of the planting of a French colony in the heart of the continent; the long contest with the English for supremacy in America, with the Illinois country occupying the pivotal position in the French scheme of empire; the Anglo-Saxon triumph, with the subsequent revolt of the colonies from the mother country; and the beginnings, civil and political, of American society in Illinois. The telling of this story involves a wide sweep of history, and across the pages of the volume march a varied array of characters great and small—from Marquette the missionary, yearning for martyrdom in the cause of Christ, or La Salle, the "first promoter of big business in the West", to John Dodge of infamous memory, as choice a rascal as ever scuttled a ship or throttled the liberties of a people.

To the resident of Illinois this book will constitute a never-failing source of inspiration and delight, providing him as it does with a historic past as dignified and thrilling and almost as ancient as any commonwealth along the Atlantic seaboard can boast. To the thoughtful scholar it offers much food for reflection, although he will not acquiesce, necessarily, in all the positions taken by the author. Some, we feel sure, will think that in Professor Alvord the economic interpretation of history finds a too-thoroughgoing exponent. Some will question the sweeping character of certain of his broad generalizations. For example, we note the explanation given (on pages 84-86) of the Iroquois warfare upon the tribes of the interior. To Professor Alvord a single simple factor explains these wars—the desire of the Iroquois to control as middlemen the trade of the interior tribes with the whites. No doubt this was an important cause of the wars, but the demonstration that it was the only one is yet to be made. Survivors of the New England school of historians (if any such there be) will be disposed to question the perspective of the author in evaluating these wars. "The [Iroquois] attack of 1680," he says, "marks the opening campaign of almost a hundred years of warfare for dominion over the West," and he finds that the Iroquois themselves were stirred up by the English,

who, unable to strike directly at the French for the control of the Mississippi Valley, struck at them through their allies, the Iroquois. There is a measure of truth in all this, of course; the Iroquois had not struck at the French in the West before 1680 because until La Salle came into Illinois there were none there to strike at; but are not these attacks of the Iroquois in the West more correctly to be regarded in the light of an extension of that conflict between them and the French which began with the founding of New France by Champlain?

The decrees of the paternalistic government which France established in the American wilderness produced, oftentimes, strange and unanticipated consequences. In 1673 the government, intent on curbing the *coureurs de bois*, forbade the people on pain of their lives to go into the woods for twenty-four hours without permission, and three years later all trading permits were prohibited. "The only effect was to make a large number of Frenchmen outlaws in the West, where they were supported by their friends and were able to divert the fur trade to the British at Albany" (p. 72). Again, we learn (p. 107) that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 entailed confusion upon the fur trade of Canada, since "many members of [the Huguenot] sect, operating hat factories in Normandy, were forced to leave France, thus impairing an industry which absorbed much of the output of Canada". Still more remarkable was the dilemma encountered by the government in its efforts at preventing the debauchery of the Indians by the trade in brandy. "If the Indians did not drink French brandy they would carry their furs to Albany and purchase English rum—equally demoralizing in this world; further, mixed with the English intoxicant, the children of the forest would imbibe Protestant heresy and endanger their souls for eternity" (p. 71). But the citizen of democratic America is humiliated to find that the lot of the French dwellers of Illinois for many years after the blessings of Democracy were forced upon them by George Rogers Clark was distinctly worse than it had been under the old autocratic régime. The story of the "Period of the City States" (pp. 358-378) is one of the strangest and most chastening in American annals. The picture drawn by Father Gibault of conditions in the Illinois (p. 366) fairly rivals the most turbulent scenes of the Middle Ages.

The physical appearance of the book is pleasing but by no means distinguished. The same may be said of its literary style, although in this respect the opening paragraphs are of a high order of excellence, and flashes of brilliant writing appear here and there throughout the volume. Bristling with details as it does, the commission of some positive errors of statement might perhaps be taken for granted. The following items in fields with which the reviewer chances to be somewhat familiar may be noted: The portrait ascribed to Marquette (frontispiece) is not known to be of him, and the year of his founding the Illinois mission is indicated correctly on page 67 but incorrectly on page 132. The battle of Fallen Timbers was fought on August 20, 1794, not

August 18 (p. 399). The builder of Fort Dearborn was Captain John Whistler, father of Colonel William Whistler (p. 414). It is incorrect to say that Harrison led "an army of militia" against Tippecanoe (p. 438); the backbone of his army was Colonel Boyd's Fourth U. S. Infantry. Hull surrendered Detroit on August 16, not the day before, and his order for the evacuation of Fort Dearborn was received at that place August 9, not August 8 (p. 440). There was no United States factory at Prairie du Chien prior to the War of 1812 (p. 451). One or two misprints have been noted (*e.g.*, "Mascoupens" on page 82, note 13, and "bankruptcy", page 113). But such errors of detail are of trivial importance and do not seriously impair the character of Professor Alvord's achievement. We are indebted to him for the first comprehensive, authoritative account of the century and a half of Illinois history which antedates the creation of the present commonwealth. That commonwealth could ill afford to dispense with his services.

M. M. QUAIPE.

Steps in the Development of American Democracy. By ANDREW CUNNINGHAM McLAUGHLIN, Professor of History, University of Chicago. (New York and Cincinnati: Abingdon Press. 1920. Pp. 210. \$1.50.)

SINCE the stirring appeal of President Wilson, addressed primarily to citizens of the United States before our entrance into the World War, "to make the world safe for democracy", and the subsequent challenge that "democracy be made safe for the world", attention has been drawn anew to these inquiries: What is democracy? What are its essential characteristics? What contributions has the United States, the most conspicuous exponent of democracy among the nations, made to the science and practice of government? It is in answer to these pertinent and timely questions that this small volume, comprising the lectures delivered by Professor McLaughlin at Wesleyan University, will be found especially valuable. This series of lectures was the first to be given on the George Slocum Bennett Foundation "for the promotion of a better understanding of national problems and of a more perfect realization of the responsibilities of citizenship".

The author tells us in the preface that his purpose "is simply to recount a few salient experiences which helped to make America what it is . . . as also to describe certain basic doctrines and beliefs, some of which may have had their day, while others have not yet reached fulfillment". The historical method is employed and it constitutes, indeed, the characteristic feature of the work. Mr. McLaughlin truly states that he has "refrained from any serious effort to describe democracy, except as certain phases or aspects of it appeared in our actual life history". Such a course seemed to him necessary in order "not to attribute to American democracy of the past all that we now find to be theoretic-

ally involved in the action and character of a thoroughly democratic people" (p. 168).

In a work of this character, the presentation of new historical facts is not to be expected, but rather a new and fresh treatment of them and of their significance. This latter task is what Mr. McLaughlin essayed in this series of lectures and this he has most successfully achieved. His treatment differs from that contained in the standard work of Professor C. E. Merriam on *The History of American Political Theories* in being more popular in form and less detailed and formal in its presentation, owing to the character of the audience for which his lectures were originally prepared. Unlike that of Professor Merriam's volume, Professor McLaughlin's aim is not to present an extended treatment of the various political theories that have been held but rather to unfold the progressive development of democracy by presenting its predominating characteristics during each of the successive periods of the country's history. This he does in a rapid but lucid and convincing way. Beginning with its germ in colonial days, the voluntary association of men by contract in religious and political organizations, he traces its development through each of the six succeeding periods into which he divides our history down to the present time.

Mr. McLaughlin's firm grasp upon the history of the country is apparent throughout his treatment, and his discussion is characterized by brilliant exposition and frequently enlivened by flashes of wit and even restrained sarcasm. In the concluding chapter, after summing up the "implications of democracy" of to-day, he closes with an exposition of the responsibilities of democracy. This is an earnest and eloquent appeal for America "to play wholeheartedly the rôle of a democratic nation". "If we would be democratic, we must act the democrat" in international affairs as well as domestic. "We cannot be outwardly autocratic and inwardly democratic."

It is fortunate that this scholarly and inspiring presentation of the progress of democracy is to reach a wider audience through the medium of the printed page. An intelligent reading of this little volume should contribute to "a more perfect realization of the responsibilities of citizenship".

HERMAN V. AMES.

Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union: an Analysis of Cases decided in the Supreme Court of the United States. By JAMES BROWN SCOTT, A.M., J.U.D., LL.D. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1919. Pp. xiii, 548. \$2.50.)

In his review of the two volumes of cases of which this volume is an analysis, published in the April number of the *Review* (XXV. 509),

the present writer suggested the need of an index to make the material of the collection readily available. This need has been abundantly and artistically supplied by the *Analysis*. Indeed, the usefulness of the latter far outruns that of an index, which would be of service to few save lawyers, while the *Analysis* gives a history, statement, and explanation of each case sufficient for any intelligent layman, while not omitting adequate quotation from important parts of the opinions and appropriate editorial discussion of the more difficult points. The learned editor's familiarity with the historical and personal setting of the cases enables him to give an intimate flavor and dramatic interest to many of them not to be found between the covers of the reports; and his propaganda in favor of an international court of justice with a jurisdiction far in excess of any probable power of physical enforcement is frankly conducted.

His thesis appears in the following quotations:

The sphere of usefulness of a supreme tribunal, especially one of the society of nations, would be doomed to operate within bounds unduly contracted, unless questions considered political could, in the future as in the past, be rescued from the faltering hands of diplomacy and, by submission to the Court, become judicial and be decided by the consent of the parties according to the principles of law and justice, like questions of humbler origin. The hope of the future is that law shall, little by little, win upon the political domain, making that legal or justiciable which was not so before, and continuing a process long since begun but never to be ended until, in the fine phrase of Mirabeau, "Right shall one day be the monarch of the world". The opinion of Mr. Justice Baldwin¹ offers a hope, and the Supreme Court the means of its realization; it is in itself not merely a demonstration of the right of jurisdiction, since exercised by the Supreme Court in suits between states, but also a brief in behalf of a court of the society of nations which, like the Supreme Court of the United States, is to decide disputes alleged to be political, but in fact justiciable, between bodies politic, indifferently called states or nations; and again, like the Supreme Court, to stand between diplomacy, non-existent or defective, on the one hand, and war, only too effective, on the other (pp. 141-142).

What the nations have done in the past they can do in the future, and by submission make questions justiciable which were not so before, just as they have done on previous occasions, notably in the domain of prize law. What thirteen states of the New World have done, the states of the Old World can assuredly do if only they will, for where there is a will there is a way. . . . Should the leaders of opinion in a world torn and racked by war attempt to do for the society of nations what American statesmen did at the close of a war, from which a more perfect union of the American States emerged, they need only bethink themselves of the Supreme Court of the United States. They can for a few paltry dollars provide themselves with a set of the Supreme Court Reports, in which they will find reproduced the decrees of the Court settling the controversies between States according to principles of

¹ In *Rhode Island v. Massachusetts*, 12 Peters 657, 736-738 (1836).

justice, the mysteries of judicial and political power unveiled, the distinctions between them stated and the process by which political questions become justiciable revealed, and a procedure which has stood the argument of counsel, satisfied the requirements of justice, and preserved peace between the States of the American Union and the Government of the Union by assigning to each and keeping to each its appropriate sphere of action. Peace has come to the States of the American Union through justice administered in a Court of Justice. To be worth while and to be durable, peace can only come to the States of the Society of Nations through justice administered in its Court of Justice (pp. 542-543).

To impute to a single function of the Supreme Court so great a share in the success of our government is obviously extravagant. That the United States has important and wisely-chosen legislative powers, as well as judicial ones, and that all of its departments normally act upon the *individuals* who compose the states, instead of upon the states themselves, are political devices of far more importance for our peace and well-being than the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over suits between the states, useful though the latter undoubtedly is. And despite them all we had our Civil War. No society of nations can prosper as the American Union has done until it is constituted between nations sufficiently similar in culture, development, and political ideals to be willing to entrust adequate powers to a common legislative body, and to permit their enforcement by a common executive department, as well as by a common judiciary. One need not decry the desirability of a strong and able international court, with a jurisdiction not restricted by all of the conventional notions of what is "justiciable"; but to suggest that such a device alone, with any conceivable jurisdiction, could assure to Europe in the near future the peace with justice secured to America by elaborate and well-tried political machinery in the hands of an intelligent, experienced, and fairly homogeneous democracy, is but to aver a belief in miracles.

JAMES PARKER HALL.

The Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P., Founder of the Dominicans in the United States, Pioneer Missionary in Kentucky, Apostle of Ohio, First Bishop of Cincinnati. By Very Rev. V. F. O'DANIEL, O.P., S.T.M. (New York and Cincinnati: Frederick Pustet Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 473. \$3.50.)

It is fitting that the centenary of the Roman Catholic diocese of Cincinnati should be commemorated by a sympathetic and reliable biography of its first ordinary, the pioneer missionary who laid its foundations deep and strong. Descended from an old and prominent Maryland family, Edward Fenwick, like others of his class, was sent abroad at the close of the Revolution to be educated at one of the colleges founded by English Catholics in Belgium. There he was received into

the Dominican Order and there he remained until forced by the French victories in the Netherlands to take refuge with other Dominicans in England. In 1804, after an absence of twenty years, he returned to his native Maryland with the intention of founding a province of his order in the United States. Yielding to the counsel of Bishop Carroll, he decided that the first Dominican establishment should be located among the Roman Catholic immigrants in Kentucky, rather than in Maryland where there were already two colleges under the care of the Jesuits and the Sulpicians. From the date of his arrival in Kentucky in 1805 to his death from cholera during the epidemic of 1832, whether as friar preacher or as friar prelate, he adapted his life to the conditions of pioneer society, travelling usually without an attendant like any other itinerant missionary in the rapidly growing West.

In writing this biography the author has set for himself a twofold task. Primarily the book is intended to interest and to edify the general reader by presenting for his contemplation the record of a pious and saintly career; but at the same time the author has endeavored to write an accurate historical narrative drawn from original documentary sources. This twofold task was all the more difficult because many traditional errors had crept into earlier historical accounts, and because the documentary sources to be consulted were widely scattered and extremely fragmentary. Owing to the nature of its organization the Roman Catholic Church in this country has no records which correspond exactly with the minutes of conferences, assemblies, and conventions of other religious denominations, and it is these which form the backbone, so to speak, of religious historical material. In the case of Bishop Fenwick this lack was not made good by a continuous personal correspondence, for he kept neither diary nor letter-book, nor was he careful to preserve the letters which he received. Moreover, as the author states in his preface, many of the ecclesiastical documents are of a litigious character and cannot therefore be accepted at their face value.

As the copious bibliography attests, it has required enormous labor to search through family and local records as well as through scattered ecclesiastical archives both in Europe and in America. For his conscientious and painstaking efforts to establish the exact fact as well as for his correction of errors and misprints in missionary reports and in other religious publications, the author is entitled to the gratitude of those who have neither the leisure nor the opportunity to examine ecclesiastical sources. It is to be hoped that he may some day render still further service by publishing entire the collection of documents he has assembled at so great pains. A publication on the same scale as the documentary volumes of the *History of the Society of Jesus* would not only interest the student of ecclesiastical history but would be of value to the secular historian who must needs take into account the important part religious organizations have played in the development of the West.

MARTHA L. EDWARDS.

The United States in Our Own Times, 1865-1920. By PAUL L. HAWORTH, Ph.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. viii, 563. \$2.25.)

THE first characteristic of the book that impresses the reader is the number of quotation-marks; the second, that a great number of these quotations add nothing to its style or interest, and that the author could have said the same thing just as forcibly, perhaps even more so, in his own words. Phrases such as "'only hits that count'" (p. 241), "'lazy and sassy'" (p. 8), "'made to be broken'" (p. 101), and longer quotations of a similar nature, too numerous to mention, add little to the narrative.

A certain indefiniteness also characterizes the work. The statement, "By revelations concerning the 'Sanborn Contracts', Secretary of Treasury Richardson was so badly discredited he resigned" (p. 77) is not illuminating to the student who has never heard of the Sanborn Contracts. Grant's connection with Black Friday is also unsatisfactorily presented (p. 64). The apparent attempt of the author to guard against over-emphasizing a subject concerning which he is a specialist has led to a poorly balanced presentation of the disputed election of 1876, especially in the portion dealing with the manner of counting the votes in Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina.

The author claims to have devoted a large share of space to social and industrial problems. His arrangement of material, however, is such as seriously to eclipse the important developments connected with any specific movement. We find no satisfactory connected accounts of the evolution of agrarianism, labor, social legislation, constitutional law, imperialism, and other such matters as should properly be the concern of the student of this period of our history. Though no one doubts that the proportions of a book are largely a matter of opinion, the reviewer cannot refrain from pointing out that a book which devotes nine pages to a description of Indian battles and buffaloes (pp. 103-112) and but five lines to the Dawes Act, is hardly well balanced; that a book which has space to devote to poetic ornamentation and omits some of the most important development of our constitutional law is hardly well rounded. Not only has the author failed to show the interaction between the social and industrial problems of the country and the evolution of our law, but also he has failed to indicate the relation of these problems to our political life. Because of this he lacks a sympathetic understanding of the thinking of those who from time to time have joined the forces of dissent.

In his treatment of the two most conspicuous contemporary American statesmen, Roosevelt and Wilson, the author leaves no doubt in the minds of his readers that the former was by far the greater. It is hardly necessary to point out that a text-book is no place in which to give way to partizan zeal, or to suggest that sufficient time has not as

yet elapsed to permit sufficient perspective for a true historical judgment of either.

Two attributes, however, of this work stand out so strikingly as to make its reading well worth the while of the student of recent American history. In the first place the "Suggestions for Further Readings", giving as they do page references to selected portions of various works, are excellent; secondly, and more important, Mr. Haworth has produced a work which is so readable as to justify the claim of the publishers that it is as "fascinating as a story".

B. B. KENDRICK.

The Canadian Dominion: a Chronicle of our Northern Neighbor.

By OSCAR D. SKELTON. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XLIX.] (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1919. Pp. xi, 296.)

CANADA has reason to congratulate herself on the appearance of this excellent little volume in the *Chronicles of America* series. She has not only been accorded a distinctive place in the development of the new world, but has also been fortunate in finding a sympathetic interpreter of her evolution from a colonial to a national status.

Professor Skelton has been most skillful in combining the dual rôles of historian and political scientist. On the historical side he has little to present that is new or striking, but he does succeed in breathing the breath of life into the dry bones of the past and giving them vitality. To the gift of historical imagination, he has added the quality of insight. He is perhaps more interested in the significance of events than in the events themselves. The reader will not soon forget his keen analysis of the political tendencies of his country, nor his critical judgments of the statesmen of the time.

The author's point of view is that of a staunch nationalist. He is proud of the part that his country has played in resisting Tory imperialism on the one hand and American intervention on the other, but there is, fortunately, an entire absence of national self-complacency or chauvinism throughout the study. In his treatment of domestic affairs, he maintains a strict judicial impartiality, although he occasionally reveals his liberal fiscal sympathies in his discussion of recent tariff policies. On imperial matters, he looks forward to the day when Canada shall attain to full nationality, not as an independent state, but as an equal and full-fledged member of the Britannic Union and of the League of Nations.

His treatment of Anglo-American relations will doubtless prove of particular interest to American readers. Although somewhat critical at times of the occasional high-handed attitude of American diplomats towards a weaker neighbor, he does not fail to do full justice to the general policy and particular contentions of the United States. His

handling of the reaction of American policy upon Canadian affairs is especially effective. Few Americans, it is safe to assert, are aware of the extent to which the policy of this country has unwittingly contributed to the development of Canadian nationalism.

Although the general outlines of this study are excellent, there are certain minor features which are open to criticism. The Maritime Provinces have received but scant attention, and the great Northwest is almost entirely neglected. The author has given due consideration to the economic expansion of the country, but, strange to say, has largely overlooked the political phases of this growth in the form of the farmers' party organizations and the labor movements. Even more surprising is his neglect of the constitutional development of the country during the past fifty years. Canada has made some interesting experiments in federalism which have an important bearing upon the evolution of federal principles in the modern state. The bibliography, moreover, is sadly inadequate. There is scarcely a reference to any of the leading authorities on constitutional history and law: for example, the valuable studies of Bourinot are not even mentioned. The most authoritative record of the proceedings of the federal constitutional convention is likewise overlooked, and Mr. Porritt's marked contributions to recent Canadian history suffer the same fate. These are only a few of the many surprising omissions. It is sincerely to be hoped that the author may find occasion to revise the general bibliography in future editions of his work.

These limitations, however, are insignificant in comparison with the high intrinsic merit of the whole book. Its delightful literary form, together with its accuracy and suggestiveness, make it both the most readable and the most valuable of the general histories of the Canadian Dominion. The volume, in short, is a credit to Canadian scholarship.

C. D. ALLIN.

The United States and Latin America. By JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of American History in the Johns Hopkins University. (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1920. Pp. 346. \$2.50.)

TWENTY years ago Professor Latané published a series of lectures on the diplomatic relations of the United States and Spanish America. His present work is based on the earlier one. Into it a number of changes have been introduced. These include a new general title, a revision of the contents of four chapters, and the addition of two new ones, dealing with the advance of the United States in the Caribbean and with Pan-Americanism. From the original volume material of special interest at the time has been omitted and its place taken by an account of later events, even if, in the cases of Cuba and Colombia for example, the record of them is not always "brought down to date".

Unfortunately for the manifold promise held out by the general title, the work does not present anything like a complete picture of the relations between the United States and Latin America. It does not cover even the diplomatic relations alone. The method of treatment instead is selective and episodal. While illustrating some of the general principles that have governed the policy of this country toward its southern neighbors, it hardly furnishes the comprehensive survey that the reader is led to expect. Of the twenty nations in Latin America five are not mentioned at all, and seven of them merely in connection with their establishment as republics and their participation in the events of the last fifteen years, especially as concerned with the Great War.

Throughout, the book appears to have been conceived in terms of the United States alone. What has been written about Latin America, which might serve to indicate its reaction to the influence, diplomatic and otherwise, exercised by this country is quite ignored. Works in Spanish and Portuguese seemingly have not been consulted. Recent treatises in English on Latin America are rarely cited; and when a reference is given the text reveals little, if any, use of the material. This is conspicuously true of the first two chapters. Standing substantially as printed in the earlier edition, they contain errors and misconceptions that might readily have been corrected by a resort to works that have been published since 1900. Such a procedure would have helped to assign to the United States a more important place in the recognition of Spanish-American independence than the author accords it.

Why three pages devoted to Texas and Mexico from 1803 to 1848 should constitute a suitable prelude to a study of the advance of the United States in the Caribbean is not clear to the reviewer. Neither does he perceive the reason for including recent dealings with Mexico in the account of Pan-Americanism. He is even more at a loss to understand the dismissal of the Central American arrangements of 1907 in a dozen lines, and the total disregard of the share of the United States in the negotiations attending the War of the Pacific over the nitrate deposits of "northern Chile" (p. 299).

Without convincing documentary evidence numerous positive assertions of the author lack an appropriate foundation. Among them are his declarations about the rôle of Germany in the Venezuelan imbroglio (p. 249), the result of the conference at Niagara Falls (p. 309), President Wilson's refusal to enter upon war with Mexico (p. 311), the Haitian situation (*ibid.*), and the effects of the President's co-operation with certain of the Latin American republics (*ibid.*). In the same category belong the statements about the reasons for the neutrality of South American countries during the war (p. 316), the virtual changelessness of the Monroe Doctrine (p. 323), and the motive for the formation of the "A B C Alliance" (p. 329).

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

MINOR NOTICES

The Teaching of History. By Eugene L. Hasluck, M.A. [Cambridge Handbooks for Teachers.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1920, pp. 119, \$3.20.) This slender volume is of interest to American teachers for two reasons: first, for the information it gives directly or by implication upon the state of history-teaching in England, and, secondly, for the practical quality of its criticisms and suggestions, so wholly unaffected by the airs and attitudes of the professional pedagogue. Mr. Hasluck speaks of a "concentric" programme, according to which the full course of English history should be gone over each year, "political conflicts one year, wars and foreign policy another year, constitutional developments another year". He remarks that a continuous, chronological treatment, with the different threads interwoven, still finds greater favor. He inclines to use the concentric method within the limits of a single period, for example, 1603-1689, which would be the work of one term. It is not a little curious that he feels obliged to argue that English boys should study something besides English history. His own plan calls for about a dozen lessons in general on European history each term during three years, for the older pupils, boys of from fourteen to sixteen years of age. The United States since the Revolutionary War receives a modest assignment. Our national development, glanced at from the eastern shores of the Atlantic, does not take on the proportions we ordinarily ascribe to it. His words are worth quoting. "It seems", he says, "that we should have omitted something of importance if we neglected to give two or three lessons to the subject of the United States and their problems." As regards selection of material, Mr. Hasluck does not believe in making the lessons too entertaining. He thinks the "reaction against the grinding methods of our fathers" has been excessive. This does not imply an old-fashioned text-book treatment. He advocates the use of exercises in the sources, although in his opinion the source-book enthusiasts have gone too far. He emphasizes one characteristic of efficient work of this kind, which is too often forgotten, the presence in the hands of each student, not only before the class exercises, but during the class hour, of a copy of the particular document or group of documents. His suggestions also for the utilization of local history are valuable.

H. E. B.

Archaic England: an Essay in Deciphering Prehistory from Megalithic Monuments, Earthworks, Customs, Coins, Place-Names, and Faerie Superstitions. By Harold Bayley. (London, Chapman and Hall Ltd.; Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1920, pp. viii, 894, \$7.50.) If one could believe that Mr. Bayley intended his book on *Archaic England* as a satire on the writings of a certain class of histortians and philolo-

gists, who seem able to reach important conclusions without much regard to the evidence, his work would be comprehensible. But a satirist rarely finds it necessary to extend his purpose over more than eight hundred large pages; moreover, the reading of a very few pages brings out the fact that the author intends that his account shall be taken as serious history.

Mr. Bayley's work is primarily a study in folklore. It is a discussion of such topics as Gog and Magog, Puck, Oberon, the Man in the Moon, the White Horse, and a host of others of the same kinship. The author seems to believe strongly in the essential unity of the human race and human culture, and that traces of this original unity can be found in folklore, in place-names, and in popular customs, rites, and ceremonies. In this belief there is doubtless a great deal of important truth; but in his effort to discover and present this truth Mr. Bayley employs a method that makes the sifting process an impossible one. He seems to have framed a principle that if any two words sound alike they are the same word, no matter what may be the accident of origin. If this principle is once accepted, the rest is easy.

To begin with, Mr. Bayley believes that the English race, speech, and culture are fundamentally British and not Anglo-Saxon. He rejoices in the Norman conquest, through which "the temporary ascendancy of German kultur was finally and irrevocably destroyed" (p. 24). The English language, he holds, "has descended in direct ancestry from the Welsh or Kymbric" (p. 79); Mr. Bayley is, therefore, largely occupied with Celtic lore, terms, and place-names. He finds an evident connection between Janus, the Roman divinity, and "the innumerable Jones of Wales" (p. 92); between the Greek hero Achilles and Achill in County Mayo (p. 82); between the Balkan Albania and the Scotch Albany (p. 84); and finally between Yankee and jonnock, an English dialect adjective meaning true, straightforward, and the like (p. 97). The term Kymry he explains as meaning the followers of King Bri (p. 310). Gretchen "resolves into Great *Chun* or Great *Mighty Chief*" (p. 302). Mr. Bayley is not so sure of the identification of Elgin with "the Irish Hooligans" (p. 290), or of Jehu with "the exclamation Gehoh! Gehoh! which carmen use to their horses" (p. 282); but he is quite clear that Yule was originally *ye all* (p. 132). It is scarcely necessary to illustrate the author's method further. Examples might be presented in great numbers; but enough have been given to prove that the publishers are correct in advertising *Archaic England* as a "remarkable book".

L. M. L.

Feudal Cambridgeshire. By William Farrer, D.Litt. (Cambridge, University Press, 1920, pp. xi, 354, \$12.00.) The purpose of Dr. Farrer in compiling the information contained in this calendar is to aid the student in the determination of the "baronial, honorial, and manorial history" of Cambridgeshire. The calendar arranges the vills of the county con-

veniently in their respective hundreds, and gives for each vill a number of references from various printed sources sufficient to indicate, in general, its descent through various fees in the period from Domesday Book through the thirteenth century, or its permanence as part of one fee. It was probably necessary that the references should be summaries in English and not quotations from the original, but there is a somewhat disquieting warning in the introduction that not all references to a given vill from the source chosen are included. The speedy identification of fees will be undoubtedly facilitated by a careful work of this character, which has entailed much labor, and the pedigrees of baronial houses, of which a number are given, will prove very useful. The calendar will contribute to the important studies of baronies and honors which are yet to be written. In his extremely brief introduction Dr. Farrer makes no attempt, unfortunately for the student of history, to draw his own conclusions from the material he has so patiently collected with regard to the difficult definition of "honor" or "barony".

It is obvious that in a work of this kind there must be some definite limitations of the number of authorities included. The student may reasonably desire to know the exact considerations determining the compiler's choice of material within the wide field open to him and the exact works consulted. The division between printed and unprinted is not logical, although it may be convenient, or even necessary. Even within the restricted field of printed material, however, Dr. Farrer's choice is insufficiently designated. The statement regarding sources in the introduction is surprisingly brief and general, especially for thirteenth-century material, and there is no bibliography. The student can never be sure what authorities, other than those cited, have been consulted for any particular vill. This defect might be easily remedied, to the greater usefulness of the work in the similar compilations which are, we are told, projected for several other counties. There is occasionally, moreover, an indefiniteness with regard to authorities, especially for statements made in the foot-notes. The inclusion of Norfolk vills in Wisbeach, and the failure to indicate which of the multiform possibilities of Wisbeach as hundred, vill, manor, castle, or barton, is meant, is a case in point. Surely, Elena la Zuche held "sokelond", and not "fokelond" (equated in the index with folkland) in Swavesey (see *Rot. Hund.*, II. 370). The full index of persons and places will prove of great service.

N. NEILSON.

Belgium: the Making of a Nation. By H. Vander Linden, Professor of History in the University of Liège. Translated by Sybil Jane. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920, pp. 356, \$3.25.) It was natural enough that Belgian scholars, forced into foreign environment by the German invasion, should turn their attention to their own history as a whole, no matter what their special field had been. Others, less well equipped, also plunged headlong into the Belgian story, and large has been the crop of

minor works, works possessing, as a rule, but little significance as contributions to Belgic history. Monographs are valuable if their scope be limited, but any small volume covering centuries has the defects of its qualities. In this instance the reader might have gained had the author limited himself to a consideration of modern Belgium, even though his outline of the past has been sketched simply with a view to the dominating influences. One would have liked him to treat the later periods with the delightful intimacy of men and times which he displays in his discussion of the bull of demarcation of Alexander VI. That article, published in the October number of this review, 1916, is a wonderful example of a power to be as familiar with a past phase as one might be with current events. It is an inspiring exposition of a justly original point of view—a vivid sidelight turned on an important transaction, a light kindled by the writer's researches into colonial expansion.

As regards this volume, it really seems as though M. Vander Linden might have omitted the first 152 pages of his historic review, giving a reference to the *Belgian Democracy* of Pirenne, with whom he is in substantial agreement as to the theory that internationalism is the essential keynote of Belgian nationality. The chronological narrative is too condensed to be vital. The later chapters are richer in individuality and indicate what the author can do in character-sketches. The intensive provincialism that persisted throughout the Austrian régime, the Catholic influence in political situations, the difference between French and Belgic definitions of liberty during the Revolution, are acutely outlined, as well as the good intentions of the Congress of Vienna and their failure in regard to the kingdom of the Netherlands. The most readable chapters are, however, those dealing with the years 1831-1914, giving the evolution of the present realm from an agricultural to an industrial state, a state burdened with capitalist, proletarian, and linguistic problems. The differentiation of these problems from similar ones existing in other lands is particularly well put, as is also the peculiar character of Belgian "Liberalism". In spite of all the incongruous elements seething in a small space, there is a confidence in the existence of a peculiar Belgic national strength. May that prove to be the case!

Het Voorspel van den Eersten Engelschen Oorlog. Door Johan E. Elias. In two volumes. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1920, pp. viii, 185, vi, 235, and 5 maps, 10 fl.) A complete history of Dutch commercial hegemony in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would be entitled to fill many volumes and would comprehend much of the economic history of Europe in that period. It is to be hoped that the folios will some day be written, but in the meantime students will be grateful for this synthesized and condensed survey of what the author has called, not very descriptively, *Preliminaries to the First English War*. Mr. Elias fixes upon the English War as the crisis when Dutch mercantile imperialism, unbearably strained in the effort to maintain its monopolies

and supremacies in all parts of the world, first gave ground—not so much before its English rival as before the new conditions of a new age. From this point of view the entire economic development of the provinces is a preface to the war, as the history of France is a preface to the Revolution. Mr. Elias has shorn away, in so far as it was possible, religious, political, and diplomatic ramifications, and in another work he has dealt with the Dutch navy, but even thus limited, his task was extensive and intricate. In its accomplishment he was greatly served by the numerous careful monographs on all aspects of the Republic's Golden Age, which stand to the credit of Dutch scholarship. The book is then not the product of original investigations but of exhaustive reading and correlation of the masses of material available in print. Although the author has been most scrupulous in furnishing references, the absence of a bibliography is regrettable.

The first volume tells the story of the origin, growth, and integration of Dutch economic supremacy in Europe. There is a chapter on commerce and the fisheries, one—an omnivorous but highly interesting chapter—on shipbuilding, the carrying trade, industry, labor and finance, one on English commercial development, and one expounding the rival Dutch and English theories of *mare liberum* and *mare clausum*. The second volume describes Dutch expansion in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Although the English rivalry is emphasized throughout, the writer's concern is primarily with the history of his own land, and his treatment of English affairs is designedly summary and incidental.

In reading the book one is strongly impressed by the fact that "peaceful penetration" has not changed its methods greatly since the seventeenth century. It meant then, as it means now, energy, initiative, ruthlessness, long views, large profits, capital piling up, credit unfolding, industrial organization and combination, labor sweated, here restriction of output for the sake of holding prices, there large-scale production to undersell competitors, monopolies and special privileges, spheres of influence, barbarous cruelties to yellow, black, and red peoples, dollar diplomacy, and "incomparably the greatest navy of the world".

VIOLET BARBOUR.

The Rise of South Africa: a History of the Origin of South African Colonization and of its Development towards the East from the Earliest Times to 1857. By G. E. Cory, Professor in Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, South Africa. Vol. III. (New York and London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1919, pp. xiv, 474, \$9.00.) The publication of this volume marks the third stage in an undertaking which the author began in 1893, two years after his arrival from England to assume a professorship in Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, South Africa. The two preceding volumes, appearing successively in 1910 and 1913, have already been noticed in this review. However, it is perhaps worth while to point out once more that the main title—*The Rise*

of *South Africa*—is misleading, though the subtitle, "A History of the Origin of South African Colonization and of its Development towards the East from the earliest Times to 1857", indicates more correctly the very special character of the work. As a matter of fact, the third volume, purporting to cover the period from 1834 to 1840, is, with the exception of an excellent chapter on slavery and its suppression in South Africa, devoted exclusively to the Kaffir War of 1835, its origin, course, and aftermath.

Allowing for the restricted scope of the treatment, both in time and area, the author has made a valuable contribution of far more general interest than the particular incidents he actually describes. Following his previous practice he supplements a careful study of the records by material drawn from interviews with early settlers and their descendants, thus reproducing most vividly the frontier life of a by-gone age with all its adventurousness and hardship.

More important still, while aiming to be unbiassed, he presents a vigorous brief for the colonists as against "Mr. Mother Country", the London Missionary Society, and the policy for which they stood in dealing with the natives—the policy of lenient drifting and amiable persuasion as contrasted with the more drastic and aggressive methods advocated by the frontiersmen. This sharp conflict of policy, together with acute differences of opinion regarding the respective responsibility of white and colored folk for the dreary succession of border wars, is one of the most persistent problems of the greater part of South African history, to say nothing of a not inconsiderable portion of British colonial history in many other parts of the far-flung empire. Professor Cory leaves the reader in no doubt as to where he stands. "It is always an easy matter", he remarks, "for those at a safe distance to say what should have been done in the time of danger, and not having suffered loss themselves, to counsel mercy, forbearance, and forgiveness in those who have." This is all very true; indeed one may go further and admit that "indiscriminate and mistaken zeal on the part of benevolent people in Great Britain" contributed to many subsequent disorders and disasters; and certainly little or nothing can be said for somnolent and vacillating secretaries like Lord Glenelg, who was ultimately removed for incompetence. On the other hand, fear of criticism from the humanitarian element among the British public has always been a wholesome check on savage and irresponsible administration, happily limiting the number of Governor Eyres and General Dyers. But Governor Durban and Colonel (later Sir) Harry G. Smith were apparently not of the brutal sort, and were undoubtedly the victims of hysterical and inept meddling.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Johann Peter Friedrich Ancillon und Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm IV. von Preussen. Von Paul Haake. [Historische Bibliothek, herausgegeben von der Redaktion der *Historischen Zeitschrift*, 42. Band.]

(Munich and Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1920, pp. 180, M. 20.) The author of this book seeks to rescue Ancillon from the unfriendly interment in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, to which he was consigned by an anonymous hand. He gives an excellent analysis of the ideas of this once famous preacher, philosopher, writer, tutor, and statesman, and of the strong anti-liberal influence which he exerted upon Frederick William III. and upon the crown prince, whose guide he became in 1810. His work is largely based on hitherto unused letters between Ancillon and the crown prince and he wisely lets the letters largely speak for themselves.

Ancillon, born in 1766, of a Prussian French Huguenot family, was a child of the Age of Enlightenment. His admiration for Frederick the Great and the system of government which he represented was unlimited. He happened to be at Versailles during the Tennis Court Oath, and the events which he witnessed in France turned him violently against all written constitutions and popular sovereignty. On his return to Berlin, he attracted so much attention by his eloquent sermons to the French community there that he was appointed, in 1810, as tutor to the crown prince, who became king in 1840. He was more than a mere tutor. He speedily became to the crown prince a beloved guide, philosopher, and friend—an intimate relationship, which lasted for more than a quarter of a century and was broken only by his death in 1837. But the clay in the potter's hand was not of the best. Even as a youth, Frederick William IV. often betrayed signs of that unbalanced ecstasy and fantasy which became more marked with age. "Nein! u. Ach! u. O! Dieses Rheingau ! ! ! ! !", he exclaimed in a letter to Ancillon in 1815 at the age of twenty; and the next sentence, stating that the weather was divine and that the church bells were ringing, is followed by twenty-eight exclamation points. Haake seems to think that Ancillon was at fault in not correcting earlier this ecstatic lack of self-control; but it is doubtful whether it would have been possible to do this. There is a curious family resemblance—slight but unmistakable—between the hysterical outbursts of this medieval romantic Hohenzollern and the ex-Kaiser's private notes as recently published by Kautsky.

Most interesting to the general student of German history is the author's account of the way in which Ancillon opposed the adoption of constitutional government in Prussia. Under the inspiration of the War of Liberation and of Hardenberg, Frederick William III. had signed on May 22, 1815, a project for a Prussian parliament and constitution. But Ancillon persuaded him to keep it locked up in his desk for some weeks. After Waterloo, Ancillon again secured the postponement of the execution of the project, then its displacement by the *Staatsrat* of 1817, and finally its abortion by a definite return to the old system of medieval estates.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Memoirs of the Empress Eugénie. By Comte Fleury. In two volumes. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1920, pp. 473, 561, \$7.50.) The life of the Empress Eugénie afforded a rare opportunity for memoirs. For the entire period of the Second Empire she played an important part. No spectator had a better place from which to see and hear the play. Then, after the curtain fell, there came to her a long period for deep and quiet reflection. Her complex and elusive personality supplied an additional element of interest and significance. All who are interested in history may well rejoice that the memoirs which were to be expected have appeared so soon after the death of the empress.

With these, as with all memoirs, historians will first ask when and by whom they were written. The books themselves give no direct statement as to the date of writing. But the internal evidence shows almost conclusively that the memoirs were completed, except possibly for unimportant details, about ten years ago. The title-pages announce that the memoirs are by Comte Fleury. There is, however, a report in circulation that the empress dictated the memoirs to him. The internal evidence, in my judgment, indicates very clearly that in the main the empress was the real author.¹

The two volumes are of quite different character. In the first, the empress and her personal interests, especially the prince imperial and the court life, occupy a large place. Her whole career is covered, but there are only a few pages upon her youth and upon her later life in England after the fall of the Empire. The second volume consists of fifteen chapters, each dealing with some important feature of the history of the Second Empire, mainly with its foreign affairs. Nine of the fifteen chapters are devoted to the Franco-Prussian War. Probably the first volume will interest the greater number of readers, but historians will value the memoirs more for the second.

In both volumes, but especially the second, the recollection of the empress is supplemented by numerous contemporaneous documents, many of them hitherto unpublished. Among these are a good many reports of conversations and memoranda by Napoleon III. The remainder come from members of the imperial court, especially from General Fleury. It is unfortunate that for many of these documents exact information as to time of writing and authorship is lacking.

The memoirs contain no surprises. There is nothing in them that will compel any very considerable re-writing of the history of the Second Empire. They are interesting and clever Bonapartist propaganda, pleading for a more lenient judgment upon the Second Empire than has hitherto prevailed. Almost everything in the life of France which went well is ascribed to the wisdom and benevolence of Napoleon III. The

¹ An article by the reviewer in the *New York Evening Post*, Literary Review, Oct. 30, 1920, p. 14, gives the argument as to date of writing and authorship.

evils which his régime brought upon the country are, by implication at least, attributed chiefly to the malevolent opposition of his opponents in France.

Probably the most distinctive feature of the memoirs is the portrait they draw of the empress. It is, I think, much too favorable, inaccurate because incomplete. But it is done with sincerity, modesty, and good taste. It is a revelation of the empress as she would like to be seen.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

International Labor Legislation. By Iwao Frederick Ayusawa, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XCI., no. 2.] (New York, Longmans, 1920, pp. 258, \$2.00.) Mr. Ayusawa describes his essay as a study of the history and progress of treaties, conventions, and congresses which have resulted in labor legislation of international validity. Two-thirds of the report is given to a description of the attempts to secure such legislation, from the early nineteenth century through the Great War. The account begins with Robert Owen's address before members of the Holy Alliance in 1818, in which he contended that "the prime task of the governments of Europe was the international fixation of the legal limits of normal industrial conditions". The development is traced through the rise of the international socialist organizations (the Internationales), the formation of international trade-unions, the various treaties and agreements which European governments have entered into, and the several non-official organizations which have worked to secure these agreements, the most important of which has been the International Association for Labor Legislation. The sources from which the account is drawn are scattered, and the assembled material will be useful to the student in the field of labor, even though he may be puzzled by several indefinite references (such as that to "*an* international labor conference", first mentioned on page 33) and by some errors (possibly typographical, as in the case of the year 1800 on page 30).

The remainder of the report is devoted mainly to the first Labor Conference under the League of Nations, held in Washington in the autumn of 1919, to which were appointed members from different countries as provided for in the Treaty of Peace, and which the author himself attended. He describes its organization; the adoption of the conventions on the eight-hour day, unemployment, the employment of women and children; and the recommendations on unhealthy processes, which are to become the basis of legislation in different countries. The account is given with a vividness which shows the writer to have been an interested observer, particularly with regard to the provisions which were so significant for Japan. Unfortunately the story stops short of the congress in Genoa and the activities of the International Labor Office.

AMY HEWES.

Literature in a Changing Age. By Ashley H. Thorndike, Professor of English in Columbia University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. 318, \$3.00.) The "Changing Age" is the Victorian era; and the purpose of the book is to set forth the changes wrought in the content and manner of Victorian literature by the political, economic, religious, and other developments of the period. The points of contact between the life and the literature are the more numerous and varied because the author's conception of literature is broad, not to say loose, including much that is confessedly ephemeral and of small artistic value, such as newspapers and magazines, although he lays chief emphasis upon writing that "moves our imagination and sympathy". Introductory chapters discuss the permanent and the changing in literature, and the "literary inheritance" from the generation of Wordsworth, Byron, and Keats, which formed a point of departure for Victorian literature. The Reading Public is the title of a chapter on changes in the numbers and taste of readers during the course of the century, with special insistence on the "Gargantuan appetite" of the modern public. Carlyle, as a powerful and pioneer figure, is then considered at some length in relation to his environment, much being made of his shift of interest from the mystical romanticism of *Sartor Resartus* to the economic and political ills diagnosed in *Past and Present* and later works. Subsequent chapters deal with the reflection, in poetry, novels, and essays, of the labor agitation, the growth in England of the ideas of democracy and empire, the transformation of theology under the influence of science, the feminist movement, and the effect of science, invention, and machinery upon modern life. The last two chapters, Beauty and Art and the Future, affirm that Victorian conceptions of beauty widened to embrace a greater variety of subjects, literature thereby becoming a more comprehensive and valuable transcript of the age, and prophesy that this widening process will continue.

One always takes up with respect a work by Professor Thorndike, but this book is below his reputation. It is solid and sensible, and presents truly the main facts about the period and its literature. But the ground covered is so wide that little not already known to the student of history or of literature can be told within the small compass of the volume; and the book lacks the unity, lucidity, and brilliancy which could alone make memorable so brief a treatment of so large and complex a subject.

WALTER C. BRONSON.

Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War. By Ernest L. Bogart, Professor of Economics, University of Illinois. (Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1919, pp. vi, 330, \$1.00.) Behind Professor Bogart's ambitious attempt to estimate and summarize the total cost of the war lies a mass of laboriously collected material, presented in so usable a form that many a harassed student of the finan-

cial policies of nations will turn to it gratefully. The major part of the volume is concerned with the direct outlays of the belligerent countries. Great Britain and her dominions, the principal allied and associated powers, and Germany and her allies are considered in turn. In each case the author's procedure is to note important changes in the currency and to follow with numerical and descriptive statements of expenditures, loans, and taxation during the successive years of the war. The indirect costs of the war, which include casualties, the death toll in civilian life, property losses, and the loss in production, are treated briefly. In the conclusion the costs of the war are combined and the final figure set at \$337,946,179,657.

As an analysis of the financial history of each of the great countries during the war period Professor Bogart's contribution is not only important but unique. In the case of the larger countries the information is authentic and the gaps are few. The brief sections are in effect significant outlines of histories which are as yet largely unwritten. But for Rumania, Greece, and Serbia the direct costs are almost wholly estimated, and for thirteen other entente allies a blanket estimate of \$500,000,000 in direct outlays is given.

The attempt to estimate the indirect costs of the war is correctly described in the author's foreword as "attended with a considerable amount of conjecture and . . . [to] be regarded merely as the best guess which is possible at the present time". The loss of human life is now to a considerable extent a matter of record; but the capitalized value of that life is a matter in which one man's guess is as good as another's, and possibly as good as the French actuary's estimates used by the author. The figures for property losses, on land and by sea, are almost equally elusive. The cost of war relief and the outlays of neutrals can perhaps be approximated. Insurmountable difficulties lie in the way of calculating the loss of production, but the figure is placed at \$45,000,000,000—the largest single item in the list of indirect costs, which total \$151,612,542,560.

It is an axiom of statistical method that a numerical total is no more accurate than its weakest member. In view of the estimate of \$45,000,000,000 for loss in production, the grand total of \$337,946,179,657 as the price which the world has paid for the war loses much of its meaning. It is not as an accurate summary of the costs of the war, but as an outline of the financial history of the great powers, that the book will prove permanently useful.

ALZADA COMSTOCK.

Le Guet-apens Prussien en Belgique. Par Godefroid Kurth, Professeur Émérite à l'Université de Liège. Avec une Préface de S. E. le Cardinal D. J. Mercier, Archevêque de Malines. Avant-propos de M. Georges Goyau. (Paris, Honoré Champion; Brussels, Albert Dewit, 1919, pp. xiii, 226, 4.40 fr.) This little book, published three years

after the death of its author, contains the finished portion of what was to have been a summary history of Germany's crime against Belgium. Of eleven chapters indicated in his notes but five were completed at his death. These survey Belgian neutrality since 1831 (ch. I.), Belgian responsibility to protect its neutrality (ch. II.), the German ultimatum and Belgian response (ch. III.), the Prussian efforts to justify their conduct (ch. IV.), and the resistance of Belgium to the aggression (ch. V.). A brief conclusion and three appendixes, dealing more specifically with the atrocities, complete the work. The book proper repeats what is now a well-known story. The appendixes, especially the account of the tragedy at Aerschot, contribute testimony which cannot be ignored. The work is very clear in style and remarkably restrained in tone.

The author, who is well known not only for his numerous and remarkable contributions in the field of early European history but also for his great work as a teacher of scientific method in history, seems to have been rather unjustly regarded as pro-German in his intellectual sympathies. He had frankly admired German historical scholarship and had sought to establish the history seminar in Belgium. On the other hand he had equally admired the lucidity of French exposition and fully succeeded in making it his own. The possibility of appropriating the excellent qualities of both without incurring intellectual vassallage to either would probably be admitted without argument by dispassionate students. Certainly the present work reveals the author as a true patriot—without prejudice to his reputation as a critical scholar. Perhaps this is the chief motive of his literary executors in presenting this work to the world so late.

A. C. K.

The Russian Peasant and the Revolution. By Maurice G. Hindus. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1920, pp. xii, 327, \$2.00.) The problem of the Russian peasant is one of the most important and most trying problems of the Russian past and present. It is sufficient to state that the peasants form 85 per cent. of the Russian population and are steadily increasing much more than the city-population. The problem presents itself, broadly speaking, as follows: What is the Russian peasant and what is the part he will play in Russia in the future? The book of Hindus tries to solve this problem. Hindus seems to be personally acquainted with the life of the Russian peasant and has completed his personal impressions through wide reading of different Russian books. The result of both is a book written with good knowledge of the subject, with great sympathy for the Russian peasant, and in a good style. The best chapters are the first eight, which depict the economic and the social life of the peasants. My only objections to this vivid picture are: (1) the author treats Russia as a whole, for him the Russian peasant and the conditions of his life are the same everywhere; this is misleading; one type of the Russian peasant and one type of his economic life

do not exist; they are utterly different in different parts of Russia; (2) the author describes almost exclusively the economic life of the peasants; I expected to find a larger amount of information on the religious habits and on the morals of the peasant; (3) he gives a very rosy idealized picture of the character of the Russian peasant, a picture usually given by the so-called Russian popularists (*narodniki*).¹

In dealing with the political side of the problem (chs. IX.-XVII.) Hindus is very keen in criticizing the different solutions of the agrarian problem proposed by the different political parties in Russia, both liberal and socialistic. He seems to advocate the thesis that the peasants were right in using the régime of the Bolsheviki for taking the land from the landowners without waiting for a general and fair solution of the agrarian problem by the Constituent Assembly. I completely disagree with Hindus in this respect. The tumultuous way of seizing the land and the elementary way of dividing it among the neighbors of the seized estates are unfair and seem to me a great regression, both from the point of view of morals and of economics. They bring Russia back to the conditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and their economic results would make her an easy prey for her more advanced neighbors. I am convinced that the solution of the agrarian problem in Russia is not yet found, and that every new government of Russia, even a peasants' government, will be obliged to start afresh with this tremendous problem and to find a fair and just way of its solution.

M. ROSTOVTSSEV.

Handbooks prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office. Vols. XII., XVI., XVII., XXIII.-XXV., nos. 67-73, 96-109, 148-162. (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1920, pp. from 24 to 174, prices from 6d to 4 sh.) This fresh batch of Dr. Prothero's *Handbooks* includes several interesting numbers. In some of them the name of the author is now given. The excellent one on the Congress of Vienna (no. 153) by Professor Charles K. Webster has already appeared in public print (Oxford University Press). The one on the Congress of Berlin (no. 154) is also well done. We note particularly, as containing accurate and useful information not easily accessible elsewhere, the *Handbooks* on Syria and Palestine (no. 60), the Islands of the Northern and Eastern Aegean (no. 64), Mongolia (no. 68), Manchuria (no. 69), and the Plebiscite and Referendum (no. 159). The last pamphlet in the series (no. 162) deals with Zionism and may be recommended. The preceding one (no. 161), entitled "President Wilson's Policy", is made up of extracts from the messages and speeches of the President. They are put in without comment.

¹ I regret that Hindus is not acquainted with the striking picture of the life of the Russian peasant given by Miss Semenova-Tianshansky (*The Life of Ivan*, published by the Russian Geographical Society), who spent her whole life among the peasants.

Nos. 96 to 109 are (with the exception of one on French Morocco, no. 101) devoted to English, French, and Belgian tropical Africa. They contain, like the other handbooks in the series, carefully gathered and useful information, well selected and succinctly put, and supported by bibliographies of varying value. In the appendixes several of them have treaties and other documents.

Nos. 148 to 152 deal with broader international topics, namely, the Freedom of the Seas, by Sir Francis T. Piggott, International Rivers, by Georges Kaeckenbeeck, International Canals, by Edward A. Whit-tuck, International Congresses, by Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest Satow, and European Coalitions, Alliances, and Ententes since 1792, by F. J. C. Hearnshaw.

Las Órdenes Religiosas de España y la Colonización de América en la Segunda Parte del Siglo XVIII. Estadísticas y Otros Documentos. Publicados por el P. Otto Maas, O. F. M. (Barcelona, Fidel Giró, 1918, pp. 217.) This volume is an extract from the *Estudios Franciscanos* for 1917 and 1918. Father Maas, a German, sets forth in his preface the outburst of missionary zeal among German Catholics before the Great War, citing as an example the formation of the International Institute for the Scientific Study of Missions, under whose auspices he is working in the archives of Spain.

The volume is a welcome addition to printed documentary sources. It reproduces twenty-one documents from the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville. We are grateful for a good analytical index, which Continental publications of this character usually lack. Documents I. and II. are of interest for a comparative study of missions in North and South America, for they give a general view of the work of the various orders in all Spanish America during the twenty years, 1759-1779. Numbers III. and IV. deal with Chile and Peru, V. with Quito, VI., VII., and VIII. with New Granada, IX.-XII. with Venezuela, XIII. with Guiana, XIV., XV., XVI. with Bolivia, and XVII.-XXI. with Argentina and Paraguay.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

The Fitch Papers: Correspondence and Documents during Thomas Fitch's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1754-1766. Vol. II., January, 1759-May, 1766. [Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, vol. XVIII.] (Hartford, the Society, 1920, pp. xxiii, 457, \$3.00.) With the issue of the second volume of the Fitch Papers, the editor, Mr. Bates, emerges from the confines of strictly Connecticut history and enters the broader field of imperial relations. Some of the problems of the previous volume concerned, it is true, other colonies than Connecticut and brought us at times into touch with Great Britain, but none of them rose to the dignity of major issues in the same sense as do those here presented, connected as the latter are with the closing years of

the Seven Years' War, the peace of Paris, the renewal of the Molasses Act, and the passing of the Stamp Act. Even the Susquehannah question, which in its later phases, as here depicted, becomes Anglo-American in importance, was at first but a comparatively small matter; and the Mohegan question, though carried eventually up to the King in Council, never became of more than local interest. But from 1759 to 1766 Connecticut steps out into the limelight and her leading problems are, to an extent greater than ever before, those of all the colonies. Anyone dealing with this period must reckon with the documents here printed, for they throw light often in unexpected places. From them we not only learn much about Connecticut's contribution to the war and her relations with General Amherst but obtain also such interesting incidental facts as that Connecticut men served with the British regulars and in the regiments of other colonies; we acquire important information regarding the colonial agencies in London of Jackson, Ingersoll, Johnson, and Life; we understand better than before Connecticut's financial dealings with England and her manner of handling the money received from Parliament; we find here the text of the lost "State of the Trade", drawn up by the Boston merchants in 1763, and in close connection with it Connecticut's own protest against the renewal of the Molasses Act; and above all else we get valuable additions to our knowledge of the conferences and debates preceding the passage of the Stamp Act. Some of this material has been printed before, and some of it has been used by Professor Gipson in his account of Jared Ingersoll and by Miss Bailey in her paper on the Susquehannah controversy, but it can all be used again with profit. Mr. Bates does not often nod, but we cannot understand why he should twice refer to the "State Paper Office" as if it were a place where documents can still be found, and we wonder a little that he should have passed by "Samuel Marten" (to whom Ingersoll wrote a long letter in 1761, pp. 131-134), as if he were a person easy to identify. We are glad to be able to state that another volume of the series, containing the papers and correspondence of Governor Pitkin, is already in preparation and will probably be issued in the spring. The Pitkin volume will be the last of a remarkably useful publication, of which the Connecticut Historical Society may well be proud.

C. M. A.

Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy. By Henry S. Burrage, State Historian. (State Librarian, 1919, pp. xiv, 398, \$3.50.) This work is of the "local history" type, relating with extreme particularity and in great detail incidents of interest, primarily, only to residents of the district or community where the incidents occurred. Nevertheless the Maine boundary question was, and is, of great importance in American diplomatic history, and the author has made some contributions of fact, and some corrections of error in his extremely painstaking, though rather dreary, presentation. He gives excellent summaries of the argu-

ments advanced by Maine, New Brunswick, the United States, and Great Britain, all through the controversy, of which Webster said the arguments were as difficult to follow as the boundary itself. An interesting fact stated by Mr. Burrage is that, whatever the truth of the accusation that Preble, the American minister to the Netherlands, sent advance information of the Netherlands award to Maine, a month before he sent it to Washington, there is at least no proof of this to be found in the Maine archives. The author comments on a previous "local history" on the boundary controversy, written by the Hon. Israel Washburn, that it is in error in naming two British and one American as members of the St. Croix Commission of 1796 and then attacking the decision of the Commission as necessarily "British". Mr. Burrage says that in fact there were two Americans and one British commissioner, and defends the decision of the commission. The archives of Maine evidently have been very thoroughly studied by the author, but he gives little evidence of acquaintance with the many monographs, both British and American, that have been written on various aspects of the Maine boundary controversy. The work is better organized in the earlier than in the later chapters. As a whole it constitutes an addition to knowledge which must be used by the general historian of the controversy.

E. D. A.

Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. xii, 385, \$5.00.) The group of admirable biographies of the captains of industry, which already includes important works on Jay Cooke, Henry Villard, James J. Hill, and Lord Strathcona, is noticeably enlarged by this self-drawn portrait of the steel-master. Although the book has been touched up here and there by the friendly pen of Professor John C. Van Dyke, it is essentially and convincingly the work of Carnegie himself. The historian will regret that it confines itself more to portraiture than to documentation, that it throws little new light upon partly known facts, and that it has none of the elaborate accuracy likely to be found in the biography of a man who seeks to justify himself.

Andrew Carnegie was satisfied with himself and the rest of the Scotsmen, from his earliest years. With the simplicity of the great prestidigitator he transforms the humble errand boy into the associate of emperors and the benefactor of society. He conceals the steps by which he rose, if indeed he ever knew them. The searcher for the principles upon which success is founded will find here little to illustrate any rule. He will find maxims enough, for Carnegie was only less fertile than Poor Richard in wise apothegms; but he may end by wishing for fewer maxims and more abundant proof.

It is highly improbable that Carnegie became leader in the develop-

ment of the use of steel by following his own motto, "never to go in where you couldn't wade". Here and there he gives a glimpse of the cautious plunger. When as a boy, or little more than one, he stepped beyond his orders and ran Tom Scott's division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, he was giving an evidence of cool willingness to take risks. He knew as well how to advertise. His practice as a messenger boy in Pittsburgh to learn the faces of his customers and flatter them by delivering messages to them on the street, is worthy of Franklin. His advice to the office-boy to do something outside the line of duty, in order to catch the attention of the boss, comes close to being his recipe for success.

The reader of the book retains a friendly feeling towards a simple yet astute personality. Carnegie had a persistent enthusiasm for the permanent values in life, and a genuine devotion to the task of spreading these values among his fellows. The amiable delight that he received from academic robes and festive orations was a slight price to pay for the facilities of education that he spread throughout the world. He patronized the Kaiser as unconsciously as he did the humblest laborer in his mills. But he could stir up movements that show him as a keen weigher of political forces.

Occasionally the volume gives fragments of testimony or fact. Collis P. Huntington reveals himself as he confesses that "My ledger is the only book I have gone through for five years". "I'll never drink a drop of liquor again", is ascribed to Grant at the time of Rawlins's remonstrance; and, says Carnegie, "He never did". Simon Cameron is given credit, upon his own admission, for securing the renomination of both Jackson and Lincoln. But, as Carnegie himself adds, "'There's figuring in all them things.'"

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Organized Labor in American History. By Frank Tracy Carlton, Ph.D., Professor of Economics in DePauw University. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1920, pp. 313.) As its title implies, Professor Carlton's book is not a history of labor, but of labor's influence on American social and political development. There is, it is true, a chapter of about thirty pages on the rise and growth of the labor movement; but that is only by way of introduction. It is followed by chapters on labor's relation to the adoption of the Constitution, to the public school system, land reform, labor legislation, minor reform movements, and political action. The volume is therefore unique in that it attempts to bring economic, social, and political history together and for that reason should be welcomed by both economists and historians. It might very well supplement a text-book in either political or economic history. The author's purpose however is not coldly scientific. He shows a lively sympathy for the humane aspects of the labor movement. Writing when

the zeal for reconstruction was abroad in the land, he hoped for a new age of services, co-operation, and mutual aid to take the place of the old epoch of strife, profits, and international rivalry. Indeed some passages were evidently written while the American utopia seemed within his grasp. Still, with a scholar's caution, he warns us that the vision may fade, nay, is now fading and that industrial chaos lies just ahead. Leaving advocacy and prophecy aside, we may say that the author has accomplished his modest purpose of helping to bring American history into a truer perspective by showing the influence of the wage-earner on the course of events. As he remarks, a great deal has been written on the influence of the frontier—a thing of the past—and the time has come to emphasize a power that has been and is increasing. Surely no one can quarrel with that.

MARY BEARD.

The New Frontier: a Study of the American Liberal Spirit, its Frontier Origin, and its Application to Modern Problems. By Guy Emerson. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1920, pp. xii, 314, \$2.00.) If the prospective reader picks up this book with the expectation of finding a discussion of the frontier in its later manifestations, he is doomed to disappointment, for, as the secondary title indicates, it is a spiritual and not a physical frontier which Mr. Emerson discusses. As he states it, "the main purpose of this book is to point out how this great heritage [the spirit of the frontiersman] may invigorate our work and keep fresh our inherent idealism". After a preface by Professor Hazen and a brief introduction, the author attempts, in a chapter on the Frontier of American Character, to state the significance of the constantly advancing line of civilization; in this he testifies to the influence of the works of Professor Turner, to whose writings he owes in large part his inspiration to put pen to paper. The frontier, he maintains, is still with us, but "it is a frontier industrial, financial, commercial, political, social, educational, artistic, diplomatic, religious". The remaining chapters have indeed a slight thread, in occasional reference to this frontier spirit, which may be said to tie them into some sort of a unified whole; but all might well have been printed separately as essays on such topics as the Leadership that made America, What is a Liberal? Human Resources, or the American Spirit in World Affairs. The last chapter, entitled the New Frontier, is an attempt to synthesize America's problems and to state the attitude in which they should be faced.

Mr. Emerson belongs to that somewhat neglected though numerous group of liberals as distinguished from radicals on the one hand and reactionaries on the other. And it is to this inchoate and as yet largely inarticulate body that this country has to look for guidance if the tasks of the present are met as the pioneer faced the unsubdued wilderness:

with an Americanism which "is a basic love of the square deal, of fair play . . . a love sometimes submerged in the show and bustle of twentieth-century achievement, of rugged simplicity both of living and character".

Written by a layman for laymen, with a limited and somewhat uneven bibliography appended for the use of readers not especially familiar with the development of the United States, the book is interesting and valuable as an illustration of one type of thought which has to be taken into consideration by the student of forces making American history to-day.

L. B. SHIPPEE.

The "Corsair" in the War Zone. By Ralph D. Paine. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. xiii, 303, \$4.00.) This well-written and attractively got up volume, though primarily a more or less personal record of an armed yacht and her ship's company, nevertheless possesses undoubted historical value as the chronicle of a typical vessel of her class, the mission of which was to make good the serious lack of destroyers and scouting craft in our navy in 1917. The name *Corsair* has long held an honorable place in our naval annals, for its former bearer, rechristened the *Gloucester*, made a dashing name for herself off Santiago in 1898 under the heroic Wainwright.

It is unfortunate that the United States has never followed the example of Great Britain and enrolled in her naval reserve the best of her merchant steamers, and it is therefore the more to the credit of American owners that they immediately placed their vessels at Uncle Sam's disposition for a nominal rental. The strenuous and varied career of the *Corsair* under Commander Kittinger, and afterwards under Lieut.-Commander Porter, her original yachting skipper, is replete with interest, and is told by Mr. Paine with simplicity and spirit. It is well to have so detailed a record, and so typical a one, of the astonishing manner in which a lot of landsmen, most of them innocent of salt water, were turned in a marvellously short time into accomplished seamen and naval mechanics.

The book is a welcome and valuable minor contribution to the history of the World War. The numerous and excellent illustrations greatly add to its attractiveness.

EDWARD BRECK.

Russian-American Relations, March, 1917-March, 1920: Documents and Papers. Compiled and edited by C. K. Cumming and Walter W. Pettit. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1920, pp. xxviii, 375, \$3.50.) The executive committee of the League of Free Nations Association, having resolved to undertake an inquiry into the relations between the United States and Russia since the revolution of March,

1917, entrusted the inquiry to a committee of three, Dr. John A. Ryan, Mr. J. Henry Scattergood, and Mr. William Allen White, who caused this volume to be prepared by Mr. C. K. Cumming, and by Captain Walter W. Pettit, who as a member of the Military Intelligence Division of the United States Army had accompanied Mr. William C. Bullitt in his brief mission to Petrograd in March, 1919. The result is the present collection of documents and papers, some 270 in number, dated from March 16, 1917, to February 24, 1920, and furnishing an extraordinary and welcome affluence of material illustrating the diplomatic and quasi-diplomatic relations maintained by our government with that of Russia. It is much to be wished that we might have many more of such books, illustrative of our foreign relations, especially in view of the sparing manner in which, on the whole, our Department of State gives forth documentary evidence respecting those relations. Gratitude for the publication, however, should not impose silence as to its faults, which are of such a character as to impair greatly its usefulness. First of all, the selection of documents, besides being very slight for the period of the provisional and Kerensky governments, has also somewhat of an *ex parte* character. Out of 270 documents, 137 have apparently been contributed by Mr. Raymond Robins, whose attitude toward the administration is sufficiently well known; a third of the rest are from the *Izvestia*, the official organ of the Soviet government, while other Russian authorities have almost no representation; most of the rest are from the *New York Times* and its *Current History*. The reader will not fail to be struck with the entire absence of papers derived directly from the State Department, except for five that are taken from one of its publications. A more serious effort should surely have been made to procure authoritative material from that source, and, to the reviewer's knowledge, would not have been unsuccessful. Such a recourse would have given greater completeness and fairness to the book's exhibit. We should like, besides knowing what Colonel Robins and others cabled to Washington, to know more of what was cabled in reply. Such a recourse might also have improved the texts in some cases; *e. g.*, one of the most important documents is known to have had an important additional paragraph of which no trace is here given. On the paper jacket of the book the publishers assert that "all the available documents and papers which seemed important" have been included; but the editorial committee do not claim so much. If however this partial publication shall cause the State Department to print more frankly, it will have done additional good.

Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society. No. 27. The Lyons Collection, vol. II. (The Society, 1920, pp. xx, 618.) This second volume of the Lyons collection contains a great mass of notes on American Jewish history which the Rev. J. J. Lyons, with indefatigable industry, collected during a long period of labor in that field. Many of

his data have been discovered independently by other workers in the same field, and published, during the long period between the time of his death and the date when, by the generous gift of his children, this volume has been placed within the reach of scholars. His references and notes as to material already thus published are here calendared. The rest of the book is a rich mine of material, but consisting so largely of items as rather to defy reviewing. Many of these items, from manuscripts and from books of local history, are of great interest, and the sum total of what they contribute to American Hebrew history is extraordinary. The items are systematically arranged and admirably indexed.

Stevenson's Germany: the Case Against Germany in the Pacific. By C. Brunson Fletcher. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, pp. xv, 230, \$3.50.) The purpose of this book is to show why the former German colonies in the Pacific should never be returned to her. Robert Louis Stevenson is cited as the strongest witness against the late empire, and his *A Footnote to History* is accepted as a strong and accurate indictment. But beyond the repetition of charges the volume contains very little of a positive nature. This is naïvely explained by the oft-repeated statement that there was almost a conspiracy of silence to withhold the facts concerning the treatment of the natives in the German possessions. "No one cared to speak or to write against Germany, and we are forced to argue from suggestion instead of being able to recite the facts of the case." "It would be easy", we are told, "for Germany to draw a terrible indictment against Great Britain and her Colonies in the Pacific from the attacks of English writers and publicists, and it would be difficult for critics of Germany to retaliate on similar grounds, if voluminous documents were essential." However, the author is convinced that "first in Samoa and then right through the ocean German ways with the natives have been full of treachery, deceit, and devilishness", and "the feeling throughout Australasia is that Germany can never be trusted again".

Mr. Fletcher is an Australian journalist who has already given us two books on the Pacific. The present volume has little to commend it. The organization is very faulty, the materials used are slight and even they have not been presented as well as they deserved, and there are certain obvious errors, such as the reference to "eight hundred millions" of Chinese. It would not be difficult for a more careful investigator to write a more useful study of the career of Germany in the Pacific.

P. J. T.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

While this number of the *Review* is being printed, the Association holds, in Washington, its thirty-fifth annual meeting. The *Annual Report* for 1917 will be distributed, it is hoped, not long after the meeting. It is also hoped that it will be followed soon by vol. II. of the *Annual Report* for 1918, containing the autobiography of Martin Van Buren. As the Yale University Press has discontinued the publication of the annual bibliography, *Writings on American History*, which it has hitherto, with much liberality, maintained as an independent volume, that bibliography will hereafter be printed as a part of the *Annual Report*, as it was in 1909, 1910, and 1911. This practice will begin with vol. I. of 1918, which will also contain the proposed handbook, or directory of members. Both *Writings*, 1918, and the handbook will probably be obtainable in separate form somewhat in advance of the completion of vol. I. for 1918 at the Government Printing Office. (P. S. For additional data respecting the annual meeting, see p. 411.)

PERSONAL

Professor Arley B. Show, who held the chair of medieval history in Stanford University, died on October 27. A graduate of Doane College and of Andover Theological Seminary, he came to Stanford University as assistant professor of European history in 1892, and in 1901 he was made professor. In addition to his regular work of instruction he was especially active in teachers' courses, and his relations with the high school teachers of the state were very intimate. He published much in the field of historical pedagogy, and was a man of great worth of character.

Dr. Julius Klein has left the government service in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and has resumed his university duties as an associate professor at Harvard.

Professor Rayner W. Kelsey returns in January to Haverford College from a leave of absence spent mostly in London, with a view to a work on the history of agriculture in colonial Pennsylvania.

Dr. W. F. Dunaway has been appointed assistant professor of history in the Pennsylvania State College.

Mr. I. R. Hudson, instructor in history and political science in Vanderbilt University, has been advanced to the grade of assistant pro-

fessor, and Professor Frank L. Owsley, of Birmingham College, has been appointed assistant professor of history in Vanderbilt University.

Professor Charles H. Cunningham of the University of Texas is on leave of absence as economic adviser attached to the American embassy at Madrid.

Mr. Charles F. Coan, formerly of the University of California, has accepted a position in the department of history and political science in the State University of New Mexico.

Dr. William H. Ellison, dean of the Santa Barbara Junior College, has been elected associate professor of history in the Oregon Agricultural College.

Dr. Waldemar C. Westergaard of Pomona College has been promoted to a full professorship in history on the Warren F. Day Foundation.

GENERAL

The principal articles in the October number of the *Historical Outlook* are a study of the problems of Devolution and Imperial Federation (in the British Empire), by Professor Edith E. Ware of Chattanooga University; a discussion of the Territorial Problems of the Peace Conference, by Professor Douglas Johnson, chief of the division of boundary geography in the American commission to negotiate peace; and a contribution by Professor Desdèvis du Dezert, entitled *Along the Highways of French History*. The latter paper is continued in the November number, in which is also found an article by Anna L. Holbrook on the Cult of the Dead in Ancient Egypt. In the December number the most important historical article is a study of the American Position on the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, by Professor R. C. McGrane.

When the Germans burned Louvain the whole edition of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for July, 1914, was destroyed. It has now been reproduced, and published in October, 1920, as no. 3 of vol. XV. On account of the costs of printing ("quintuplés", says the editor) vol. XV. will be concluded with this third number, instead of having the usual four. We are glad to be assured that Professor Cauchie's admirable journal is now to resume publication. From January, 1921, on, there will be three numbers issued each year. The price of subscription, in other countries than Belgium, will be 30 francs. Before long a special *fascicule* will be issued devoted to the *Bibliographie de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique* from 1914 to the end of 1919; also a general index to the first fifteen volumes (1900-1914). As the 500th anniversary of the University of Louvain approaches it is intended to issue a supplementary *Collection d'Études sur l'Histoire Externe et Interne de l'Ancienne Université de Louvain, 1425-1797*. The principal contents of the number now published are an article on the theological writings of Robert

of Melun, by Father R. M. Martin, O. P., a completing installment of the series of articles by Father A. Debil, S. J., on Gratian *De Paenitentia*, and of that of Father M. Dubreul, S. J., on Pope Alexander VIII. and French affairs, this present article relating to the conclave of 1689.

Dr. Woodson's *Journal of Negro History* contains in its October number valuable papers by two of his pupils, Arnet G. Lindsay, who treats of Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Great Britain bearing on the Return of Negro Slaves, 1783-1828, and Norman P. Andrews, who treats of the Negro in Politics since emancipation. There are also biographical accounts of Henry Bibb, negro colonizer in Canada, by Fred Landon, and of Myrtilla Minor, founder of the normal school for colored girls in Washington, by G. S. Wormley.

Die Materialistische Geschichtsauffassung, ihr Wesen und ihre Wandlungen (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1920, pp. 66) by Professor E. Brandenburg; *Probleme der Wirtschaftsgeschichte, eine Einführung* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1920, pp. xiii, 711) by Professor G. von Below; Vicomte G. d'Avenel's *Découvertes d'Histoire Sociale* (Paris, Flammarion, 1920); and *Zur Rassenfrage, eine Stammes- und Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Vienna, Braumüller, 1919, pp. 181) by M. Mieses, are recent contributions to the discussion of the problems of historical study.

Problems of history teaching are discussed in *Der Neue Geschichtsunterricht* (Berlin, Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1920, pp. 70) by Professor A. Meister and others.

The Oxford University Press has just published volume I. of Sir Paul Vinogradoff's *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, and a second volume of the *Studies in the History and Method of Science*, edited by Dr. Charles Singer.

A History of Sea Power, by William O. Stevens and Allan Westcott, professors in the United States Naval Academy, comes from the press of George H. Doran Company.

Messrs. Macmillan and Company of London expect to bring out in January Lord Bryce's *Modern Democracies*, in two volumes.

Democracy and Assimilation, by Professor Julius Drachsler of Smith College (Macmillan), is, on the historical side, a study of the facts of intermarriage among ethnic groups in the United States as well as of the community life and organization of immigrants.

A History of Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer (Macmillan, pp. ix, 446), by Professor William A. Dunning of Columbia University, completing his remarkable series of volumes on the history of political theories, has just been published.

The Fitzpatrick and other Lectures on the History of Medicine, by Sir T. Clifford Allbutt, professor of medicine in Cambridge University

and president of the British Medical Association, will be published by Macmillan.

Members of the department of history in the University of Chicago have prepared a small *Study Manual for European History* (University of Chicago Press) which may be commended to college teachers elsewhere.

Nicholas L. Brown, 123 Lexington Avenue, New York, is beginning the publication of a series of *Historical Miniatures*, edited by Dr. F. L. Glaser, each volume of which will consist of an account, by an eyewitness, of one of the most impressive or crucial periods of history. The first volumes in the series will be *Scenes from the Court of Peter the Great*, based on the Latin diary of Korb, secretary of the Austrian legation at Peter's court, and *Pope Alexander VI. and his Court*, based on Burchard's diary.

In the series *Helps for Students of History*, no. 30 is a tract of 59 pages on *Seals*, by H. S. Kingsford, assistant secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. C. Gilfillan, *The Coldward Course of Progress* (Political Science Quarterly, September); Moeller van den Bruck, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes: für und wider Spengler* (Deutsche Rundschau, July); R. Picard, *Le Développement de l'Historiographie Moderne d'après un Ouvrage Récent [Fueter]* (Revue d'Histoire Économique, VIII. 1).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: N. H. Baynes, *Some Recent Books on Roman History* (History, October).

The Cambridge University Press announces a work on *The Origin of Man and of his Superstitions*, by Carveth Read, lecturer on comparative psychology in University College, London.

Sallust and a first volume of Herodotus have appeared in the *Loeb Classical Library*.

L. Pareti deals with the period prior to the conquest of Messenia in the first volume of his *Storia di Sparta Arcaica* (Florence, Le Monnier, 1920, pp. vii, 276).

Professor Ettore Pais has issued the fourth volume of his *Storia Critica di Roma durante i Primi Cinque Secoli* (Rome, Maglione and Strini, 1920, pp. x, 494).

Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie, by J. Carcopino (Paris, Boccard), fasc. 116 of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, consists of a brilliant dissertation on the "pre-history" of Ostia and of an authoritative treatise on the topography of the last six books of the Aeneid.

In a brief dissertation published by the Accademia dei Lincei, *Il Liber Coloniarum*, Professor Ettore Pais essays to prove, against Mommsen and others, that that portion of the *Gromatici Latini* has a substantial value for the history of the Roman colonies in Italy.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. H. Breasted, *The Origins of Civilization*, I.-VI. (Scientific Monthly, October, 1919-March, 1920); M. Rostovtsev, *L'Age du Cuivre dans le Caucase Septentrional et les Civilisations de Soumer et de l'Égypte Protodynastique* (Revue Archéologique, July); J. H. Breasted, *The Earliest Internationalism* (Semi-centenary Celebration of the University of California); G. Poisson, *Les Influences Ethniques dans la Religion Grecque, Essai d'Application de la Méthode Ethnologique à l'Histoire Religieuse*, I. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, February); J. Simon, *Hellenism and the Jews in the Three Centuries preceding Christianity* (American Catholic Quarterly Review, April); E. Meyer, *Die Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes im Lande Damascus: eine Jüdische Schrift aus der Seleukidenzeit* (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919, 9); K. Kohler, *The Essenes and the Apocalyptic Literature* (Jewish Quarterly Review, October); B. W. Wells, *Business and Politics at Carthage* (Sewanee Review, October); M. Gelzer, *Römische Gesellschaft zur Zeit Ciceros* (Neue Jahrbücher, XLV. 1); E. G. Hardy, *Augustus and his Legionaries* (Classical Quarterly, July-October); W. E. Heitland, *A Great Agricultural Emigration from Italy* (Journal of Roman Studies, VIII. 1); R. K. McElderry, *Vespasian's Reconstruction of Spain* (*ibid.*); E. Hohl, *Über den Ursprung der Historia Augusta* (Hermes, LV. 3); J. Geffcken, *Religionsgeschichtliches in der Historia Augusta* (*ibid.*); Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Studies in the Roman Province of Galatia* (Journal of Roman Studies, VIII. 2).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: C. Guignebert, *Antiquités Chrétiennes* (Revue Historique, May).

In *Les Mystères Païens et le Mystère Chrétien* (Paris, Nourry, 1920, pp. 368), Alfred Loisy has deduced from a study of the Greek mysteries and of the Oriental cults arguments to show that the ideas involved in them were foreign to the teachings of Jesus but appear in the writings of Paul, whose acceptance of them assured the successful spread of Christianity in the first centuries.

F. R. M. Hitchcock has studied the life and work of *Irenaeus of Lugdunum* (Cambridge, University Press, 1920, pp. vi, 367), and Dean J. Armitage Robinson has translated and edited St. Irenaeus's *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* (London, S. P. C. K., 1920, pp. 154), the text of which was first printed in 1907 from a manuscript found at Erivan in Armenia.

F. Haase has published a translation of *Die Koptischen Quellen zum Konzil von Nicäa* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1920, pp. 124) with editorial commentary; E. W. Brooks has edited for the series *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* the *Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta* (Paris, Gabalda, 1919, pp. ix, 238).

Part II. of *Testimonies: or Quotations against the Jews* in the early Christian Church, with a survey of the whole subject, by Dr. J. Rendel Harris and Vacher Burch, is soon to be issued by the Cambridge University Press; part I. appeared in 1916.

In commemoration of the fifteen-hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Jerome, the Hieronymite friars have published an edition of the *Lettere di San Girolamo* (Rome, Desclée, 1920, pp. xlviii, 648).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Dom Cuthbert Butler, abbot of Downside, has issued *Benedictine Monachism, Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule* (London, Longmans, 1920).

A. Fliche has gathered three articles published last year in the *Moyen Age* into a volume on *Hildebrand* (Paris, Champion, 1920). He is also the author of the volume *Saint Grégoire VII.* (Paris, Gabalda, 1920) in the series *Les Saints*.

The Latin Orient (S. P. C. K., pp. 61), by Dr. William Miller, in the series of *Helps for Students of History*, deals with the crusading states in Palestine, the kingdom of Cyprus, the Frankish states in Greece, the Venetian colonies in Greece and Albania, the Genoese colonies, and the Knights of Rhodes.

A. von Ruville is the author of a new volume on *Die Kreuzzüge* (Bonn, Schroeder, 1920, pp. vii, 370).

Extracts from the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (pp. 61), a contemporary account of the Third Crusade, are edited by M. T. Stead in the series of *Texts for Students*, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Professor Camille Enlart has published an amply illustrated and interesting volume on the *Villes Mortes du Moyen Age* (Paris, Boccard, 1920). Among the towns described are Téroouanne, Porto, Paphos, Famagusta, Wisby, and three Corsican towns.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne*, VI. *Le Couronnement Impérial de l'An 800* (*Revue Historique*, May); H. F. Brown, *The Venetians and the Venetian Quarter in Constantinople to the Close of the Twelfth Century* (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XL. 1); G. E. Le Boyar, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his Encyclopaedia* (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April); E. Sthamer, *Studien über die Sizilischen Register*

Friedrichs II. (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1920, 32); A. de Salvio, *Dante and Medieval Heresy* (Romanic Review, July).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The subjects of Sir Geoffrey Butler's *Studies in Statecraft* (Cambridge University Press) include Bishop Roderick and Renaissance Pacifism, the French "Civilians", William Postel, Sully and his Grand Design, and the Grand Design of Éméric Crucé.

A contribution of first-rate importance has been made by A. Büchi in his edition of the *Korrespondenzen und Akten zur Geschichte des Kardinals Matth. Schinner* (vol. I., 1489-1515, Basel, Geering, 1920, pp. xx, 592). Cardinal Schinner is known to most readers as the Cardinal of Sion (Switzerland). His friendship with Erasmus, his visit to England, his part in the wars of the Renaissance, and other facts indicate the significance of this work. Of scarcely less significance for events a few years later is *La Política Española en Italia, Correspondencia de D. Fernando Marín, Abad de Nájera, con Carlos I.* (vol. I., 1521-1524, Madrid, Tip. de la Revista de Archivos, 1919, pp. xlviii, 544), edited by E. Pacheco y de Leyva.

The second volume of L. Serrano's *La Liga de Lepanto entre España, Venecia, y la Santa Sede, 1570-1573, Ensayo Histórico a Basé de Documentos Diplomáticos* (Madrid, Tip. de la Revista de Archivos, 1919, pp. 442) has appeared.

Karl Müller has completed his *Kirchengeschichte* with a volume (Tübingen, Mohr, 1919) dealing with the period since the seventeenth century. The work as a whole furnishes a good survey.

Doubleday, Page, and Company have brought out *Europe, 1789-1920*, by Professor Edward R. Turner of the University of Michigan. The work is designed for college classes in European history.

B. Bareilles in a little volume entitled *Un Turc à Paris, 1806-1811, Relation de Voyage et de Mission de Mouhib Effendi, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire du Sultan Sélim III.* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 108) has presented material of novel importance for the history of the Eastern Question in the Napoleonic period, since it is one of the earliest publications to reveal the Turkish side of the case.

John Murray of London is issuing the third edition of Percy Ashley's *Modern Tariff History*, in which the accounts of tariffs in Germany, France, and the United States are brought up to the outbreak of the war in 1914.

Some useful additions to the literature of international affairs in the two decades preceding the Great War are *Ein Vierteljahrhundert Weltgeschichte, 1894-1919* (Charlottenburg, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft,

1920, pp. 152), by H. F. Helmolt; *Das Europäische Verhängnis, die Politik der Grossmächte, ihr Wesen und ihre Folgen* (Berlin, Paetel, 1919, pp. xi, 324), by P. Hildebrandt, which includes a second part relating to the war period; *Les Relations Franco-Espagnoles et l'Affaire du Maroc, la France et l'Espagne au Maroc* (Paris, Albigny, 1920, pp. 252), by J. Alengry, and *Die Bedeutung der Algeciras-Konferenz unter Berücksichtigung der Europäischen Marokko-Politik bis zur endgültigen Lösung der Marokkofrage* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1920, pp. vi, 188), by G. von Rüdiger.

Contrary to the belief expressed by one of our reviewers in the October issue, page 136, British War Office maps of Europe, Asia, and Africa, bearing upon the treaty of Versailles, are available, together with numerous special maps; a catalogue of all maps published by the Geographical Section of the General Staff can be obtained for 6 d.

Mr. Arthur Sweetser, who has been attached to the American Peace Commission and the provisional secretariat of the League of Nations, is the author of *The League of Nations at Work* (New York, Macmillan, 1920, pp. ix, 215) in which is presented an account of the actual doings of the League in its first months, *i. e.*, to July, 1920.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Silva, *L'Expansion Européenne et ses Phases* (Scientia, August); P. Boissonnade, *Le Mouvement Commercial entre la France et les Iles Britanniques au XVI^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, July-August); G. N. Clark, *The Dutch Missions to England in 1689* (English Historical Review, October); C. H. Stockton, *The Declaration of Paris* (American Journal of International Law, July); F. Rachfahl, *Der Rückversicherungsvertrag, der "Balkandreibund", und das angebliche Bündnisangebot Bismarcks an England vom Jahre 1887* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, July); "Spectator", *Austrian Policy, 1906-1914* (New Europe, October 7); P. Nothomb, *Le Traité Hollando-Belge et l'Alliance France-Belgique* (Revue Hebdomadaire, July 10); E. du Vivier de Streel, *La Situation Économique de l'Europe et la Conférence de Bruxelles* (Revue de Paris, July 15); R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Little Entente* (New Europe, October 14).

THE GREAT WAR

General review: R. Grosse, *Die Geschichte des Weltkrieges* (Deutsche Literaturzeitung, August 7, 14).

A. Lumbroso has published the first volume of a *Bibliografia Ragionata della Guerra delle Nazioni* (Florence, Ariani, 1920, pp. xxxii, 259).

Die Geographischen Ursachen des Weltkrieges, ein Beitrag zur Schuldfrage (Berlin, Siegmund, 1920, pp. 144), by G. Wegener, is a contribution of unusual character and special interest.

Marshal Joffre's *La Préparation de la Guerre et la Conduite des Opérations, 1914-1915* (Paris, Chantenay, 1920, pp. 149) covers events from the beginning of mobilization to the battle of the Marne and presents his reply to the discussion which has been waged upon his conduct of these operations. *La Bataille de la Marne, le Rôle du Gouvernement Militaire de Paris, du 1^{er} au 12 Septembre 1914* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. iv, 138), by General Clergerie and Captain Delahaye d'Anglemont, is another contribution to the same discussion. "Mermeix" has issued the second part of his *Le Commandement Unique* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1920, pp. 378), which deals with the work of Sarrail and the forces in the Balkans.

Constable has published the second volume, for 1916 and 1917, of the *Chronology of the War issued under the Auspices of the Ministry of Information* (pp. 330). Surveys of the war which are of some special significance are *Le Chemin de la Victoire, 1914-1918* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 368) by L. Madelin; *Comment Finit la Guerre* (*ibid.*) by General Mangin; *L'Armée Allemande pendant la Guerre de 1914-1918, Grandeur et Décadence, Manœuvres en Lignes Intérieures* (Paris, Chapelot, 1920, pp. 70) by General Buat, chief of the French General Staff; *Die Ursachen unserer Niederlage, Erinnerungen und Urteile aus dem Weltkrieg* (Munich, Lehmann, 1920, pp. 326) by A. Krauss; and *Der Weltkrieg, Vorläufige Orientierung von einem Schweizerischen Standpunkt aus* (Zurich, Orell Füssli, 1919, vol. III., pp. 128) by S. Zurlinden.

A large mass of fact, of crucial importance in relation to the operations of the French army during the first three weeks of the war, was contained in the report of the commission of inquiry as to the rôle and situation of metallurgy in France and the accompanying five volumes of evidence. M. Fernand Engerand, who was the *rapporteur* of the commission, has now published the substance of the report and evidence, together with other materials respecting war plans, etc., in an important book entitled *La Bataille de la Frontière, Août, 1914, Briey* (Paris, Bossard).

Prices and Price Control in Great Britain and the United States during the World War (pp. 331), by Simon Litman, professor of economics in the University of Illinois (no. 19 of the *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War* brought out by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), contains much material that is of interest to the layman as well as to the historian and economist.

The Press and the General Staff (London, Collins), by the Hon. Neville Lytton, who organized the work of the newspaper correspondents at the British General Headquarters, contains anecdotes of nearly all the great men of the war.

Some time ago the Norwegian government published a report, in five volumes, containing the sworn evidence of witnesses concerning

the losses sustained by the Norwegian mercantile marine through acts of war. A new edition in French has now appeared, *Rapports de Mer sur les Pertes de Guerre subies par la Marine de Commerce Norvégienne* (Christiania, Inspector General of Navigation). The losses of this neutral government, through submarine warfare, included 1162 Norwegian seamen, 829 ships, of 1,239,833 registered tons, with a value of certainly \$300,000,000.

War Posters issued by Belligerent and Neutral Nations, 1914-1919, edited by Martin Hardie and Arthur K. Sabin, contains not only reproductions of important war posters but also stories connected with them. There is an index to the names of the artists (Macmillan).

The second volume of the co-operative *History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, edited by Captain Temperley (London, Frowde, pp. xvii, 488), is occupied with the Settlement with Germany; the third (pp. vii, 457), with a chronology, notes, and documents.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Fester, *Verantwortlichkeiten*, IV. *Politische Sicherungen* (Deutsche Rundschau, August); P. L. Rivière, *Souvenirs du G. Q. G., Août-Septembre 1914* (Revue Hebdomadaire, September 25); Capt. A. Hilliard-Atteridge, *The Siege of Maubeuge* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, August); H. Carré, *La Bataille de la Marne vue du Côté Allemand* (Revue de Paris, September 1); G. Lacour-Gayet, *S. Ém. le Cardinal Mercier, Primat de Belgique, et le Gouverneur-Général Allemand von Bissing* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, February); R. J. Kerner, *Austrian Plans for a Balkan Settlement, 1915-1916* (New Europe, September 30); General Regnault, *L'Échec du Plan XVII*. (Revue de Paris, July 15); Gen. L. Capello, *Caporetto, la Decisione della Ritirata* (Nuova Antologia, August 1); L. Weller, *La Guerre aurait-elle pu être Terminée plus tôt? [Sixte de Bourbon]* (Revue de Paris, August 15); R. Worms, *Les Prises Maritimes et la Cinquième Année de la Guerre* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, February).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In a British series of manuals of medical history, Major G. Parker, M. D., has a small volume on *The Early History of Surgery in Great Britain* (Macmillan, pp. lx, 204).

The Story of Cambridgeshire as told by itself (Cambridge University Press, pp. viii, 64), six lectures to teachers by the late Dr. William Cunningham, shows how history may be made vivid and real by studying the traces that remain.

The Venerable Bede, his Life and Writings (London, S. P. C. K.), by Dr. George T. Browne, formerly bishop of Bristol, is a recent addition to the *Studies in Church History* series.

A revised and enlarged edition of M. Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, with new illustrations, has been published by Fisher Unwin.

La Tapisserie de la Reine Mathilde dite la Tapisserie de Bayeux (Paris, Laurens, 1919, pp. 220), by A. Levé, includes a complete photographic reproduction of the tapestry.

The Selden Society has issued as its eighteenth volume the *Year Book of 8 Edward II.* (1315), edited by William C. Bolland and published by Quaritch.

The Captivity and Death of Edward of Carnarvon, by Professor T. F. Tout (Longmans, pp. 51) is reprinted from the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library.

Messrs. Longman have in the press a volume by Miss Kathleen Lambey on *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times*, with an introductory chapter on the preceding period.

In a series of *Empire Builders*, edited by Professor A. P. Newton and Mr. W. Basil Worsfold, Professor Walter J. Harte of University College, Exeter, brings out a good little book of 60 pages on *Sir Francis Drake* (S. P. C. K.). Another excellent little book by the same publishers, *Birmingham*, by Canon J. H. D. Masterman (pp. 106), is a new addition to the series called *The Story of the English Towns*.

The life of John Chamberlain (1553-1627), the friend of diplomats and other eminent men, is the subject of a book entitled *A Jacobean Letter Writer* (Kegan Paul, pp. xvi, 248), by Edward P. Statham.

The Southampton Record Society has published vol. II., 1609-1610, of *The Assembly Books of Southampton* (Southampton, Cox and Sharland), edited by J. W. Horrocks.

The beginning of English journalism in December, 1620, has been commemorated by the publication of a *Tercentenary Hand-List of English and Welsh Newspapers, Magazines, and Reviews* (London, Hodder and Stoughton), a bibliographical guide of very great importance to historical inquirers.

The Navy Records Society has issued, for 1920, volume I. of the *Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring*, probably the foremost English sea-captain of the period of the first two Stuarts.

The Life, Correspondence, and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (Cambridge University Press), is a work nearly completed by the late Miss Mary Hervey, and edited by Miss C. M. Phillimore and Dr. G. C. Williamson.

The Cambridge University Press will shortly publish *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall*, edited by Norman

Penney, librarian of the Friends Library at Devonshire House. Sarah Fell was the daughter of the widow Margaret Fell who married George Fox. Her account-book furnishes an important picture of life in a country house in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

The American Antiquarian Society has lately secured a remarkable file of the *London Gazette*, extending from vol. I., no. 1 (1665), through the year 1796, and more complete than any other file in the United States.

An extraordinarily thorough account of *The Navy in the War of 1739-48* (Cambridge University Press) is given by Rear-Admiral H. W. Richardson in three illustrated volumes.

In his book on *England in Transition, 1789-1832, a Study of Movements* (Longmans, pp. xiv, 285), Dr. William L. Mathieson aims at tracing the economic, and especially the spiritual and intellectual forces, that wrought the great political and social changes of the period.

The ninth and tenth volumes of Hon. J. W. Fortescue's *History of the British Army* (Macmillan) cover the important years 1813-1815.

Mr. C. E. Raven's careful and excellent book on *Christian Socialism, 1848-1854*, is naturally occupied chiefly with Morris, Ludlow, and Kingsley.

In his account of *The English Reform Bill of 1867* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XCIII., no. 1, pp. 285), Dr. Joseph H. Park discusses the relation between economic stress and political agitation, the popular and official attitude of the period toward reform, and Disraeli's success with reform in 1867.

The Life of Queen Alexandra, by W. R. H. Trowbridge, is announced for publication this spring by Fisher Unwin.

A useful guide in modern English biography is the volume *Who Was Who, 1897-1916* (London, A. and C. Black), containing the biographies, taken from *Who's Who*, of those people who have died during the twenty years indicated.

J. R. Raynes's *The Pageant of England, 1900-1920* (Swarthmore Press, pp. xii, 275), is a work after the manner of Justin McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*.

A History of Scotland from the Roman Evacuation to the Disruption, 1843 (Cambridge University Press), by Professor C. Sanford Terry, is a volume of some 650 pages, with thirty-two pedigree tables of the Scottish reigning houses and famous families.

A recent issue in the series of *Translations of Christian Literature* put forth by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge is a version, by Dr. H. J. Lawlor, of St. Bernard of Clairvaux's *Life of St. Malachy of Armagh* (pp. xxvi, 183), important for the history of the reformation of Irish church life in the twelfth century.

Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland, A. D. 1230-1450, collected and edited by the late Father E. B. Fitzmaurice, O. F. M., and A. G. Little, forms the ninth volume issued by the British Society of Franciscan Studies through the Manchester University Press.

The S. P. C. K. series of *Helps for Students of History* includes three small volumes on Ireland, 1494-1603; 1603-1714; 1714-1829, all by R. H. Murray.

A history of *Modern Ireland in the European System*, by James Hogan, is announced by Messrs. Longman. The first volume, which will shortly be published, covers the period from 1500 to 1557.

The Occupation of Land in Ireland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century (Dublin and London, Maunsell, pp. 150), by Patrick G. Dardis, is a conscientious thesis for a degree in the National University of Ireland.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. M. Stenton, *The Danes in England* [Historical Revisions, XVI.] (History, October); J. H. Round, *The Early Sheriffs of Norfolk* (English Historical Review, October); H. N. Hillebrand, *The Early History of the Chapel Royal* (Modern Philology, September); G. Callender, *The Evolution of Sea-Power under the First Two Tudors* (History, October); E. R. Adair, *English Galleys in the Sixteenth Century* (English Historical Review, October); F. M. G. Evans, *Emoluments of the Principal Secretaries of State in the Seventeenth Century* (*ibid.*); J. Aynard, *Les Dernières Années de Lord Kitchener* (Revue Hebdomadaire, August 14); Sir Erle Richards, *The British Prize Courts and the War* (British Year Book of International Law, 1920-1921); Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Tour of Mary, Queen of Scots, through Southwestern Scotland* (Scottish Historical Review, October); J. M. Dickie, *The Economic Position of Scotland in 1760* (*ibid.*).

FRANCE

General review: M. Handelsman, *Bulletin des Ouvrages Napoléoniens parus en Pologne de 1901 à 1918* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, August).

P. Marichal and L. Mirot, two former pupils of the late Professor Auguste Longnon, have undertaken to edit from notes on his lectures a work which shall present the results of his lifelong researches with regard to *Les Noms de Lieu de la France, leur Origine, leur Signification, leurs Transformations*. The first volume has appeared, incorporating materials on *Noms de Lieu d'Origine Phénicienne, Grecque, Ligure, Gauloise, et Romaine* (Paris, Champion, 1920).

The seventh volume of *Gallia Christiana Novissima* (Paris, Ficker, 1920) has appeared under the editorship of Abbé Ulysse Chevalier.

A monographic *Étude sur les Esclaves et les Serfs d'Église en France du VI^e au XIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Tenin, 1919, pp. 320) has been written by P. Bernard.

A group of books has recently appeared relating to the history of Provence which are worthy of citation: *La Provence à travers les Siècles*, II. *Invasions Barbares; au Pouvoir des Rois Francs; les Rois de Provence; l'Église du VI^e au XII^e Siècle* (Paris, Lechevalier, 1920, pp. xii, 481) by E. Camau; *Recueil des Actes des Rois de Provence, 855-928* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1920, pp. lviii, 163) edited by R. Poupardin; *La Chasse en Provence, XIII^e-XVIII^e Siècle, Étude Historique et Juridique* (Aix, Dragon, 1920) by P. Moulin; *Le Parlement de Provence au Dix-huitième Siècle* (*ibid.*, pp. xvi, 534) by L. Wolff; and *Le Parlement d'Aix, Défenseur des Droits et des Traditions de la Provence* (*ibid.*) by J. Cabassol.

The attention of students of economic history should be called to Professor Henri Hauser's excellent volume on *Travailleurs et Marchands dans l'Ancienne France* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 232).

Henri Bremond has published two more volumes of his work on the *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France depuis la Fin des Guerres de Religion jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1920, pp. iii, 604; 413). In the fourth volume he deals with the Port Royal group, and in the fifth with the Jesuits.

In 1907 R. Lavallée began the publication of the *Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu* from the original manuscripts with the most painstaking care and had issued three volumes prior to the war. He has now resumed the task and issued the fourth volume (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1920, pp. 311) which covers only the important year 1624.

Professor H. Carré of Poitiers has published a volume on *La Noblesse de France et l'Opinion Publique au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 650).

In the series of *Helps for Students of History* (S. P. C. K.), Mr. G. P. Gooch's *The French Revolution* is a model of statement as to writers, tendencies, and lines of approach.

Several monographs dealing with topics in the history of the French Revolution deserve to be enumerated: J. Durieux, *La Dordogne Militaire, Généraux et Soldats de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Bergerac, Castanet, 1920, pp. xx, 544); E. Chapuisat, *Figures et Choses d'Autrefois* (Paris, Crès, 1920, pp. 309), which is especially important for a thorough, critical study of the career of Clavière; E. H. Carrier, *Correspondence of Jean Baptiste Carrier during his Mission in Brittany, 1793-1794* (London, Lane, 1920, pp. xvi, 283) which is mainly a translation of letters from Aulard's *Recueil* with an apologia; A. Lemasson, *Les Actes*

des Prêtres Insermentés du Diocèse de Saint-Brieuc guillotiné en 1794 ou déportés (vol. II., Saint-Brieuc, 1920, pp. viii, 340); M. Dussarp, *Roger Ducos et sa Mission à Landrecies en l'An III*. (Largentière, Mazel and Plancher, pp. 238); G. Lenotre, *Le Roi Louis XVII. et l'Énigme du Temple, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Paris, Perrin, 1920); and P. L. Roussel, *Le Système des Mandats Territoriaux, 1796-1797* (Paris, Tenin, 1920, pp. 145).

An important work on the *Histoire de la Liberté d'Association en France depuis 1789* (2 vols., Paris, Tenin, 1920) has been written by P. Nourrisson. P. Quentin-Bauchart has presented another phase of the industrial history of France in *La Crise Sociale de 1848, les Origines et la Révolution de Février* (Paris, Hachette, 1920, pp. xiv, 328).

In the eighth volume of his *Études Historiques* (Paris, Boccard, 1920, pp. 344) Professor Arthur Chuquet has assembled in characteristic manner interesting and sometimes significant information on a wide range of topics mainly from the period of the French Revolution and Empire. He has also completed with a fourth volume his presentation of materials on *Quatre Généraux de la Révolution, Hoche et Desaix, Kléber et Marceau* (*ibid.*, pp. 427).

Adventures in Wars of the Republic and Consulate, by A. Moreau de Jonnés, has been translated from the edition of 1893 by Brig.-Gen. A. J. Abdy and published by Murray.

A new *Histoire de la Négociation du Concordat de 1801* (Tours, Mame, 1920, pp. viii, 516) comes from the competent pen of Comte Boulay de la Meurthe.

After long intervals since the publication of the first and second volumes, Professor J. Basdevant has brought out the third volume of *Traités et Conventions en Vigueur entre la France et les Puissances Étrangères* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1920, pp. 774) which includes the treaties between 1814 and 1868 to which several other nations were parties, and those with Japan and Venezuela.

A new volume in the series entitled *Makers of the Nineteenth Century* (London, Constable) is a biography of *Victor Hugo* by Madame Mary Duclaux, soon to appear.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Blanchet, *Le Monnayage Anglais en France du XII^e and XV^e Siècle* (*Journal des Savants*, July); F. de Mély, *Nos Vieilles Cathédrales et leurs Maîtres-d'Oeuvre*, I. (*Revue Archéologique*, January); E. Blum, *Les Assurances Terrestres en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (*Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, VIII. 1); L. Lévy-Schneider, *Quelques Réflexions sur la Méthode à adopter pour étudier l'Histoire du XVIII^e Siècle en France* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, February); G. Michon, *Robespierre et la Guerre, 1791-1792* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, July); P. de la Gorce, *Deux*

Années de l'Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution, 1796-1797, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 15); E. Driault, *L'Oeuvre Extérieure de Napoléon* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, August); P. Robiquet, *La Disgrâce de Fouché en Septembre 1815*, I. (Révolution Française, July); A. Lebon, *Cinquante Ans de Politique Extérieure* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1); P. Meuriot, *La Constitution de 1875 et ses Parrains: Prévost-Paradol et Victor de Broglie* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, February); G. Hano-taux and Lt.-Col. Fabry, *Nos Grands Chefs*, I. *Le Maréchal Joffre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1); E. Seillière, *Le Président Deschanel* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 2).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: G. Bourgin, *Histoire d'Italie: Période du Risorgimento* (Revue Historique, July-August).

R. Cessi has published the first volume of *Regnum et Imperium, Contributo alla Storia della Costituzione Politica d'Italia dalla Caduta alla Ricostituzione dell' Impero Romano d'Occidente* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1920), and V. Epifanio, *L'Idea Italiana e i Re d'Italia nei Secoli* (Padua, Draghi, 1920, pp. vii, 257).

A useful bibliography for Neapolitan history has been published anonymously under the title *Libri e Opuscoli su Napoli e l'Antico Reame delle Due Sicilie* (Naples, L. Lubrano, 1919, pp. 190).

In the series of *Texts for Students* (London, S. P. C. K.), nos. 19 and 20, edited by Esther G. Roper, contain select extracts illustrating Florentine life in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries (pp. viii, 59; viii, 64).

A book on *The Art of War in Italy, 1494-1529*, by F. L. Taylor, is published by the Cambridge University Press.

Miss Cecily M. Booth's study of *Cosimo I., Duke of Florence*, which is based on contemporary documents, will be brought out by the Cambridge University Press.

The most important work yet undertaken by E. Rodocanachi is *La Réforme en Italie* (Paris, Picard, 1920) of which the first volume treats of the character of the Reformation movement in Italy, its development and spread, and the causes which favored it. Adequate bibliography is furnished.

A new *Storia del Risorgimento Politico d'Italia* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1920, pp. 500) is by Italo Raulich, who has covered the years 1815-1830 in the first volume.

G. Balsamo-Crivelli has edited Gioberti's *Del Primato Morale e Civile degli Italiani* (2 vols., Turin, Utet, 1919), and also the Gioberti-Massari *Carteggio, 1838-1852* (Turin, Bocca, 1920, pp. xi, 611). A first

volume of D'Azeglio's *Carteggi e Documenti Diplomatici Inediti* (Turin, Palatina, 1920, pp. clxxv, 496), covering the years 1831-1854, has been edited by A. Colombo. Materials for the year 1846 appear in the fourth volume of the *Protocollo della Giovine Italia* (Imola, Galeati, 1919, pp. xviii, 270).

A. Angiolini and E. Ciacchi are the authors of *Socialismo e Socialisti in Italia, Storia Completa del Movimento Socialista Italiano dal 1850 al 1919* (Florence, Nerbini, 1919, pp. 256).

G. M. Trevelyan's well-known works, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, and *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*, are now published by Nelson at the low price of 2 sh. 6 d. each.

A valuable collection of documentary material is presented in *Raccolta di Concordati su Materie Ecclesiastiche tra la Santa Sede e le Autorità Civili* (Rome, Tip. Poliglotta Vaticana, 1919, pp. xx, 1140), but without names of the editors.

Dr. Thomas Nelson Page, who was American ambassador to Italy from 1913 to 1919, has written a volume on *Italy and the World War*, which Scribner has published.

The Hakluyt Society has just published volume I. (pp. xc, 370) of *The Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner*, important for the history of Aragon in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, now translated for the first time from Catalan into English by Lady Goodenough (Countess Anna Kinsky).

In the collection *Spanish Ballads* (Cambridge University Press, pp. xvi, 218), by Guy Le Strange, the ballads are divided into four groups, miscellaneous, historical (Christian and Moslem), and Moorish, and are edited with historical introduction and notes.

The Benedictines of Stanbrook have undertaken to produce, in four volumes, a complete edition of the 460 *Letters of Saint Teresa*, translated from the Spanish and annotated. The first volume, with an introduction by Cardinal Gasquet, has already appeared (London, Thomas Baker, 1919, pp. xix, 308).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Luzio, *Il Carteggio Nigra-Cavour* (Nuova Antologia, July 1); P. de Quirielle, *De Giolitti à Giolitti: La Politique Italienne* (Revue Hebdomadaire, July 10); L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Remarques sur la Chronique dite d'Alphonse III.* (Revue Hispanique, August, 1919); A. Garcia Rives, *Clases Sociales en Leon y Castilla, Siglos X.-XIII.*, I. (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, April).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Dr. Eduard Norden's *Die Germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' Germania* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1920, pp. x, 505) is an interesting attempt

to combine data of the *Germania* with all others that can be obtained from classical writers and from archaeological investigations, to illustrate the early ethnography of Germany, the relations of Germans and Kelts, and related topics.

The subtitle *Die Verbrechen und ihre Folgen im Allgemeinen* indicates the contents of the first part of *Das Strafrecht des Deutschen Mittelalters* (Leipzig, Weicher, 1920, pp. xvi, 671) by R. His.

The late Albert Hauck died on the eve of printing the second half of the fifth volume of his *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920, pp. viii, 583-1212) and the publication was supervised by H. Boehmer, who, it is announced, will prepare the necessary supplementary volumes to complete the work to the treaty of Augsburg, 1555, which was the terminus Professor Hauck had planned for his work. The present volume covers the period of the Great Schism and of the Council of Constance.

Die Busslehre des Johannes Eck (Münster, Aschendorff, 1919, pp. xx, 250) is by H. Schauerte. J. M. Reu is editing an extended collection of *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kirchlichen Unterrichts in der Evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands zwischen 1530 und 1600* (Gütersloh, Bertelsmann), of which the latest volume is made up of materials relating to instruction in the catechism.

Fürstenschulen in Germany after the Reformation (pp. 46), a little book by Thomas Woody, assistant professor of education in the University of Pennsylvania, is chiefly an account of the origins and early character of the Saxon schools at Pforta, Grumma, and Meissen.

G. Du Bosq de Beaumont and M. Bernos have edited the *Correspondance de Sophie Dorothée, Princesse Électorale de Hanovre, avec le Comte de Königsmarck* (Paris, Ambert, 1920).

Volksstaat und Einherrschaft (Constance, Reuss and Itta, 1920, pp. 598) is a volume of documents on the Baden revolution of 1848-1849, edited by F. Lautenschlager. The *Erinnerungen eines Revolutionärs, Skizzen aus dem Jahre 1848* (Leipzig, Haberland, 1920, 2 vols.) of Paul Boerner have been published.

Die Politischen Berichte des Fürsten Bismarck aus Petersburg und Paris, 1859-1862 (Berlin, Hobbing, 1920, 2 vols.) have been edited by L. Raschdau.

Max Cornicelius has issued the concluding volume of his edition of *Heinrich von Treitschkes Briefe* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1920, pp. viii, 305-670), which contains the materials for the years 1871-1896.

E. Dörzbacher has studied the socialist attitude on imperial issues in *Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die Nationale Machtpolitik bis 1914* (Gotha, Perthes, 1920, pp. viii, 271).

E. Drahn has prepared a *Marx-Bibliographie* (Charlottenburg, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1920, pp. 59).

The recent German revolution is illustrated by two valuable books by important participants, *Die Deutsche Revolution: ihr Unglück und ihre Rettung* (Berlin, *Der Firm*), by Heinrich Ströbel, formerly a Socialist representative in the Prussian Landtag, who, when the revolution took place, became one of the Socialist ministers in the Prussian government, and who represents the right wing of the Independent Socialists; and *Die Deutsche Revolution: von Kiel bis Kapp* (Berlin, Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft), by Gustav Noske, who gives his personal reminiscences during the eighteen months in which he was perhaps the most important man in Germany. Other new accounts of the revolution of 1918 and succeeding events are W. E. Oeftering's *Der Umsturz 1918 in Baden* (Constance, Reuss and Itta, 1920, pp. 304); and Percy Brown's *Germany in Dissolution* (London, Melrose, 1920, pp. x, 304).

The Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde has published, as its thirty-seventh volume, the first volume of an important bibliography of Rhenish Prussia, *Bücherkunde zur Geschichte der Rheinlande*. This first volume (Bonn, Hanstein, 1920, pp. lx, 716) lists more than 16,000 articles in periodicals and general collections. The second volume will be devoted to books.

An account of *Der Untergang der Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1920, pp. vii, 331) is by F. Kleinwächter.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Grisar, *Lutheranalekten* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 3); F. Meinecke, *Wilhelm von Humboldt und der Deutsche Staat* (Neue Rundschau, August); Capt. Koeltz, *Le Plan de Campagne Allemand de 1871 à 1914* (Revue de Paris, August 15); J. Rovère, *Le Particularisme Bavarois de 1871 à 1914* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1, 15); E. Vermeil, *L'Allemagne Politique*, I. *Le Nouveau Pangermanisme*; II. *Les Origines du Coup d'État Kapp-Luttwitz, Octobre 1919* (*ibid.*, July 15, August 15); J. Bainville, *Le Règne et les Idées de Charles I^{er} Empereur d'Autriche* (Revue Universelle, October 15).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Belgium, from the Roman Invasion to the Present Day, by Émile Cammaerts, the distinguished Belgian writer, will be added this spring to the series called *The Story of the Nations* (London, Unwin; New York, Putnam).

An *Histoire Économique de la Belgique à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime* (Ghent, Van Rysselberghe and Romband, 1920, pp. 588) is by Professor H. Van Houtte of the University of Ghent.

The Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire has lately published volume II. (1445-1455) of the *Actes ou Procès-verbaux des Séances tenues par le Conseil de l'Université de Louvain* (pp. xxxiv, 416), edited by Canon A. van Hove, professor in the University of Louvain. The commission has entrusted M. Joseph Cuvelier, archivist-general of the kingdom, with the editing of the *Correspondance de la Cour d'Espagne sur les Affaires des Pays-Bas au XVII^e Siècle*, in succession to the late Professor Henri Lonchay.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Davignon, *La Correspondance du Roi Léopold II. d'après une Publication Récente* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 2); Lieut.-General F. de Bas, *Another Version of the Scheldt History* (History, October).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Dr. Bertha S. Phillpotts, principal of Westfield College (University of London), has published through the Cambridge University Press a work on *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* (pp. xii, 216), which emphasizes the significance of the older Eddic poems as a source for Scandinavian history.

Vol. IX., part I., of the *Saga Book* of the Viking Society (University of London, pp. 252) is an account of *Harald Fairhair and his Ancestors*, by Sir Henry H. Howorth.

The Copenhagen publisher Gad has begun the issue of volume I. of a new edition of the *Annales Danici Medii Aevi*, formerly published in Langebek's *Scriptores*, and for the most part also in the German *Monumenta*, but now newly edited by Ellen Joergensen.

H. Schüch has edited *Gustaf III:s och Lovisa Ulrikas Brevväxling* (2 vols., Stockholm, Norstedt).

The Finnish ministry of foreign affairs has published *Finnland im Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts* (Helsingfors, Finnische Literaturgesellschaft, 1919, pp. xv, 672).

General Count Rüdiger von der Goltz, commander of the German forces in Finland and later in the Baltic provinces, gives an important and interesting narrative of his management in *Meine Sendung in Finnland und im Baltikum* (Leipzig, Kochler).

The Red Insurrection in Finland, 1918 (London, Harrison) is an intelligent study based on documentary evidence by Mr. Henning Söderhjelm, with some preliminary study of the preceding period, from 1905 on.

E. Duchesne has translated and edited *Le Stoglav ou les Cent Chapitres, Recueil des Décisions de l'Assemblée Ecclésiastique de Moscou, 1551* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. xlvi, 292).

Messrs. Longman are about to publish *Russia in the 'Eighties: Sport and Politics*, by John F. Baddeley, a record by a special newspaper correspondent; on the political side, the importance of the book lies largely in the opinions and reminiscences of Count Peter Shuvalov, with whom the author was on terms of intimate friendship, and in some similar material respecting Lord Dufferin and others.

A volume on Alexander III. by E. Daudet bears the title *L'Avant-dernier Romanoff* (Paris, Hachette, 1920).

What appears to be a trustworthy account of the murder of the Tsar and his family, based upon investigations skilfully conducted, is now brought out under the title *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (London, Thornton Butterworth). The first part is a narrative composed from the documents by Mr. Robert Wilton, formerly correspondent of the *Times* in Russia; the second part is a transcript of the depositions collected for the Minister of Justice at Omsk by Nicholas Sokolov and brought out of Siberia by Admiral Smirnov.

The Freiherr von Freytag-Loringhoven has prepared a volume on *Die Gesetzgebung der Russischen Revolution* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1920, pp. iv, 261); L. Martin, on *De Tolstoï à Lénine, Contribution à l'Étude Historique de l'Évolution Agricole en Russie* (Montpellier, Imp. de la Charité, 1920, pp. 147); and M. Hoschiller, on *Le Mirage du Soviétisme* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 256).

Professor Michael Hrushevsky (Grushevski) of Lemberg, when the war opened, had brought down to 1650, in eight large octavo volumes, his *History of the Ukraine*. Abridgments in Ukrainian and in Russian exist and one in German was reviewed in this journal (XXIV. 666). We have now received a French abridgment, *Abrégé de l'Histoire de l'Ukraine* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1920, pp. vii, 256) extending to the present time. Like the German volume referred to, it is put forth under the auspices of a nationalistic organization—in this case, the Institut Sociologique Ukrainien.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Rostovtsev, *L'Exploration Archéologique de la Russie Méridionale de 1912 à 1917* (*Journal des Savants*, March, May); M. Pernot, *L'Épreuve de la Pologne* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 1, 15); H. Bidou, *La Bataille de Varsovie et la Pologne* (*Revue de Paris*, October 15).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

A new edition of Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire from 1288 to 1914* has just been published by Fisher Unwin (London), with additional chapters by Sir Valentine Chirol covering the years from 1914 to 1920.

Under the Turk in Constantinople (Macmillan), by G. F. Abbott, is a record of Sir John Finch's embassy in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Prince Alexander's papers and other unpublished documents have been utilized by E. C. Corti in writing *Alexander von Battenberg, sein Kampf mit den Zaren und Bismarck* (Vienna, Seidel, 1920, pp. 351).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The first volume of Jacob Mann's work on *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs* (Milford, pp. 280), is a contribution to their political and communal history, based chiefly on Genizah sources which will be printed, for the first time, in the second volume.

The Jews of Asia, especially in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York, Dutton, 1920, pp. xiii, 242), is a compilation of materials rather than a narrative, by Sidney Mendelssohn, who died in 1917.

The Oxford University Press announces a tenth volume of Mr. William Foster's calendar entitled *The English Factories in India*, carrying the story from 1655 to 1660, and part 2 of Mr. P. E. Roberts's *Historical Geography of India*.

The Cambridge University Press announces a work concerning *William Bolts*, by N. L. Hallward, which throws new light on the relations of the East India Company with the natives of India and rival European traders towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The account of the battle of Mukden is continued in the fifth volume of *Guerre Russo-Japonaise, 1904-1905* (Paris, Chapelot, 1920, pp. 519), the French translation of the history of the war by the Russian General Staff.

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Jews of Africa, especially in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York, Dutton, 1920, pp. xiii, 200), is a companion volume to the book on Asia, mentioned under the preceding heading, by Sidney Mendelssohn.

The Bantu Past and Present, an Ethnographical and Historical Study of the Native Races of South Africa (Edinburgh, Green, 1920, pp. xix, 398), by S. M. Molema, recounts much of South African history from a new point of view.

The ninth volume of the *Collection des Ouvrages Anciens concernant Madagascar* (Paris, Union Coloniale, 1920, pp. 652) contains the second part of Flacourt's *Histoire de la Grande Ile de Madagascar*, written in the seventeenth century, and François Martin's *Mémoires sur l'Île de Madagascar*, 1665-1668.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has for some weeks past had the advantage of the aid in Washington of Professor M. W. Jernegan of the University of Chicago, assisting Dr. Paullin in the preparation of that part of the proposed atlas of the historical geography of the United States which will exhibit data in religious history. Miss Shirley Farr, of the same university, joins the staff in January, to assist in the conduct of this journal.

Among the recent accessions of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress are: George Washington's memorandum book, 1756-1757 (photostat of original in the New York Public Library); diary and account-book of James Monroe, 1795-1802 (one volume); letter- and order-book of Commodore John Rodgers, 1812-1815 (one volume); log-book of voyages of the ship *Oglethorpe* between Savannah and Liverpool, 1817-1824; letters to Edward J. Mallett, 1827-1860 (46 pieces); receipt books of mileage and pay of United States senators, 14th, 17th, and 18th Congresses; seven letters from Andrew Johnson to William M. Lowery, 1841-1870, and one letter from Robert Johnson to Lowery, January 15, 1861; letter-book of Major-General J. G. Foster while in command of the department of Florida, 1865-1866 (one volume); and papers of Admiral Charles S. Sperry, U. S. N., 1895-1911.

Recent issues of the *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 218-221, of which Dr. Samuel E. Morison is now general editor, embrace extracts from letters and speeches of John Bright during the Civil War and from the British debates of 1863 on the Southern Confederacy; from William Sturgis's lectures and diary on the Northwest Fur Trade and the Indians of the Oregon Country; from Walter Coulton's journal, *California in 1846-1848*; and from Charles S. Stuart's *Private Journal of a Voyage to the Pacific Islands in the Years 1822-25* (his description of Hawaii).

In the October number of the *Catholic Historical Review* Rev. William Henry Kent, O. S. C., discourses broadly upon the topic "Catholic Truth and Historical Truth", taking his text from a recent magazine article; Rev. Patrick A. Collis examines the preface of the *Acta Sanctorum*, as a remarkable presentation of historical method; and Mr. J. Lloyd Mechem presents an article upon the Martyrdom of Father Juan de Santa María. In the department of Miscellany are found a convenient list of titular sees of the American hierarchy and a contribution by the Rev. Robert Lechat, S. J., Bollandist, Les *Acta Sanctorum* des Bollandistes. In the section of Documents the *Review* reprints from the rare volume, *The Laity's Directory to the Church Service* (1822), "A Brief Account of the Establishment of Episcopacy in the United States", and "The Present State of Religion in the Respective Dioceses".

The principal paper in the March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* is a Sketch of the Life of Mother Cornelia Connelly, Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, 1809-1879. Articles in the June number are: Notes on a few Old Catholic Hymn Books, by Jane Campbell; and Knights of Columbus War Activities in Philadelphia, by Edward J. Galbally. The September number contains a body of thirty-seven letters, 1849-1853, of Francis Patrick Kenrick, afterward archbishop of Philadelphia, to a Catholic family, that of George D. Allen; and an interesting body of extracts from the diplomatic correspondence of Gérard, French minister, 1778-1779, found in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, by Miss Elizabeth S. Kite.

Dr. David Jayne Hill's *American World Policies* is chiefly an argument against entrance into the League of Nations, but contains excellent and useful historical matter relating to American constitutional history.

A two-volume *Histoire du Protestantisme Français au Canada et aux États-Unis* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1919, pp. 394, 338) is by Father Duclos.

The *Journal* of the Presbyterian Historical Society for June and September-December contains a history of the Philadelphia North Presbytery, by Rev. Dr. William P. White, and the records of the Middle Association of Congregational Churches of the state of New York, 1804-1808, edited by Rev. Dr. J. Q. Adams.

Bulletin no. 71 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, by David I. Bushnell, jr., performs a useful service by bringing together a great variety of details on *Native Cemeteries and Forms of Burial East of the Mississippi* (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. 160, and 17 plates). The data are arranged in order of the ethnological groups, and under them by tribes.

George B. Grinnell's *When Buffalo Ran* (Yale University Press, 1920, pp. 114) has the value attaching to the recollections of an Indian of his boyhood and youth up to the time of his marriage.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, by Professor Jesse S. Robinson of Carleton College (*John Hopkins Studies*, XXXVIII. 2, pp. 166), opens with a section on the origin and history of that union.

F. Fairchild Sherman of New York, editor and publisher of *Art in America*, expects to publish, in this month, *Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature*, by Theodore Bolton.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Macmillan Company has brought out *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783*, by Professors Herbert E. Bolton and Thomas M. Marshall. The work is designed as a text-book.

The title, *Bradford's History of the Plymouth Settlement, rendered in Modern English*, by Harold Paget, sufficiently indicates the character of the book, published in 1909, but again brought out in 1920 (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company). Such efforts are perhaps useful, for the editor may be right in thinking that to many persons the reading of what he calls "the medieval English of the original" would be so laborious as to preclude them from making its acquaintance. Anyone who can understand the Bible can understand Bradford, and Mr. Paget has not always understood him rightly or translated him correctly; but his text is easier to read.

New Light on the Pilgrim Story, by Rev. Thomas M. Mason and Rev. Dr. B. Nightingale (London, Congregational Union of England and Wales) makes useful additions on the side of personal and biographical details.

The Manchester University Press (Longmans) issues *Captain Myles Standish: His Lost Lands and Lancashire Connections: a New Investigation*, by Rev. Thomas C. Porteus, vicar of Coppull, Lancashire.

In order to lighten the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, and so accelerate its progress, the Public Record Office undertook some time ago to print the *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, commonly known as the Board of Trade Journals. Up to April, 1704, the entries in the journal have been included in the *Calendar*, distributed under their respective dates. The continuous printing now begun is much more convenient, and the arrangement is such as to indicate by marginal notes the place of deposit of all letters received by the commissioners, read, and noted in the journal. The first volume, now published by the Stationery Office (pp. 641), runs from April 3, 1704, to January 28, 1709. It is hoped that the publication of the journal to 1782 may be accomplished in a reasonable time, many years before the calendar can be brought to that date. The volume almost defies review, but is of course crowded with useful material for colonial history.

The National Genealogical Society of Washington has published, as a volume of 122 pages, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies*, vol. I., being Zurich lists of 1734-1744, obtained from Swiss archives by Professor A. B. Faust, accompanied by facsimiles and preceded by a reprint of his article on Swiss Emigration to the American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, from vol. XXII. of this journal.

Professor Herbert A. Smith of McGill University, in a small book called *The American Supreme Court as an International Tribunal* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. viii, 120), summarizes and presents in expository form the material on interstate cases published by Dr. James Brown Scott in his *Judicial Settlements of Controversies between States of the Union*.

The attention of historical scholars should be called to *The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 which framed the Constitution of the United States, reported by James Madison* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. xcvi, 731), "International Edition", edited, at the instance of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, by Dr. Gaillard Hunt and Dr. James Brown Scott. Here will be found the text of Madison's debates prepared with extreme care from Madison's original manuscript and preceded by useful documentary and other matter (Annapolis proceedings, credentials, and the like) relative to the antecedents of the Federal Convention.

In a pamphlet entitled *A Review of "Isaac Shelby and the Genet Mission"* by Dr. Archibald Henderson (Lexington, Kentucky, 1920, pp. 52), Mr. Samuel M. Wilson examines at some length Dr. Henderson's treatment of the subject in two chapters of his work, *The Star of Empire*, and in an article in the March (1920) number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

Lincoln the World Emancipator, by John Drinkwater (Houghton Mifflin Company), is not so much a treatment of the historical Lincoln as it is an interpretation of Lincoln as a symbol, a type, a universal figure, an exemplification of the best characteristics and the ideals of the Anglo-Saxon race, constituting a bond of union between England and America and a reconciler of their differences.

The *Magazine of History* for November-December, 1917 (a double though meagre number), which has but recently come from the press, contains a letter written by President Lincoln to the mayor of New York, Dec. 2, 1863, principally concerning a proposed celebration of the victories in the West.

The Naval History Society has ready for immediate publication the second volume of the confidential correspondence of Gustavus V. Fox. Rear-Admiral Fiske has retired from the secretaryship of the Society and Mr. W. H. Gardiner has been chosen secretary in his place.

Mrs. Sophie Radford de Meissner has written a life of her father, Rear-Admiral William Radford (1808-1890), which Henry Holt and Company have published with the title *Old Naval Days: the Career of Rear-Admiral Radford*. It is understood that Mrs. de Meissner has made extensive use of the naval archives in the preparation of the volume.

A Life of Alphonso Taft, by Lewis A. Leonard, with a preface by Henry Clews, is brought out in New York by the Hawke Publishing Company.

In one of their little books called *Macmillan's Pocket Classics*, the Macmillan Company have issued, for school use, *Roosevelt's Writings*,

a selection from his autobiography, his historical and outdoor books, and his addresses on matters of citizenship.

Doubleday, Page, and Company announce for early publication the *Reminiscences* of Melville E. Stone, who for the past twenty years has been general manager of the Associated Press.

The Americanization of Edward Bok: the Autobiography of a Dutch Boy Fifty Years after, will probably have an interest for many students of American history other than readers of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, of which Mr. Bok was long time editor. Mr. Bok has counted among his friends and intimates many notable Americans of his time.

Rose W. Lane is the author of a volume entitled *The Making of Herbert Hoover*, which the Century Company has published.

Students interested in the development and progress of American negroes of the best sort will find much to interest them in the autobiography of Bishop L. J. Coppin, *Unwritten History* (Philadelphia, A. M. E. Book Concern, pp. 375), giving interesting glimpses of life on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, before, during, and after the Civil War, of ministerial labors, and of service as Methodist bishop in South Africa.

Herbert E. Gaston's *The Nonpartisan League* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1920, pp. vii, 325) is a history, and a good one, by one who for three years was connected with the publicity work of the League.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

Little, Brown, and Company have brought out *A Guide to the Military History of the World War, 1914-1918*, by Thomas C. Frothingham. The data are arranged with a view to quick references. There are maps, diagrams, bibliography, index, etc.

The Yale University Press announces its forthcoming publication of a new series, *How America Went to War*, in six volumes, of which the first two, just brought out, are *The Road to France*, by Benedict Crowell, assistant secretary of war, and Robert F. Wilson.

The office of historian of the United States Air Service has been filled by the appointment of Dr. Wayne E. Stevens, recently director of the War Records Section of the Illinois State Historical Library, who will supervise the preparation of a history of the organization and operations of the air service in the American Expeditionary Forces. All original documents pertaining in any way to the overseas activities of the service are being collected, and will constitute the basis of the proposed history. These records consist of operation orders and reports, intelligence summaries, maps, "unit histories", etc. The project will be carried out in co-operation with the Historical Branch of the General Staff and in accordance with its plans.

An Explorer in the Air Service, by Professor Hiram Bingham of Yale University, who had an important part in organizing instruction in aviation and in other service at aviation headquarters in Washington, is an unofficial, personal record of those two years of service.

Three contributions to war history published by the Houghton Mifflin Company are *The Lafayette Flying Corps*, authorized history, by Captain James N. Hall and Lieutenant Charles B. Nordhoff (two volumes); a *History of the American Field Service in France: Friends of France, 1914-1917*, told by its members (three volumes); and *New England in France, 1917-1919*, a history of the Twenty-Sixth ("Yankee") Division, by Major Emerson G. Taylor. *The History of the A. E. F.*, by Shipley Thomas, is published by the George H. Doran Company. Another work covering comprehensively the history of the A. E. F. is *America in Battle: with Guide to the American Battlefields in France and Belgium*, by James A. Moss and Harry S. Howland (Menasha, Wisconsin, G. Banta Publishing Company).

A little known aspect of the Great War is dealt with in the monograph of Alfred H. Brooks, *Use of Geology on the Western Front*, with a list of publications relating to the war work of American geologists (Washington, Government Printing Office).

Robert R. McCormick, who was a member of General Pershing's staff, has produced a volume to which is given the title *The Army in 1918*, being an account of America's contribution to the World War (New York, Harcourt).

The Knights of Columbus in Peace and War, in two volumes, is the product of Maurice Francis Egan and John J. B. Kennedy (New Haven, Knights of Columbus).

The Macmillan Company has brought out *The American Colleges and Universities in the Great War, 1914-1919: a History*, by President Charles F. Thwing.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October contains a series of letters pertaining to Colonel John Brown's expedition against Ticonderoga and Diamond Island in 1777. The letters are principally from Colonel Brown to General Lincoln, September 13 to October 4.

The contents of the October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* include a continuation of Old Norfolk County Records which were printed serially for several years in the *Essex Antiquarian*, which came to an end in 1909. There is also a continuation of Francis B. C. Bradley's History of the Boston and Maine Railroad.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at its meeting of October, 1919, includes an important study of Greater New England in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, by Professor F. J. Turner, an elaborate account of an eighteenth-century gentlewoman of Boston, Catherine Wendell, by Professor Barrett Wendell, and a paper by Professor George H. Haynes on the Conciliatory Proposition in the Massachusetts Convention of 1788.

Smith College Studies in History, vol. V., no. 3, is an account of the Development of History and Government (*i.e.*, of the study of political science) in Smith College from 1875 to 1920, with a list of publications of faculty and alumni, prepared by Professor Mary B. Fuller. Vol. V., no. 4, is an excellent paper on Influences toward Radicalism in Connecticut, 1754-1775, largely concerned with the Susquehanna Company, by Miss Edith A. Bailey.

The American Historical Society, a commercial publishing concern, not to be confused with the American Historical Association, has put forth a *History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, in three volumes, by Thomas W. Bicknell and others.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The July number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York Historical Association contains a biographical study, by G. D. B. Hasbrouck, of Governor George Clinton, an article on Rochester by Harriet E. Brown Dow, and a continuation of the Minutes of the Presbytery of New York, edited by Professor Dixon R. Fox. The number for October contains chiefly an article on Jedediah Peck, father of the public school system of the state of New York, by Sherman Williams.

The New York Historical Society has been presented with six volumes of manuscript journals written by Major-Gen. Abner Doubleday, and with fourteen scrap-books of newspaper clippings gathered by him, all relating to the campaigns in which he was engaged during the Mexican War and Civil War.

The September *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library opens with a historical memorial on John Holt, Printer and Postmaster, by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits. The November number gives a history of the Harlem Library, and concludes the list of New York almanacs prior to 1850.

Mr. Eugene L. Armbruster, who has produced a number of monographs on subjects of Brooklyn and Long Island history, has brought out a study of *The Wallabout Prison Ships, 1776-1783*, which, he avers, "will considerably upset current opinion" about the prison ships. The work is largely a compilation from original sources (the author, 263 Eldert Street, Brooklyn).

Where to Find It: Bibliography of Syracuse History (Syracuse, Onondaga Historical Association, pp. 219) by Franklin B. Chase, city historian, embraces not only books and essays but newspaper material.

The contents of the October number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* include Early Newark as a Puritan Theocracy, by Walter S. Nichols; the Dutch Trading Post at Trenton, by Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey; Address on Governor William Paterson, by the late Hon. Cortlandt Parker; and Washington's March from Princeton to Morristown, by Joshua Dougherty, jr.

The History of Valley Forge, by Henry Woodman, together with a biography of the author and of the author's father, a soldier at Valley Forge, by Mary S. Woodman, has been published in Oaks, Pennsylvania, by J. U. Francis, sr.

Papers Read before the Lancaster County Historical Society May 7 and June 4 are: Early Architecture of Lancaster County (illustrated), by A. L. Kocher, and Fords and Bridges across the Conestoga, from Morgantown to Hinkletown, by M. G. Weaver.

The October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains a paper, by Charles W. Dahlinger, on Abraham Lincoln in Pittsburgh and the Birth of the Republican Party.

Students of the history of the Swedish colony on the Delaware will find an interest in G. Wittrock's *Svenska Handelskompaniet och Kopparhandeln under Gustaf II. Adolf* (Upsala, 1919, pp. 162), with texts of many documents.

The history of a great business enterprise, and one of our oldest, established in 1793, is related by Mrs. B. G. du Pont in a volume entitled *E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company* (Houghton Mifflin).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Mr. Bunford Samuel, librarian of the Ridgeway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia, is the author of a work in two volumes, of which the principal title is *Secession and Constitutional Liberty* (New York, Neale).

The Southern Historical Society Papers, no. V. (September, 1920), designated a "Jackson Number", contains two studies of the career of General T. J. Jackson. Part I., "With Stonewall Jackson in the Army of Northern Virginia", by Capt. James B. Smith, is principally the experiences and impressions of an aide. Part II. is a reprint of Col. William Allan's *History of the Campaign of Gen. T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1880).

The state of Maryland and the Maryland Historical Society have lately published vol. XXXIX. of the *Archives of Maryland*. It contains the acts and proceedings of the general assembly of the province during the sessions held from 1732/3 to 1736, five sessions in all, marked by a considerable amount of interesting legislation.

Apart from continued articles, the September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains a paper, the first of a series, on Seven Pioneers of the Colonial Eastern Shore, by Percy G. Skirven.

It is expected that the new archive building of the Virginia State Library will be ready for occupancy in early February. Among the recent accessions are: twenty-three certified copies of Confederate rosters; a muster-roll of the city of Richmond; and Andrew Dunscomb's letter-book, 1784-1787.

The principal item in the January (1920) number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, besides the continued series, is a minute of a General Meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Mecklenburg, July 29, 1774, contributed, with an introduction, by Dr. Archibald Henderson.

The principal paper in the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (formerly the *William and Mary College Historical Quarterly*) is a History of York County in the Seventeenth Century.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has recently received the public letters and executive papers (1917-1920, about 10,000 pieces) of Governor Thomas W. Bickett, the records of the state comptroller, and a body of records (1780-1878) from the office of the state treasurer. A few valuable letters of the Revolutionary period have also been acquired.

Race Elements in the White Population of North Carolina, by R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the state Historical Commission, and relating to the English, Highland Scotch, Scotch-Irish, and German elements, has recently been printed by the North Carolina State Normal and Industrial College (pp. 115).

In the April number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* appear some letters from Peter Manigault to his mother, and two letters concerning him from Henry Laurens to Gabriel Manigault, all written from England in the year 1773. There is also a letter from Joseph Lord to James Petiver, written from Carolina in 1705. In the July number are some Swiss Notes on South Carolina (1737), contributed by Gilbert P. Voigt.

As a result of the amalgamation of the Georgia Historical Society and the Georgia Historical Association, the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* and all other publications of the united society have been placed under the control of an editorial board consisting of Professors R. P. Brooks and E. M. Coulter of the University of Georgia, P. S. Flippin of Mercer University and T. H. Jack of Emory University, Mr. Lawton B. Evans, superintendent of schools in Augusta, and Miss Cleo Hearon, professor in the Agnes Scott Institute. Professor Flippin has been

named managing editor. The united society takes occasion of the union to issue as the eighty-first annual report of the Georgia Historical Society, and as nos. 2 and 3 of vol. IV. of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, a handbook containing all the documents and explanations necessary toward understanding the history, achievements, publications, and possessions of both societies.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for January has papers on the Louisiana Territory, by Professor Cardinal Goodwin, and on the History of Natchitoches, by Milton Dunn, but will be chiefly valued for the specimen documents from the archives of the Cabildo of New Orleans, 1725-1770, printed, with translations, by the care of Mr. Henry P. Dart, who has with great energy promoted the preservation of that remarkable body of material.

WESTERN STATES

The July number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* is a record of the proceedings of the twelfth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held in St. Louis in May, 1919. A summary account of the proceedings is given by Charles W. Hackett. The papers printed in the *Review* are: Following the Westward Star, by Chancellor L. Jenks; the Commerce of the Lower Mississippi in the Period 1830-1860, by R. B. Way; the Mexican Problem: a Possible Peaceful Solution, by I. J. Cox; the Attitude of Swedish Americans toward the World War, by George M. Stephenson; Texas and the Preservation of War History Material, by Milton R. Gutsch; Louisiana State War Activities, by William Beer; Constitution Making in Missouri, by C. H. McClure; Banking and Finance in Missouri in the Thirties, by F. F. Stephens; the Jesuit in the Mississippi Valley, by Laurence J. Kenny; and a group of four papers on the effect of the war on historical instruction in schools and colleges. The September number contains an article by Walter R. Sharp on Henry S. Lane and the Formation of the Republican Party in Indiana; one by Professor W. H. Siebert on Kentucky's Struggle with its Loyalist Proprietors; and a survey of recent historical activities in the Old Northwest, by Professor A. C. Cole. Professor Raymond G. Taylor describes some sources for the agricultural history of the Mississippi Valley, and Professor W. L. Fleming presents some documents relating to Jefferson Davis at West Point.

The Rise of Methodism in the West: being the Journal of the Western Conference, 1800-1811, with notes and introduction by William W. Sweet, is from the press of the Methodist Book Concern.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association held its thirteenth session at Columbus, October 15 and 16, in conjunction with a meeting of the Ohio History Teachers' Association. The address of the president, Professor W. H. Siebert of the Ohio State University, was on the Future of the

Ohio Valley Historical Association. There were also papers on the Extinction of the Indian Title in Ohio beyond the Greenville Line, by Professor Homer C. Hockett, on New England Influences on the Ohio Public School System, by Professor E. A. Miller of Oberlin, and on Educational Beginnings in West Virginia, by Professor J. M. Callahan.

The principal content of the July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is an account by C. B. Galbreath, of Lafayette's Visit to Ohio Valley States. The story of Lafayette's journey, which occupies somewhat more than 100 pages of the *Quarterly*, contains letters, addresses, and much contemporary narrative.

The *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* prints in the July-September number a second installment of Selections from the Gano Papers. The letters (1812) are principally from General Gano, some of them to Governor R. J. Meigs. There is one letter from General Lewis Cass.

No. 11 of the *Bulletins* of the Indiana Historical Commission is a report of the proceedings of the State History Conference held at Indianapolis in December, 1919. It contains many useful essays in Indiana history.

The March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains an initial article by Charles E. Canup on the Temperance Movement in Indiana, and a continuation of R. C. Buley's study of Indiana in the Mexican War. In the June number are: a sketch, by Martha Tucker Morris, of Christopher Harrison, lieutenant-governor of Indiana, 1816-1818, a continuation of Mr. Canup's paper, and an article, by Elmore Barce, on the Savage Allies of the Northwest. The latter study will be continued. The September number is a monograph, by Carl Painter, on the Progressive Party in Indiana.

The *Annual Report* of the Chicago Historical Society for 1919, in addition to the usual records of progress, contains a striking series of pictures and brief biographical sketches of young men who were killed in the war and were sons of members of the society.

Laurence J. Kenny, S. J., contributes to the October number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* an article entitled Some First Ladies of Illinois, and Joseph J. Thompson one on Catholic Statesmen of Illinois. Other articles are continuations hitherto mentioned.

The April number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* has for its principal content the concluding installment of the Journal of Governor John Sevier, which comes to an end a few days before his death in September, 1815. There are also six letters from Sevier to his son, George Washington Sevier, 1812, 1813, and 1815. Hon. Park Marshall contributes some facts concerning John A. Murrell and Daniel Crenshaw, noted criminals (about 1825), and Miss Kate White a body of marriage

records of Knox County, 1792-1811, culled from a mass of loose papers in the county archives.

Mr. J. Tyree Fain has completed the *Index to Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee* (Nashville, Paul Hunter).

The National Book Company of Chicago has brought out *A School History of Tennessee*, by Gustavus W. Dyer.

Michigan Military Records, Bulletin no. 12 (pp. 244), issued by the Michigan Historical Commission, comprises three compilations of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Michigan, namely, Records of the Revolutionary Soldiers Buried in Michigan, the Pensioners of Territorial Michigan, and the Soldiers of Michigan awarded the Medal of Honor. There are several portraits in the volume. The editor is Sue I. Silliman, state historian of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

In the September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* Major-Gen. William G. Haan describes the Division as a Fighting Machine, having reference primarily to his own division, the thirty-second, and describing very effectively some of its operations. There is an article by Dr. Joseph Schafer on Muscoda, 1763-1856, one by Professor Julius E. Olsen on Lincoln in Wisconsin, and a continuation of the papers of W. A. Titus on Historic Spots in Wisconsin. Dr. Schafer also discusses the proposed Wisconsin Domesday Book. In the section of documents is an installment of letters (1862) of Chauncey H. Cooke, a boy soldier, and in the Survey of Historical Activities is a descriptive account, by Louise P. Kellogg, of the papers of Charles M. Baker (1804-1872), recently acquired by the State Historical Society. The December number has articles on the Trails of Northern Wisconsin, by James H. McManus; on Col. Hans Christian Heg, colonel of a Scandinavian regiment in the Civil War, the Fifteenth Wisconsin (but killed at Chickamauga), by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen; and on the Panic of 1862 in Wisconsin, by Dr. M. M. Quaife. The later pages give interesting accounts of manuscript materials lately received by the State Historical Society: papers of Capt. William Charleton, of Col. Simeon D. Clough, and of the Wood family of Vermont, an autobiography of President Josiah L. Pickard, diaries and papers of John H. Knapp, and letters received by Louis Perrault from the Canadian revolutionaries of 1837, especially E. B. O'Callaghan.

Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is engaged in the preparation of a biographical sketch of William Stephen Hamilton, participant in the early Indian wars, president of the first council of Wisconsin Territory, and member of the assembly, 1842-1843, as well as a pioneer in the lead region of Wisconsin. He was a son of Alexander Hamilton.

The August number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin*, which is designated "Dedication Number", is principally devoted to a record of the exercises at the dedication of the Minnesota Historical Society Building in May, 1918. Foremost in this record is the address of Professor Frederick J. Turner, Middle Western Pioneer Democracy.

In the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Mr. Jacob Van der Zee reviews the work of the Iowa code commission, and in a separate article discusses the problem of indexing the compiled code, a task which Mr. Van der Zee himself has performed.

The July number of the *Annals of Iowa* prints the Minutes of the Sac and Fox Indian Councils of 1841 and 1842, recorded by James W. Grimes and John Beach, respectively, secretaries to the commissioners for the United States. In the editorial department is printed the text of the treaty of 1842. There are also an autobiographical sketch of John A. Kasson (1822-1910), and an interesting Letter from a Citizen of the Southern Confederacy (J. W. Thatcher), written from Berkeley County, Virginia, May 12, 1861, to his brother in Ohio.

The "Missouri Centennial Number" (October) of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains an interesting and valuable group of papers treating different phases of the state's history. These are: the Travail of Missouri for Statehood, by Walter B. Stevens; Missouri in 1820, by Jonas Viles; a Century of Journalism in Missouri, by W. V. Byars; a Century of Missouri Literature, by Alexander N. DeMenil; a Century of Transportation in Missouri, by Edward J. White; Labor and Industry in Missouri during the Last Century, by Lee Meriwether; Social Customs and Usages in Missouri during the last Century, by Mary Alicia Owen; and Social Reform in Missouri during the last Century, by George B. Mangold. There is also some account of the centennial celebrations. Other centennial articles will appear in the January number.

Mr. Waddy Thompson of Atlanta, grandson of the United States minister to Mexico from 1842 to 1844, recently presented to the Texas State Historical Association sixteen letters to or from Waddy Thompson, 1842 to 1848. Among the writers are Jackson, Tyler, Webster, Calhoun, Reverdy Johnson, Hugh McLeod, José Maria Tornel, and Santa Anna.

The larger part of the October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* is occupied with chapters of A. K. Christian's Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, which will be concluded in the next number of the *Quarterly*. There is also an article, by William R. Lewis, on the Hayes Administration and Mexico. The Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832, edited by Eugene C. Barker, are concluded in this number.

Professor Thomas M. Marshall has edited, and the University of Colorado has published, as the second volume of its *Historical Collections* (Boulder, 1920, pp. xvi, 313) *The Early Records of Gilpin County*,

Colorado, 1859-1861, containing material described in his article on "The Miners' Laws of Colorado" in the preceding volume of this journal (XXV. 426-439).

The October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains an account, by William S. Lewis, of the First Militia Companies in Eastern Washington Territory, a sketch, by James E. Babb, of Judge E. P. Oliphant, who held the first court within the present limits of Idaho (then, 1862, a part of the territory of Washington), a bibliography of the anthropology of Puget Sound Indians, by J. D. Leechman, and continuations heretofore mentioned.

The contents of the June number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are: David Thompson and Beginnings in Idaho, by T. C. Elliott; Educational Plans and Efforts by Methodists in Oregon to 1860, by Read Bain; and History of Oregon Normal Schools, by John C. Almack.

Thomas C. Russell of San Francisco has brought out a reprint, "line for line and page for page", from Barrington's *Miscellanies* (London, 1781), of the *Voyage of the Sonora in the Second Bucareli Expedition*, to which he has added "many other interesting notes as well as an index to both text and notes", a reproduction of Bodega's Carta General, and a portrait of Daines Barrington.

A Journal of a Trip to California: Across the Continent, from Weston, Missouri, to Weber Creek, California, in the Summer of 1850, by C. W. Smith, edited by R. W. G. Vail, librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society, has been brought out by the Cadmus Book Shop, 312 34th street, New York.

CANADA

The Public Archives of Canada have of late been greatly enriched by addition of volumes of transcripts from London and Paris. Those from the Public Record Office cover 13 volumes of C. O. 1, 23 volumes of C. O. 5, 43 Admiralty volumes, and 9 volumes from the Chatham manuscripts; there are also transcripts of 25 volumes of the American manuscripts at the Royal Institute. From England also have come 24 volumes of Simcoe papers. From Paris the chief accessions represent the first 109 volumes of series B² and the first 111 volumes of series B³ in the Archives de la Marine; Correspondance Politique, Angleterre, vols. 83-235, and États Unis, vols. 23-25, from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; 310 numbers from the Bibliothèque Nationale, and 26 (Bastille) from the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Of the Jugements et Délibérations du Conseil Supérieur, the transcripts, from Quebec, have now reached 1735.

For the Board of Historical Publication, connected with the Public Archives of Canada, Dr. Adam Shortt is preparing a large collection of documents exhibiting the history of paper and other currency in French and English Canada and in the colony of Nova Scotia. Later, he in-

tends to prepare a series of documents illustrating the history of land-grants and thereby the progress of settlement in Canada.

The third number of the *Canadian Historical Review*, that for September, maintains the character for varied and excellent material established by its predecessors. There are papers on Captains of Militia in the French period, by Benjamin Sulte, on the Vérendrye question, by A. H. de Trémaudan, on Canadian Opinion of Southern Secession in the United States, by Fred Landon, and on the Imperial Ideas of Benjamin Disraeli, by Professor J. L. Morison. The documents consist of two letters found by Miss Irene A. Wright in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, casting light on Canada in 1608, and an autobiographical memorial (1818) of J. M. Caldwell illustrative of political affairs in Canada between 1810 and 1818.

The Champlain Society has issued to its members the first of three volumes of *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812*, edited by Col. William Wood.

Professor Oscar D. Skelton of Queen's University, Kingston, is about to publish *The Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt* (Oxford University Press), based on the private papers of Sir Alexander Galt and on papers in the Public Archives of Canada relating to the period just before and after Confederation.

A volume that should prove of interest to several classes of readers is *The Life of Sir William Van Horne*, builder of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, by Walter Vaughan (Century).

The Canadians in France, 1915-1918, by Captain Harwood Steele, is a detailed history of the Canadian army corps in the World War (New York, Dutton).

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The August number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* has three main articles: one by Señor José M. O. Capseguí on "Don Manuel Josef de Ayala y la Historia de Nuestra Legislación de Indias"; one by Miss Irene A. Wright on Rescates (illicit trade) with special reference to Cuba, 1599-1610; and one by Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., on Alberdi's Views on the Monroe Doctrine.

M. Rodríguez Codola has written an *Historia de España y de los Pueblos Hispanoamericanos hasta su Independencia* (Barcelona, 1919, vol. I., pp. 544); and E. Restrepo-Tirado, *Descubrimiento y Conquista de Colombia* (Bogotá, Imp. Nacional, 1919, vol. II., pp. 431).

Los Estados Unidos de América y las Repúblicas Hispanoamericanas de 1810-1830 (Bogotá, Imp. Nacional, 1918), by F. J. Urrutia, will interest students of the Monroe doctrine.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Sir W. Ashley, *The Pilgrim Fathers and their Place in History* (Quarterly Review, October); R. H.

Murray, *The Pilgrim Fathers* (Edinburgh Review, October); C. F. Thwing, *The Pilgrims' Motive and Contribution* (Hibbert Journal, October); H. H. Scullard, *The Theology of John Robinson and of the Pilgrim Fathers* (*ibid.*); C. Burrage, *The Earliest Minor Accounts of Plymouth Plantation* (Harvard Theological Review, October); L. N. Kinnicutt, *Plymouth's Debt to the Indians* (*ibid.*); Archibald Henderson, *Daniel Boone and the American Pioneer* (Century, September); R. B. Anderson, *Kleng Peerson, the Father of Norwegian Immigration to America* (American Scandinavian Review, July); W. M. Persons, P. M. Tuttle, and E. Frickey, *Business and Financial Conditions following the Civil War in the United States* (Review of Economic Statistics, Supplement, July); G. Bradford, *American Portraits, 1875-1890: James Gillespie Blaine* (Atlantic Monthly, October); Grover Cleveland (*ibid.*, November); E. S. Martin, *Mr. Choate in England: his Letters showing his Activities while Ambassador* (Scribner's Magazine, October); J. W. Pratt, *The British Blockade and American Precedent* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, November); C. G. Fenwick, *Democracy and Efficient Government: Lessons of the War* (American Political Science Review, November); Hon. Justice Longley, *Reminiscences Political and Otherwise* (Canadian Magazine, October, November, December); A. González Palencia, *Extracto del Catálogo de los Documentos del Consejo de Indias conservados en la Sección de Consejos del Archivo Historico Nacional* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, July); C. Viñas Mey, *La Legislación Social en la Recopilación de Indias* (*ibid.*); G. N. Tricoche, *Batailles Oubliées: les Anglais à Buenos-Ayres, 8-9 Juillet 1807* (Revue Historique, July-August); Beltran Mathieu, *The Neutrality of Chile during the European War* (American Journal of International Law, July).

(P. S. to p. 374.) ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. A brief delay in the printing of this number of the *Review* makes it possible to give members early notice of some of the chief transactions of the annual meeting. A fuller account will, as usual, be printed in the April number.

The registration numbered 360. The secretary's report showed a membership of 2524, a gain of 79 since the preceding year. The treasurer's report showed receipts of \$10,483, expenditures of \$9,786; but so extraordinarily has the cost of printing the *American Historical Review* increased, especially in the latter months of the year, that instead of paying to the Macmillan Company fifty cents per copy supplied to members of the Association, it becomes necessary to pay hereafter seventy cents, or, per annum, \$2.80, nearly the total sum paid by each member as annual dues. Therefore the Association voted to submit to the next annual meeting an amendment to the constitution increasing the annual dues from three dollars to five dollars (and the life-membership fee from fifty dollars to one hundred), and in the mean time to authorize

the treasurer, when sending out the bills in September, to invite voluntary contributions of from two to five dollars additional to the dues. Provision was also made for a committee on increase of the endowment.

The special Committee on Policy submitted an elaborate report. Such of its recommendations as could be carried into effect under existing conditions were adopted; among them, an arrangement securing somewhat greater permanence to the Committee on the Programme. It was voted that the next meeting should be held in St. Louis, at the end of December, 1921; Professor Evarts B. Greene was made chairman of the Committee on the Programme. The special Committee on History in the Schools was, at its request, discharged, and the completion of its work was intrusted to a new committee having a similar designation. The prize for the best essay in military history, which, it was voted, should be called the Robert M. Johnston Prize, was awarded to Mr. Thomas R. Hay, for an essay on Hood's Tennessee Campaign. The Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize having been unable to agree upon an award, the decision was referred to the new committee, that for 1921-1922.

His Excellency the French ambassador, Mr. Jusserand, was chosen president for the ensuing year, Professor Charles H. Haskins first vice-president, Professor Edward P. Cheyney second vice-president. Professor Bassett and Mr. Moore were re-elected secretary and treasurer respectively. The elections to the Executive Council followed precisely the list presented by the Committee on Nominations, except that Professor Becker withdrew his name, preferring to continue as a member of the Board of Editors of this journal, whereupon the committee substituted the name of Professor Sioussat. The councillors elected were: Miss Ruth Putnam, Professors Arthur L. Cross, Sidney B. Fay, Carl R. Fish, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Frederic L. Paxson, James T. Shotwell, and St. George L. Sioussat. The Council elected Professor Guy S. Ford a member of the Board of Editors of this journal, in the place of Professor J. H. Robinson, whose term had expired, and Professor Archibald C. Coolidge in the place of Professor Cheyney, who resigned after being elected a vice-president.

In view of the small number of the ballots which had been received in the autumnal "primary", and by which the Committee on Nominations had been guided, the outgoing chairman of that committee, Mr. Paltsits, proposed for consideration next year an amendment to by-law no. 2 which would abolish the provision for this formal balloting, and would leave it to the committee to nominate, with only such indications from other members as letters received from them, or their conversation, might supply. Meantime it was voted that the preliminary ballot should be omitted in 1921. The writer of these lines, however (who believes the ballot to be useful), is convinced that the Association never intended that any nominating committee should think itself bound to follow rigidly, without discretion, the numerical results of the balloting.

The
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT WASHINGTON

COUNTING two meetings which were held partly in Washington and partly in Baltimore and Richmond respectively, twelve of the thirty-five annual meetings of the American Historical Association have been held in the national capital—that of 1886, presided over by the venerable George Bancroft, and those of 1888–1891 inclusive, of 1894 and 1895, of 1901, 1905, 1908, 1915, and 1920. The act of January 4, 1889, incorporating the society, provides that it shall have its principal office at Washington, though it may hold its annual meetings where it pleases. Other provisions of the act, concerning relations with the Smithsonian Institution, emphasize the Washington connection, and the Association is always entitled to consider itself more distinctly at home in Washington than in any other city, and to meet there without specific invitation, though always assured of cordial welcome by the resident members. Under such circumstances, if the resident members are obliged to feel that they have done less for the entertainment of their fellow-members on occasion of the annual meeting than has been done in some other cities, they console themselves with the reflection that Washington is the society's legal home, that every citizen of the United States has his or her share in its ownership, and that the city has many intrinsic attractions of its own, independent of whatever pleasures might be devised to accompany a professional gathering of historical scholars. Not the least of these attractions is a winter climate milder than that of most of the cities where the Association has met; but there are also the buildings and other sights of Washington, and, an attraction having especial drawing power for historians, the printed and manuscript treasures of the Library of Congress and the archives—if in their present condition they deserve to be called archives—of the national government.

By whatever attractions drawn, the number of members attending the thirty-fifth meeting, December 28-30, 1920, was much greater than had been expected. At the Washington meeting of 1915 the registration was 430; but railroad fares have grown higher since then, teachers poorer. Moreover, the railroads proved as unwilling this year as the United States Railroad Administration had been in the year preceding to make any concessions as to reduction of railroad fares for such an occasion. They could not be persuaded to class the American Historical Association's meeting among "meetings of religious, educational, charitable, fraternal, or military character". Most members, it is hoped, found the meeting both educational and fraternal; at all events, members came in unexpected numbers. The registration amounted to 360. The other societies meeting at the same time—the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Catholic Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Agricultural History Society—also had gratifying numbers registering. The subscription dinner, in which all the societies joined, had an attendance of three hundred, and the breakfast-conferences and luncheon-conferences for informal discussion of themes or projects assumed to have a special interest for merely a limited number of members had on this occasion so embarrassing a number of attendants that at meetings hereafter held it will seem difficult to combine the feeding of the multitude with the preaching of the word.

The subscription dinner deserves a special comment. Such functions are expensive, and the Association had seldom ventured to have them; but this particular dinner, a joint affair of all the societies, amply justified itself. No one who heard the incisive remarks of the French ambassador on historical processes and modern events, or the Secretary of War's penetrating and brilliant discussion of the relation of history to the Great War, or Dr. J. J. Walsh's witty speech on historical assumptions respecting progress, is likely ever to forget the occasion. Dr. Walsh spoke as representative of the American Catholic Historical Association, of which he had that day been elected president. Others who spoke were Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, president of the American Political Science Association, and Dr. Edward A. Ross for the American Sociological Society. At the beginning, graceful words of welcome on behalf of the municipal government were spoken by Miss Mabel Boardman, one of the Commissioners for the District of Columbia.

Other occasions on which there was union of societies were the

joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presided over by the president of that society, Professor Chauncey S. Boucher, of the University of Texas; the joint session with the Agricultural History Society, at which its president, Dr. Rodney H. True, of the Department of Agriculture, acted as chairman; and three joint sessions with the American Political Science Association. The first of these three was the occasion when the presidents of the two societies delivered their annual addresses, Dr. Herbert Putnam, librarian of Congress, presiding. The thoughtful address of Professor Edward Channing, of Harvard, as president of the American Historical Association, entitled *An Historical Retrospect*, was printed in our last issue.¹ That of Dr. Reinsch, on *Secret Diplomacy: How far can it be Eliminated?* is expected to appear later in one of the journals of political science.

The second of these joint sessions was concerned with Pan-American Political and Diplomatic Relations, and was held, appropriately, under the chairmanship of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, the new director of the Pan-American Union, and in the Union's beautiful building; (nearly all other meetings were held in the New Willard Hotel, the Association's headquarters). In both this session and the luncheon-conference on the history of Latin America which preceded it, the same tendency was noticeable that has been seen on previous occasions when the Association has made provision for the consideration of Hispanic American history, the tendency, namely, to turn away from that history to the consideration of present-day problems of the mutual relations between the Latin American republics and the United States. The truth is that while interest in these present relations is acute and extensive, and while the history of those portions of the present United States that were once under Spain is being cultivated with exceptional ardor, the historical study of the regions to the southward of our boundaries is still in its infancy among us.

The third of these joint sessions occurred on the last evening, when, under the chairmanship of Baron Korff, formerly of the University of Helsingfors but now of Washington, papers were read on aspects of recent European history and politics. At the close of the session, Baron Korff in graceful words expressed thanks on behalf of the Association to the committees who had been in charge of the meeting and to those who as hosts had entertained the members. In the Historical Association, the chairman of the committee of local arrangements was Dr. H. Barrett Learned, the secretary

¹ Pp. 191-202, above.

Dr. George F. Zook, of the Bureau of Education. The chairman of the committee on the programme was Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University. The entertainments included a "smoker" at the Cosmos Club, an evening reception by the National Club House Committee of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and a most pleasant afternoon reception at the French embassy by the ambassador and Madame Jusserand.

The "luncheon-conferences" were four. One was composed, as has already been mentioned, of persons chiefly interested in Latin America, another of those interested in the history of the Far East. Another was devoted, with excellent results, to practical considerations respecting the study and teaching of economic history. In this conference formal papers were read. Professor Clive Day, of Yale University, who presided, spoke on the recognition of economic history as a distinct subject, reviewing its history, and discriminating between those elementary courses in which its fusion with general history is desirable and those more advanced stages of instruction to which separate and special courses are more appropriate. Professor Abbott P. Usher, of the School of Business Administration in Boston University, spoke on the field for the teaching of economic history in colleges and secondary schools. It appears that in most colleges and universities where economic history finds a place the chief provision for it consists in a course which gives one semester to the economic history of Europe and one to that of America. Many difficulties, especially in the intricate subjects of medieval agriculture and commerce, are avoided by beginning the European part of the course with the Industrial Revolution, but such a procedure sacrifices too much of what is stimulating to the student, to whom the contrast between medieval and modern conditions, medieval and modern forms of social organization, especially in the field of industry, is sure to be highly instructive. Within the last few years economic history has become an important subject in the curricula of business schools, especially their undergraduate divisions, now rapidly growing. Here, little other history can be taught; economic history must give elementary training in both historical and statistical method, and must be co-ordinated with the work descriptive of industries and, in general, of present-day economic organization. The speaker doubted the wisdom of trying to extend economic history into the field of secondary and vocational education.

In the same conference, Professor Hayes, of Columbia University, spoke on the relation of courses in economic history to courses

in history and in economics, respectively; Professor Frank T. Carlton, of De Pauw University, on the history of labor as a field for historical research, with especial emphasis on the need for comparative study of the structure and operation of different types of labor organizations, considered as social forces.

Much the most numerous attended of these luncheon-conferences was that which was concerned with the opportunities for historical research in Washington. By the courtesy of the librarian of Congress, it took place in the Library. The circumstances confined the speakers—Dr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Department of State, Mr. Charles Moore, chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Mr. Theodore Belote, curator of American history in the National Museum, and Professor Frederick J. Turner—to the elements of the subject, but it was impressive and most gratifying to see the eager interest with which their hearers, mostly young graduate students, absorbed these elements of knowledge and incitement concerning the historical treasures of Washington. Would that some adequate appreciation of the opportunities presented here might be diffused among the members of the historical profession, and all others who are interested in history! How do they escape the knowledge that Washington is far the best place for the study of most of the really important parts of American history? Certainly no city in the world so richly provided with historical materials is so little resorted to for purposes of historical writing. From a country of such enormous wealth, there should be, outside the number of those who earn their living in Washington by the teaching of history or other historical work, and the occasional professors who come on leave of absence, at least fifty scholars able to *vivere suo* who have settled down in Washington to lead the historical student's life and exploit this wonderfully opulent mass of material. There are not five. But apparently the well-to-do young American, though nowadays he goes or is sent to college, seldom acquires from either parents or teachers the conviction that there is an inviting career in further study. He is not found in the graduate school. Yet historical writing has never been a poor man's pursuit, but always a pursuit of the well-to-do or the endowed—and in America, with no Congregation of St. Maur, the endowed class has embraced only professors of history, and them only in the happy years from 1880 to 1914, when professors still had some free time!

But to return to the meeting. Before proceeding to those papers which can best be taken into consideration individually, one should speak of two sessions which had more the character of "experience

meetings", or of free conferences unencumbered by meals, than of assemblages for the reading of formal papers—the usual annual meeting of the Conference of Historical Societies and the conference which met to discuss the report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools. The former, presided over by Dr. James Sullivan, state historian of New York, was given the shape of a joint meeting of the representatives of historical societies and of the National Association of State War History Organizations. For the latter body, which now embraces some fifteen of the organizations which states have formed for the collection and preservation of their records of service in the Great War, Mr. Karl Singewald, of the historical division of the Maryland Council of Defense, presented a report of Progress in the Collection of War Records by State War History Organizations; Professor Albert E. McKinley, secretary of the Pennsylvania War History Commission, a paper of Suggestions and Plans for State and Local Publications of War History. The materials chiefly collected are, first, the service-records of individuals; secondly, other military records, such as histories of units, diaries, rosters, photographs, etc.; thirdly, various materials relating to economic participation in the war, and to welfare and morale work. The projected publications correspond: histories of military participation, histories of economic effort, histories of the welfare movements.

In respect to the work of historical societies, the main subject was that of co-operation of societies within the individual state. Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, described the intensive survey of the settlement of that state which is being carried on by the co-operative efforts of that society and of the local historical societies, and to which has been given the appropriate title of the Wisconsin Domesday Book; Dr. Worthington C. Ford and Dr. James Sullivan described respectively the work of the Bay State Historical League in Massachusetts, and of the various county and regional federations of historical societies in New York, and dwelt upon the stimulus given to local societies by the contacts afforded by these groupings.

At the close of the session the Conference of Historical Societies, which enjoys a certain autonomy under the auspices of the Association, held its annual business meeting. Mr. George S. Godard was re-elected chairman for the present year and two special committees were appointed, one to publish if possible a handbook of historical societies, the other to consider a continuation of the bibliography of historical societies compiled to 1905 by Mr. A. P. C.

Griffin and printed as volume II. of the *Annual Report* of the Association for that year. Dr. Dunbar Rowland made a report as chairman of the committee appointed by the Conference in 1907, on co-operation among American historical societies and state departments of history. The project undertaken by the committee, namely, the calendaring of all documents in Parisian archives relating to the Mississippi Valley, for which the societies and departments of that region had raised a fund of \$3000, has been substantially completed, so far as the gathering of material for it is concerned. Dr. Rowland recommended that the offer of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington to edit and publish the calendar be accepted and that the special committee be discharged. This recommendation was adopted.

The Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools was constituted in 1918, first by the National Board for Historical Service and later by the Association, in order to consider those extensive modifications in the methods of historical teaching in schools which, it was then felt, must be brought about as a result of the Great War, in order that history might do its full part in training the minds of the young for proper service to a new era. The history of the committee's work may be traced in these pages and in those of the *Historical Outlook*, where also preliminary reports from it have been printed.² Many obstacles have delayed the presentation of its final report. The object of the present conference was the discussion of portions of its proposals, already made known by some of its previous publications.

In the first of the two formal addresses presented, both of them by members of the committee, Professor Henry Johnson, of Teachers College, Columbia University, discussed the questions of Local and American History in Grades II.-VI. and World History in the High School. He described three groups of dominant ideas respecting the aims and subject-matter of history as a theme of instruction: (1) that the past should be used, as needed, to elucidate the present, without regard to boundaries of subjects, such as geography, literature, economics, history, etc.; (2) that there should be systematic study of history, but that the selection of subjects or events to be studied should be determined solely by present interests; (3) that there should be a study of history for its own sake, because it represents what the past was and how the present came to be. The work of the committee was based on the last conception. Professor

² See this journal, XXIV. 351-353, 746; XXV. 372-373; *Historical Outlook*, X. 273-281, 349-351, 448-451; XI. 73-83, 111-115.

Johnson then gave concrete illustrations of methods of teaching pupils in the grades. The central idea was that of so presenting material as to lead pupils to do constructive thinking; to use the historical method in implanting the idea of change, in evaluating evidence, and in forming conclusions. The speaker approved the proposal of a course in world history in the high schools.³

The secretary of the committee, Mr. Daniel C. Knowlton, outlined the proposed course in modern history for grade X., consisting of a preliminary course of one semester in ancient and medieval history, and a semester in modern history. Main topics and sub-topics were enumerated, chosen for the purpose of showing the progress towards democracy in Europe, for grade X., to be followed by a course in American history with a similar purpose, for grade XI., and one in problems resulting from the growth of democracy, for grade XII. Miss Harriet Tuell, president of the New England History Teachers' Association, criticized the committee's plan as inadequate, as running beyond the capacity of the average high-school pupil, and as laying undue emphasis on one phase of European development, the growth of democracy.

In view of the transfer of the chairman of this committee, Professor Schafer, from Oregon to a new occupation in Wisconsin, and of other changes of occupation by other members, the committee asked to be discharged and to have its work reviewed and concluded by a fresh committee. The Council acceded to this request and appointed a new committee to be called the Committee on History Teaching in Schools, of which the chairman is Professor Johnson.

Another session having a special character was that devoted to the history of science. Its chairman, Dr. Robert S. Woodward, the retiring president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, welcomed the attitude of the American Historical Association towards the history of science, emphasized the need of breaking down the artificial barriers which separate one department of learning or science from another, and recalled plans of earlier years for a general history of the inductive sciences. Of the three papers read, the first was one by Dr. Fielding H. Garrison, librarian of the Surgeon-General's Office, on Recent Realignments in the History of Medieval Medicine and Science. While the most important medical texts of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages were issued in type

³ Mr. Johnson's address, together with a preliminary report by Mr. Schafer, will be found in the *Historical Outlook* for March, XII. 87-97.

by the Renaissance printers, much of the scientific and medical literature of those times remained in manuscript, and it was not till quite recent years that either the early printed books or the thousands of medical and other scientific manuscripts have been subjected to careful examination. The result has been to show that the medieval physicians were weak in anatomy and in physiology; that internal medicine was with them a matter of tradition, both as to theory and as to practice; but that in surgery and in hygiene their accomplishment was considerable. Other branches of science developed in the Middle Ages chiefly through the pursuit of practical inventions.

The second of these papers in the history of science was one on Developments in Electromagnetism during the Last Hundred Years, by Professor Arthur E. Kennelly, of Harvard.⁴ The occasion of this survey was the hundredth anniversary of Oersted's discovery of the connection between electricity and magnetism—of the deflecting of the magnetic needle by an electric current. The development of the subject was traced, from Ampère's epoch-making paper of the same year, 1820, through his subsequent researches, through Faraday's discovery of electromagnetic induction, through the applications to telegraphy, ocean cables, and the telephone, through Clerk Maxwell's researches into the relations between electricity and light, the subsequent investigation of radio-electric waves, and the study of the electron theory of matter. This session concluded with a paper by Professor James H. Robinson, of the New School of Social Research, in New York, on Free Thought, Yesterday and Today. Treating his subject with characteristic wit and pungency of statement, from the point of view of the student of intellectual history, he compared especially the modes of thought of the eighteenth-century deists and other philosophers with our own, and set forth the gains to modern thinking derived from the scientific advance of the last century.

Proceeding now to the main body of substantive papers, or papers read as contributions to history, it must be said that on the whole they seemed to be of less importance or excellence than the average of what has been brought forward on such occasions in the past, yet some were of exceptionally high quality. The most convenient plan for giving some notion of what the papers not already mentioned contained is perhaps to deal with them in the chronological order of their subjects, beginning with ancient history. In the session devoted to that field, the first paper was read by Dr. Donald

⁴ Printed in a modified form in the *Boston Transcript* of Jan. 26, 1921.

McFayden, of the University of Nebraska, on the Growth of Autocracy in the Roman Empire. Its main features were an argument that the powers granted to the *princeps* in 23 B. C. did not include a legal *majus imperium* over the senatorial provinces, and, derived from this, a theory of the evolution of the *princeps'* relation to the administration of justice. Contrary to the accepted view, he held that under the Augustan constitution the *princeps* possessed no jurisdiction except over the imperial provinces, that the activities of his judicial court and of that held by the *praefectus urbi* as his deputy were technically unconstitutional, and that the appellate jurisdiction of the *princeps* was simply an outgrowth of the tendency to refer all difficult problems to his arbitrament—to make him the chief jurisconsult of the empire. Hadrian's action in organizing a council of eminent jurisconsults to assist him in rendering his decisions fixed him in that position. The extra-legal origin of the jurisdiction exercised by the *princeps* and his deputies was held to explain the relatively informal character of their procedure, while the alliances between the empire and the professional lawyers impregnated the later Roman law with the spirit of absolutism.

Next followed an important paper on the Origin of the Russian State on the Dnieper, by Professor Mikhail Rostovtsev, formerly of the Petrograd Academy of Sciences, now of the University of Wisconsin. In the ninth century, when the Russian annals begin to give a systematic record, we find Russia to have already a civilization of its own and a well-defined political, social, and economic structure, having for its basis a group of commercial city-states, defended and in part ruled by alien princes invited from without, one of whom, in that century, succeeded in uniting the whole group of cities under one dynasty and into one state, with its capital at Kiev. The problem of the paper was to account for this form of organization, so strikingly different from the agricultural and feudal form prevalent at that epoch in western Europe. It was to be solved only by taking into consideration that earlier history of South Russia of which a portion was treated by Professor Rostovtsev in an article printed in our last number.⁵ The civilization depicted in that article as prevailing under the joint influence of the Greek colonial cities and the Iranian-Scythian empire was not destroyed when the Sarmatian power replaced the Scythian, nor when Celtic and after them Germanic invaders came. They took over, as it was their interest to do, the commercial relations which they found; and when the Germans passed on into the Roman Empire and the West,

⁵ Pp. 203-224, above.

the Slavs, in the main, simply took their place, founded a state of the same type, took over their towns, their trade-relations, and their civilization—not a Germanic, nor thereafter a Slavonic, civilization, but the ancient Graeco-Iranian civilization of the Scythians and Sarmatians, with slight modifications. The Slavonic is but one of the epochs in the evolution of Russia, but with this difference, that the Slavs made Russia their final aim and home.

A paper on the Problem of Control in Medieval Industry, by Dr. Austin P. Evans, of Columbia University, addressed itself to questions made timely by the recent tendency to extol medieval economic organization as worthy of imitation in our time. The author showed how medieval theories respecting property and value left the government, of state or city, free to control the production and sale of goods. As to the warmly debated question, whether guilds freely controlled industry, whether guilds were everywhere under the control of civil authorities of state or town, or whether guilds had a larger measure of autonomy while the civil authorities maintained residuary power, Mr. Evans held that most commonly the guilds were under the ulterior control of the state, but he deprecated sweeping generalizations in a field marked by so much variety, and also all tendency to idealize the economic organization prevalent in the Middle Ages.

The only other paper in medieval history was one by Professor Louis J. Paetow, of the University of California, on Latin as an International Language in the Middle Ages. Modern civilization, he pointed out, rests on the achievements of Latin Christendom in that period, yet, though the Latin language was the chief engine of civilization throughout those ages, so little effort has been applied to the scholarly study of medieval Latin that Du Cange's *Glossarium*, published in 1678 and augmented largely in the eighteenth century, is still referred to as its standard dictionary. Made international by the Western Church, that speech remained the common medium of communication and literature throughout western Europe, its chief bond of union, until the Italian humanists, while enthusiastically awakening classical Latin to new life, fatally checked the development of the current Latin as a living and international language. Recent efforts to restore Latin to that position were described.

The paper of Professor George M. Dutcher, of Wesleyan University, on the Enlightened Despotism, opened with a brief analysis in which the enlightened despotism was characterized as based upon the authority of reason and not upon humanitarianism. Next the

origin of the movement in Prussia, rather than in the more progressive nations, England and France, was explained. Conditions in the German lands at the close of the Thirty Years' War were sketched with special reference to the situation of the Hohenzollern possessions, and the constructive policy and work of the Great Elector were outlined as the earliest manifestation of the enlightened despotism, whose foremost exponent was that prince's great-grandson, Frederick the Great. Special emphasis was laid upon Frederick's achievement in internal administration during the ten years' truce beginning in 1745, and its imitation by Maria Theresa, in the rival campaigns of preparedness preceding the Seven Years' War. The priority of these reforming activities in administration to the appearance of the famous writings on government by the French philosophical thinkers was brought out as evidence that the enlightened despotism developed as a practical achievement, not as a response to the stimulus of political theorists. In short, it was an effort at administrative efficiency designed for the aggrandizement of the state, which was conceived of as an entity above rulers as well as above subjects and as founded on the authority of reason rather than on divine right.

Later periods of European history were traversed in a summary survey of the Break-up of the Hapsburg Empire, by Professor Archibald C. Coolidge, of Harvard University, and in a paper on Sinn Fein, by Professor Edward R. Turner, of the University of Michigan. Dr. Ralph H. Lutz, of Stanford University, narrated the history of the Spartacist Uprising in Germany, of which he had been an eye-witness in Berlin. Miss Ruth Putnam, in a paper entitled the Aspirations of One Small State, described the evolution of the grand-duchy of Luxemburg from the time when it first obtained the opportunity of self-determination, after the armistice of November, 1918, to recent days. This paper, too, was based in large part on the data of an eye-witness. Problems of labor, finance, railroads, and economic affiliation with the neighboring countries were described, and some account given of the course and achievements of parties under a new constitution providing for woman suffrage and proportional representation.

In a paper on the Establishment of a New Poland, Col. Lucius H. Holt, of the United States Military Academy, traced the establishment of a new government, and political events in Poland from the outbreak of the war in 1914 to the present date. The paper emphasized the work of the Supreme National Committee during the years from 1914 to 1916. It traced briefly the influences which

led the Central Powers to recognize Poland in the autumn of 1915, and the subsequent incidents which revealed the duplicity of Germany and turned the Poles against that country. It summarized the points in the allied recognition of Poland in 1918. It outlined the clash of conflicting political forces in Poland during the armistice period and the result, spoke of the elections of January, 1919, and closed with a statement of the progress made by the Polish Assembly upon the draft of a constitution.

The last of the papers which we may describe as bearing on the history of the Old World was that of Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, director of the Institute of International Education, on Syria, Palestine, and Mandates.⁶ When the Great War broke out, the Allies found strong support among the Syrian patriots and leaders who under the rule of the Young Turks, or exiled by them, had been contending for an autonomous or independent Syria administered by Arabs with Arabic as official language. Unfortunately, the agreement of October 25, 1915, made between the Sherif of the Hejaz and the British High Commission at Cairo, conflicted with the provisions of the Sykes-Picot treaty between France and Great Britain as to the disposition of the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, that treaty was considered by the Arabs to be superseded by the Anglo-French declaration of November 8, 1918. When, therefore, after the occupation of the territory by General Allenby, mandates were given by the Supreme Council to Great Britain for Palestine and to France for Syria, the Arab Nationalists considered that they had been deceived, opposed the erection of a Zionist commonwealth in Palestine, and entered on a course of conflict with the British in Palestine and of warfare with the French elsewhere in Syria.

At the end of this last session, Dr. Victor Andrés Belaunde, of the University of San Marcos of Lima, Peru, read a brief paper on the Communistic System of the Incas, and the comparison between its features and those of Russian communism under Lenin and Trotski.

Passing now to the papers in American history, it is to be noted that, appropriately to the date, one session was devoted to commemorating the tercentenary of the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers. In this session three papers were read, of which the first, by Professor Clive Day, of Yale University, dealt with Capitalistic and Socialistic Tendencies in the Puritan Colonies. Its special object was to consider a view recently advanced by the late Professor

⁶ Printed in the *Journal of International Relations*,

Max Weber of Heidelberg, that, in the development of the modern capitalist and of a capitalistic society, as set forth in Sombart's familiar analysis, an essential source of the capitalist spirit is to be found in the religious beliefs and ethical principles of the Puritans. Confining himself to the Puritans of New England, the speaker set forth the results of a careful examination of their sermons and laws as expressions of their ethical ideals. He did not find that encouragements to industry and thrift bulked large in their sermons and concluded that whatever urgency was manifest toward the accumulation of capital, greatly needed in the colonies, was social, rather than individual and capitalistic, in its motives.

Mr. Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, of Worcester, followed with a paper entitled, *The Settlement of Plymouth Contemplated before 1620*. Its thesis was that Sir Ferdinando Gorges desired a settlement at Plymouth Harbor and did what he could to guide the Pilgrims thither, supplying them with information and endeavoring to arrange that Captain Dermer and Tisquantum should be at hand to point their way, possibly also making private arrangements with Captain Jones of the *Mayflower*.

Thirdly, Professor David S. Muzzey, of Columbia University, in a paper on the Heritage of the Puritans, after acknowledging the defects characteristic of Puritanism but urging that all estimates of these should be based on comparisons with contemporaneous phenomena rather than with those of the present time, set forth in admirable style three principal portions of our inheritance from the Puritans and Pilgrims: the results of their political philosophy, with its insistence on covenant as the basis of civil relations, the influence of the New England town, primordial cell of local self-government, and the emphasis which the Puritans permanently placed upon unremitting education for responsibility.

The paper on the Slave Trade into South Carolina before the Revolution, by Miss Elizabeth Donnan, of Wellesley College, a product of researches conducted on behalf of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, derived its information for the first third of the eighteenth century from official papers, dealing with those aspects of the trade in which British officials and British merchants concerned themselves, such as the import taxes imposed by the colony, payment of debts to British merchants, and monopoly by the Royal Company. From 1732 we have the files of the *South Carolina Gazette* and from 1748 the business letters of Henry Laurens. From these two sources much can be learned concerning the actual process of buying and selling the black cargoes, which were handled

by importing merchants, prominent in Charleston society, who were giving to their British principals copious information concerning weather, crops, prices, and other factors which influenced the market. The paper described in detail such matters as the terms of contract between principal and factor and between factor and purchasing planter, the methods of the auction sales, the range of territory covered, and the risks and difficulties which the factor encountered.

The paper which was read by Professor Fiske Kimball, of the University of Virginia, on Architecture in the History of the Colonies and of the Republic, in which he traversed several current notions as to the influence of pioneer conditions on American colonial building, and emphasized the American elements in the development of classical architecture in the early years of the republic, will be printed in a later issue of this journal.

The paper entitled John Wesley, Tory, by Professor William W. Sweet, of De Pauw University, treated of the activities and influence of Wesley during the American Revolution. In the ten years beginning with 1768 Wesley published ten political pamphlets. The first three were caused by the excitement concerning the case of John Wilkes, and took the side of king and government; the fourth was devoted to the slave trade, of which Wesley was one of the earliest opponents. The remaining six have to do with the American Revolution, the first and most important of them being *A Calm Address to Our American Colonies* (1775). In all of them Wesley invariably supports the king and government. The reasons for his course are complex: he was born and bred a High Churchman and a Tory; he believed in the divine right of kings, for that theory seemed to him the most religious; he was a firm supporter of law and order; he hated rebellion; the king had been kindly disposed toward the Methodists; the king's private life and his court were free from scandal; Lord Dartmouth was a leader in the Evangelical movement. Wesley's position on the American War led to some suspicion and even persecution of American Methodists as Tories, but at the close of the war he was wise enough to recognize the result as providential and set about to organize the American Methodists into an independent church.

In the paper by Professor Homer C. Hockett, of the Ohio State University, on the American Background of Federalism, the endeavor was to show the part played by American influences in the development of the two chief modern federations, the American Union and the British Empire. He held that the immediate back-

ground of our own federalism lay rather in the relations of the colonies to one another than in the previous practices of the British Empire; that while the modern British imperial organization, as a league of autonomous commonwealths, was foreshadowed by the American position in the controversy preceding the Revolution, British policy was not changed by the American contention; but that the essential change in that policy resulted rather from the undermining of mercantilism, and thus of the old colonial system, by Adam Smith's political economy, and from the aggressive demands of the Canadians for responsible government.

Of the papers on American history in the early part of the nineteenth century, that of Professor Louis M. Sears, of Purdue University, on Philadelphia and the Embargo of 1808,⁷ adverted first to the ambiguous position of that city in respect to economic status at that time. As a commercial city, Philadelphia was subject to the distress entailed by the embargo upon all sections of the commercial population. But Philadelphia, in common with Baltimore and other ports of the Middle States, possessed an incitement to manufactures in her proximity to the new Trans-Alleghany settlements. She seized her opportunity, actually developed a considerable manufacturing industry, and won prosperity for a greater number of her citizens than the embargo had impoverished. The material expression of this prosperity was a building boom involving the construction of over a thousand houses. The political expression was a continued confidence in the Democratic party and in the wisdom and goodness of Thomas Jefferson, Philadelphia being, according to one's point of view, either the shining exception to the folly of the Jeffersonian system, or else the shining example of its wisdom.

In the joint session held with the Agricultural History Society, Professor Percy W. Bidwell, of Yale University, read a paper, which we shall later have the privilege of presenting in full to our readers, on the Agricultural Revolution in New England, 1815-1860, showing how the development of New England manufactures and the creation of factory villages began a transition from farming for a living to farming for profit, how the building of railroads, just as this transition to commercial agriculture was well under way, subjected the New England farmer to disastrous competition from the westward, and how he carried out the readjustment of his economic system which was thus forced upon him.

In the same joint session, Mr. Herbert A. Kellar, of the McCor-

⁷ An outline of this paper appears in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for February, pp. 354-359.

mick Library, Chicago, read a paper on the Influence of the Agricultural Fair upon American Society, 1830-1851, and Mr. Rudolf A. Clemen, of Northwestern University, one on the Economic Bases of the American System of Large-Scale Meat-Packing. Sketching the earlier history of the American trade in livestock and meat and that of the period when Cincinnati was the centre and pork the staple, Mr. Clemen devoted his attention chiefly to the period since the establishment of the Chicago stock-yards in 1865, and to the economic results of the four chief factors, all introduced about 1870-1875, which gave the meat industry the form it has since borne—the system of ranges and ranches in the Far West, the extension of routes of transportation to the sources of supply, the development of refrigeration and of the refrigerator car, and the rise of the great organizers of distribution.

There was but one paper relating to the period of the Civil War, that of Professor Charles W. Ramsdell, of the University of Texas, on the Control of Manufacturing by the Confederate Government. He showed that while the strong individualism of the South prevented the Confederacy from regulating manufactures as a feature of its civil policy, a rigorous control was established over the production of cloth and leather through military agencies, particularly the quartermaster's bureau. By means of the conscription and impressment laws, the supplies of labor, wool, hides, and railway transportation came under the control of the War Department, which was able to force the factories and tanneries to contract almost exclusively with the government when they preferred the higher profits of the public market. The state government of North Carolina, however, interposed successfully to prevent Confederate control of manufactures in that state and to preserve their products for the exclusive use of North Carolina troops.

Only two papers bore on the history of the United States between 1865 and 1900, none on our history in the twentieth century. Both of these two bore on aspects of that period which derive their significance from the economic problems which emerged with the growth of capitalism after the Civil War and which are still unsolved. The first was a paper by Professor John D. Hicks, of Hamline University, Minnesota, on the Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly, who figured in the politics of Minnesota and of the nation, throughout the period named, as the champion, ardent but unpractical, of every movement that gave promise of bettering the lot of the ordinary man and securing his rights against the claims of property. Indifferent to party—by turns Anti-Monopolist, Green-

backer, Democrat, Republican, Farmers' Alliance man, Populist, Middle-of-the-Roader—he sought his cherished reforms most commonly through third-party movements. His final rejection of opportunist tactics was exhibited when the main body of Populists adopted the policy of fusion with the Democratic party in 1896.

In a paper on Agrarian Discontent in the South during the Eighties and Nineties of the last century, Professor B. B. Kendrick, of Columbia University, dwelt on only two of the causes of that discontent. The primary cause, social, lay in the fact that the Southern farmer occupied in 1890, in the economical, the political, and especially the social life of the country, a position much lower than he had in 1860. The principal economic cause of his unrest lay in the lien-law system—an evil peculiar to the Southern farmer—under which the farmer was almost a serf to the city merchant to whom he happened to be indebted. Other elements in the Southern situation were not peculiar to that section, but were such as, in the case of the West, have been adequately treated in the books of Buck, Haines, Garland, White, and others; but the history of the Southern farmer in that period still awaits systematic investigation.

Papers on Pan-American Political and Diplomatic Relations, the general theme of one of the sessions held jointly by the Historical and the Political Science associations, fall last to be described. That of Professor Herman G. James, of the University of Texas, on Recent Constitutional Changes in Latin America, is printed in full elsewhere.⁸ That of Professor Julius Klein, of Harvard, entitled the Monroe Doctrine as a Regional Understanding, was, so far as its historical content is concerned, devoted to an interesting exposition of the ways and extent in which the period of the Great War has brought to the South American republics appreciation of their own capacity for self-development, promoted international co-operation within South America in economic and social matters, enhanced the application of South American capital to industrial and commercial enterprises, and furthered economic independence of Europe while multiplying contacts with North America. The probable bearing of all this on the development of the Monroe Doctrine was described.⁹

Professor Manoel de Oliveira Lima, the eminent Brazilian scholar who has lately become a member of the Catholic University of America, concluded this series with a paper on Pan-Americanism and the League of Nations, in which, after reviewing some earlier

⁸ *Current History*.

⁹ This paper, and that of Dr. Oliveira Lima next mentioned, will appear in the May number of the *Hispanic-American Historical Review*.

attempts at forming leagues which had originated in South America, he advocated, as the most desirable feature of any league of nations, a supreme court to deal with differences, interpretations, and controversies, and dwelt on the "Pan-American conscience", the consciousness of the need of union in the New World, and its common respect for public law, as secure foundations for any closer relations between its members.

It remains to narrate the transactions of the annual business meeting. The delay in the printing of our January number made it possible to insert in that number, on pages 411 and 412, some account of these transactions, but a fuller narrative is, according to custom, expected in this place, and may be given in spite of some repetition necessarily involved.

The secretary's report showed a membership of 2524, a gain of 79 since the preceding year; the gain is to be attributed to the activity of the Committee on Membership. The treasurer's report showed receipts of \$10,483, expenditures of \$9,786; but the cost of printing the *American Historical Review* has increased to so extraordinary a degree, especially in the latter months of the year, that drastic measures will be necessary in order to avoid a deficit for the year 1921. These costs of manufacture have been steadily rising since the year before the Great War. The publishers' estimates seem to show that in 1921 they will surpass those of the year last mentioned by more than eighty per cent. Instead of paying to the Macmillan Company fifty cents per copy for copies supplied to members of the Association as required by the present contract, it becomes necessary to pay hereafter seventy cents, or per annum \$2.80, nearly the total sum paid to the Association by each member as his annual dues. Therefore the Association voted to submit to the next annual meeting an amendment to the constitution increasing the annual dues from three dollars to five dollars (and the life-membership fee from fifty dollars to one hundred), and in the meantime to authorize the treasurer, when sending out the bills in September, to invite voluntary contributions of from two to five dollars additional to the dues. The text of the proposed amendment to the constitution is given in the appendix to this article. Provision was also made for a Committee on Increase of the Endowment which now stands at \$31,639.

The special Committee on Policy, appointed three years ago, submitted an elaborate report. Many of its recommendations require additional funds for their execution. Such as could be carried into effect under existing conditions were adopted. Thus, in

order to secure permanence and continuity of policy of the Committee on Programme, it was voted that three members of that committee should serve for terms of three years so arranged that one member should retire each year, while the other members were to serve for terms of one year and be selected with reference to locality.¹⁰ Other recommendations of the Committee on Policy, adopted by the Association, provided for continuance or revival of the Public Archives Commission, the Committee on Bibliography, and the Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government, for the discharge, at its own request, as mentioned on a previous page, of the present Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools and the substitution of a new Committee on History Teaching in Schools, and for the establishment of a standing Committee on Military History, whose chief function should be to co-operate with the Historical Branch of the General Staff of the United States Army, and other governmental agencies, national and state, engaged in preparing historical works relative to the recent war. As a means of carrying out the desires which have at times been expressed for a special journal of European history, or an organ for the publication of brief monographs in that field, the Committee on Policy recommended the establishment, when means are at hand, of a series of Historical Studies; the details were referred to a committee.

The budget proposed by the Council is printed on a later page, in connection with an outline of the treasurer's report.

Under the terms of the will of the late George Louis Beer a prize was established, to be known as the George Louis Beer Prize, for the "best work upon any phase of European international history since the year 1895"; a committee was appointed to shape rules for its award. The prize offered in military history, to which the Council had appropriately given the name of the Robert M. Johnston Prize, was awarded to Mr. Thomas R. Hay, for an essay on Hood's Tennessee Campaign. It was announced that the committee on the Justin Winsor Prize had been unable to agree, and the three essays most regarded were referred to a new committee on that prize, appointed for the biennium 1921-1922.

A special committee was appointed by the Council, at the instance of the secretary, to consider the general subject of historical writing (as distinguished from historical research) in the United

¹⁰ We are asked by the chairman of the committee, Professor Evarts B. Greene, to say that he will be pleased to receive from any member of the Association suggestions as to the programme—speakers, topics, etc. Until July 1 his address will be the Colonial Club, Cambridge, Mass.

States and to report as to what means, if any, may be adopted to stimulate the better writing of history. The committee appointed consists of Mr. Jusserand, Dr. Charles W. Colby, and Professor W. C. Abbott; its report on this exceedingly important subject will be awaited with much interest.

A committee of which Professor George M. Dutcher is chairman had been appointed at the preceding annual meeting to prepare a Manual of Historical Literature to replace the well-known work by the late Dr. Charles K. Adams. One of the breakfast-conferences held during the sessions was organized in order that those who are to take part in the preparation of this manual might hear a report of progress and discuss various questions of policy. The committee's plan involves some further chapters additional to those in Dr. Adams's book, the inclusion of at least half as many more titles, but with somewhat briefer reviews, in order to keep the size of the volume not much larger, and the assignment of each of the proposed twenty-nine chapters to an expert in its field, as chapter editor, with assistance from other specialists. It is anticipated that the new work, which was originally suggested by the American Library Association, will find its largest usefulness in public libraries and high schools, but that it will not be without value for teachers and students in colleges and universities. Most of the titles will be of works which have appeared since the publication of Dr. Adams's book, and there will be a somewhat larger proportion of books in English treated.

It was voted, on a hospitable invitation from St. Louis, that the next annual meeting should be held in that city. The dates will probably be December 28, 29, and 30.

The annual elections followed precisely the list presented by the Committee on Nominations. His Excellency the French ambassador, Mr. Jusserand, was chosen president for the ensuing year, Professor Charles H. Haskins first vice-president, Professor Edward P. Cheyney second vice-president. Professor John S. Bassett and Mr. Charles Moore were re-elected secretary and treasurer respectively. The election to the Executive Council also followed precisely the committee's list, except that Professor Becker withdrew his name, preferring to continue as a member of the Board of Editors of this journal, whereupon the committee substituted the name of Professor Sioussat. The councillors elected were: Miss Ruth Putnam, Professors Arthur L. Cross, Sidney B. Fay, Carl R. Fish, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Frederic L. Paxson, James T. Shotwell, and St. George L. Sioussat. The Council elected Professor Guy S. Ford

a member of the Board of Editors of this journal, in the place of Professor J. H. Robinson, whose term had expired, and Professor Archibald C. Coolidge in the place of Professor Cheyney, who resigned after being elected a vice-president. For the Committee on Nominations to be presented next autumn, the Association chose Professors Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Eloise Ellery, Frank H. Hodder, and William E. Lingelbach; the committee has since chosen Professor Hodder as chairman. A full list of the committee assignments for 1921 follows this article.

In view of the small number of the ballots which had been received in the autumnal "primary", and by which the Committee on Nominations had been guided, the outgoing chairman of that committee, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, proposed for consideration next year an amendment of by-law no. II. which would abolish the provision for this formal balloting, and would leave it to the committee to nominate, with only such indications from other members as letters received from them, or their conversations, might supply. Meantime it was voted that the preliminary ballot should be omitted in 1921. It may, however, properly be pointed out that it would be possible to maintain the present machinery of balloting and nominating committee, yet to instruct the committee, or leave it to understand, that, while deriving whatever instruction it can from the results of the ballot, it is not bound to follow rigidly, without discretion, its numerical results.

J. F. J.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1919	\$ 5,184.72	
Receipts to date:		
Annual dues	\$6,990.27	
Life membership dues	150.00	
Registration fees	107.87	
Interest on investments	1,330.21	
Interest on bank account	39.64	
Voluntary contributions	1,652.60	
Royalties	49.70	
Sales of publications	111.33	
Miscellaneous	51.50	10,483.12
		<u>\$15,667.84</u>
Gifts, Andrew D. White Fund		1,000.00
		<u>\$16,667.84</u>

EXPENDITURES

Office of secretary and treasurer	\$2,754.43	
Pacific Coast Branch	45.05	
Committee on Nominations	103.00	
Committee on Membership	71.35	
Committee on Programme	259.30	
Committee on Local Arrangements	50.00	
Conference of Historical Societies	23.15	
Committee on Publications	674.37	
American Historical Review	5,087.85	
Historical Manuscripts Commission	20.00	
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize	200.00	
Writings on American History	200.00	
American Council of Learned Societies	122.85	
London Headquarters	31.45	
Committee on Policy	133.68	
American Council on Education	10.00	
	<u>\$9,786.48</u>	
Investments	1,850.20	11,636.68
Cash balance November 31, 1920		\$ 5,031.16

BUDGET FOR 1921

APPROPRIATIONS

Office of secretary and treasurer	\$ 3,000.00
Pacific Coast Branch	50.00
Committee on Nominations	100.00
Committee on Membership	100.00
Committee on Programme	300.00
Committee on Local Arrangements	50.00
Conference of Historical Societies	25.00
Committee on Publications	700.00
Council Committee on Agenda	300.00
American Historical Review	7,000.00
Historical Manuscripts Commission	20.00
Winsor Prize	200.00
Writings on American History	200.00
American Council of Learned Societies	150.00
Committee on Bibliography	250.00
Committee on the Writing of History	75.00
	<u>\$12,520.00</u>

ESTIMATED INCOME

Annual dues	\$ 7,000.00
Sale of publications	100.00
Royalties	50.00
Interest	1,400.00
Registration fees	150.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
	<u>\$ 8,750.00</u>

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

(referred, in accordance with the constitution, to the next annual meeting).

That in article III. there be substituted for "three dollars", "five dollars"; and for "fifty dollars", "one hundred dollars"; so that the article shall read:

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars. On payment of one hundred dollars any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not residing in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

AMENDMENT TO THE BY-LAWS

(referred to the next annual meeting).

That in by-law II. the word "nomination", line 1, be changed to "nominating", and the sentence beginning "At such", line 3, and ending "be chosen", line 7, be omitted; change "one day", line 14, to "two days"; so that by-law II. will read as follows:

A nominating committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual business meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the Association. It shall publish and mail to each member at least one month prior to the annual business meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual business meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by twenty or more members of the Association at least two days before the annual business meeting, but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee shall have reported its nominations to the Association as provided for in the present by-law. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.¹¹

¹¹ The references to lines are to the text of the by-law printed, as amended in 1917, in the *Annual Report* for that year, p. 58; see also p. 13, *ibid.* For the present year, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, that the operation of the sentence in by-law II., beginning in the third line with the words 'At such convenient time' and ending in the seventh line with the words 'then to be chosen', namely, the operation of a preliminary referendum, be suspended during the year 1921."

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, Jean Jules Jusserand, Washington.

First Vice-President, Charles H. Haskins, Cambridge.

Second Vice-President, Edward P. Cheyney, Philadelphia.

Secretary, John S. Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

Treasurer, Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington.¹²

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

Editor, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

James Ford Rhodes,¹³

John B. McMaster,

Simeon E. Baldwin,

J. Franklin Jameson,

George B. Adams,

Albert Bushnell Hart,

Frederick J. Turner,

William M. Sloane,

William A. Dunning,

Andrew C. McLaughlin,

George L. Burr,

Worthington C. Ford,

William R. Thayer,

Edward Channing,⁸

Arthur L. Cross,

Sidney B. Fay,

Carl L. Fish,

Carlton J. H. Hayes,

Frederic L. Paxson,

Ruth Putnam,

James T. Shotwell,

St. George L. Sioussat.

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting:

Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois, chairman (appointed for one year), Charles Seymour (appointed for two years), Walter L. Fleming (appointed for three years), Thomas M. Marshall, Norman M. Trenholme; and (*ex officio*) M. A. Olsen and John C. Parish.

Committee on Local Arrangements:

Committee on Nominations: Frank H. Hodder, University of Kansas, chairman; Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Eloise Ellery, William E. Lingelbach.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Carl Becker, Archibald C. Coolidge, Guy S. Ford, J. Franklin Jameson, Claude H. Van Tyne, Williston Walker.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Justin H. Smith, 7 West Forty-third Street, New York, chairman; Annie H. Abel, Eugene C. Barker, Robert P. Brooks, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Clive Day, Yale University, chairman; Isaac J. Cox, Thomas F. Moran, Bernard C. Steiner, William W. Sweet.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Conyers Read, 209 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, chairman; Charles H. McIlwain, David S. Muzzey, Nellie Neilson, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Wilbur H. Siebert.

¹² For the purposes of routine business the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

¹³ The names from that of Mr. Rhodes to that of Mr. Channing are those of ex-presidents.

- Public Archives Commission*: Victor H. Paltsits, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hill Gardens, L. I., New York, chairman; Solon J. Buck, Ralph D. W. Connor, Waldo G. Leland, Arnold J. F. Van Laer.
- Committee on Bibliography* (including the Manual of Historical Literature): George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., chairman; Sidney B. Fay, Augustus H. Shearer, Henry R. Shipman.
- Committee on Publications*: H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, secretary; and (*ex officio*) John S. Bassett, J. Franklin Jameson, Rodney H. True, Justin H. Smith.
- Committee on Membership*: Thomas J. Wertenbaker, 111 Fitz-Randolph Road, Princeton, chairman; Louise Fargo Brown, Eugene H. Byrne, August C. Krey, Frank E. Melvin, Richard A. Newhall, Charles W. Ramsdell, Arthur P. Scott, John J. Van Nostrand, jr., James E. Winston, George F. Zook.
- Officers of the Pacific Coast Branch*: Robert C. Clark, University of Oregon, president; Payson J. Treat, Leland Stanford University, vice-president; John J. Van Nostrand, jr., secretary-treasurer; executive council: the above, and Wilberforce F. Bliss, Sara L. Dole, Waldemar C. Westergaard.
- Conference of Historical Societies*: George S. Godard, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, chairman; John C. Parish, State Historical Society, Iowa City, secretary.
- Committee on National Archives*: J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, chairman; Charles Moore, Oliver L. Spaulding, jr.
- Editors of the Historical Outlook*: Albert E. McKinley, 1621 Ransstead Street, Philadelphia, managing editor; Edgar Dawson, Sarah A. Dynes, Daniel C. Knowlton, Laurence M. Larson, William L. Westermann.
- Committee on Military History*: Eben L. Swift, 1823 Nineteenth Street, Washington, chairman; Allen R. Boyd, Roy B. House, Eben Putnam, Oliver L. Spaulding, jr.
- Committee on Patriotic Societies*: Dixon R. Fox, Columbia University, chairman; Natalie S. Lincoln, Henry B. Mackoy, Mrs. Annie L. Sioussat, R. C. Ballard Thruston.
- Committee on Service*: J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., chairman; Elbert J. Benton, Clarence S. Brigham, Worthington C. Ford, Arthur C. Howland, Albert E. McKinley, James Sullivan.
- Committee on History Teaching in the Schools*: Henry Johnson, Teachers College, New York, chairman; Henry E. Bourne, Philip P. Chase, Guy S. Ford, Daniel C. Knowlton, Albert E. McKinley, Eugene M. Violette.
- Committee on Endowment*: Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington, chairman.
- Committee on obtaining Transcripts from Foreign Archives*: J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Waldo G. Leland.
- Special Committee on Bibliography of Modern English History*: Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia,

chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Wallace Note-stein, Conyers Read.

Special Committee on the Historical Congress at Rio de Janeiro: Bernard Moses, honorary chairman; Percy A. Martin, Stanford University, California, acting chairman; Julius Klein, Harvard University, secretary; Charles L. Chandler, Charles H. Cunningham, Constantine E. McGuire, Edwin V. Morgan, Manoel de Oliveira Lima, William L. Schurz.

Special Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government: J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, chairman; Charles Moore.

Special Committee to formulate Rules for the George L. Beer Prize: William A. Dunning, Columbia University, chairman; Marshall S. Brown, Edward S. Corwin.

Special Committee on the Writing of History: Jean Jules Jusserand, 2416 Sixteenth Street, Washington, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Charles W. Colby.

THE PEASANTS' CRUSADE

THE Peasants' Crusade of 1096 has been too generally regarded as a disorderly movement of misguided and unprepared rustics. The name suggests all this. In reality many of these "peasants" seem to have been prosperous middle-class freeholders and townsmen, foresighted enough to furnish themselves with the equipment and money necessary for a long journey to the East. People of such prudence desired an orderly march and asked only the privilege of paying their way. There was indeed a general wave of social unrest, and the sources vaguely indicate that numerous groups of people were wandering about aimlessly—for instance, the band which entrusted itself to the guidance of a goose and a goat. All this, however, was a natural consequence of the widespread crusading excitement, and was as much an accompaniment of the main crusade as of the lesser movement. Specifically, the Peasants' Crusade consisted of five large bands led by Peter the Hermit, Walter the Penniless, Fulk, Gottschalk, and Emicho. What manner of people did these armies contain? What were the reasons for their failure? If all facts not pertinent to these queries are omitted, the story of the Peasants' Crusade may be profitably retold.

The chroniclers, with one exception, were unsympathetic and too often brief when they wrote of this movement.¹ Not only were these bands of much less importance in numbers and personnel than the larger armies, but they failed to aid the main crusade. Hence they were generally denounced by conservative ecclesiastical writers

¹ Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, IV. Albert was not an eye-witness and the value of his work has been much discussed. In the first edition of his *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges* (Düsseldorf, 1841) H. von Sybel held Albert to be untrustworthy. Kugler later advanced the belief that Albert used the work of a Lorraine chronicler, who was an eye-witness, as well as crusading songs and oral sources. B. Kugler, *Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart, 1885). F. Krebs, *Zur Kritik Alberts von Aachen* (Münster, 1881) concluded that the accounts of the bands of Walter and Peter came from people who were in their armies. Theodore Wolff in *Die Bauernkreuzzüge* (Tübingen, 1891) also reaches favorable conclusions concerning Albert's information about the Peasants' Crusade. For the purposes of this article it is sufficient to say that the indirect information, such as that about markets and provisions, which so frequently occurs in Albert, is not likely to have been manufactured, and can be accepted in general if not always for particular cases.

who deplored all futile popular disturbance: to them it was all the work of false prophets. Thus Ekkehard in his *Hierosolymita*, after condemning the Peasants' Crusade *in toto* as the product of folly, ignorance, and the devil, introduces his readers to the real theme of his book, namely the glorious deeds of the main armies, by calling these the wheat, while designating the unfortunate peasants as the chaff.² Guibert, in a frequently quoted passage, tells of poor people loading families and possessions into two-wheeled carts, and of the children asking at every town to which they came if it might be Jerusalem.³ This contemporary view has not been sufficiently discounted, but has continued to color impressions of the entire movement. In general it may be said that the events have been accurately determined, and the sources have been well edited and criticized. Nevertheless to so excellent a scholar as Röhricht, these people are "recht böse Gesellen", which sounds not very different from Guibert's phrase, "faex residua Francorum".⁴

It has been too readily assumed that a wide social gulf separated this crusade of "peasants" from that of the "knights". Although an offshoot, which prematurely separated itself from the larger organized movement between the council of Clermont and the date set for the departure of the main armies, this movement had the same causes, and originated in the same conditions, as the main crusade. Urban II. appealed to all classes, rich and poor.⁵ Only with the support of all Christendom could such a novel and prodigious enterprise succeed. Thus new and wonderful opportunities opened to both common man and knight, and the main armies became volunteer organizations which contained far more footmen than horsemen. The pope did, however, state what was undesirable material, namely, old men, those unable to fight, women without husbands or legal guardians. He forbade clerics to go without the consent of their superiors, and directed laymen to obtain the bless-

² Ekkehard, *Hierosolymita*, ed. Hagenmeyer (Tübingen, 1877), pp. 119-122, 130-133.

³ Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 142.

⁴ R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1901), p. 35. "Schaaren, welche meist nur aus Bauern und zusammengelaufenem Volk bestanden, ohne Zucht und Ordnung, ohne Reiterei und regelmässige Bewaffnung." Röhricht, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 2 vols., 1874, 1878), II. 26. See also Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 172; Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, p. 66, note 2.

⁵ "Qua de re supplici prece hortor, non ego, sed Dominus, ut cunctis cuiuslibet ordinis tam equitibus quam peditibus, tam divitibus quam pauperibus, edicto frequenti vos, Christi praecones, suadeatis." Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 134-135.

ings of their priests.⁶ It may be noted that this in no wise excluded the stout peasant who possessed the arms of a fighting man.

The pope likewise emphasized the need for material preparation. The rich should aid the poor, and the soldiers of Christ were to delay departure until their worldly affairs were arranged, and they had collected whatever was necessary for the march.⁷ Here was the first and fundamental qualification for the crusader. Everyone, who aspired to be such, whether noble or peasant, must obtain equipment and ready money, somewhere, somehow, by sale, by mortgage, or by Jew-baiting. Guibert's description of the conditions which preceded the departure of the crusaders shows marked economic disturbance. All who wished to go sold their property cheaply, while such articles as were needed for the journey could only be obtained at a high price.⁸ This picture of frenzied preparation forms a necessary introduction to the Peasants' Crusade. The followers of Peter and Walter could not have been uninfluenced by the actions of those who were getting ready for the other armies. It is also significant that Urban II. desired all people, except such as would be "more of a burden than an aid" to the crusade.

The movement is closely associated with the work of Peter the Hermit, who was not only its inspiration as a crusading preacher, but also the recognized leader of all who reached Asia Minor. The first mention of Peter's activity finds him in Berry soon after the council of Clermont (November 18-28, 1095),⁹ which he probably attended. It is even possible that he was definitely commissioned to preach by Urban II., who had so effectively awakened enthusiasm by his own oratory, and wished others to do the same.¹⁰ By March, 1096, Peter had labored to such good purpose that he had collected

⁶ "Tales enim magis sunt impedimento quam adjumento, plus oneri quam utilitati." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolymitana*, *Recueil, Occ.*, III. 729; *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, ed. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), no. 3, pp. 137-138; D. C. Munro, "Speech of Urban II. at Clermont," in *American Historical Review*, XI. (1906), 237-238.

⁷ "Sed propriis locatis sumptibusque collectis," Fulcher (ed. Hagenmeyer), pp. 137-138.

⁸ "Erat itaque ibi videre miraculum: caro omnes emere et vili vendere; caro quidem, quae ad usum deferrentur itineris, dum praeproperant; vili vero, dum sumptuum impendia coaggerant; et quae paulo ante nec carceres nec tormenta ab eis extorquere poterant, brevi nummorum numero cuncta constabant." Guibert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 141.

⁹ Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 272; Hagenmeyer, *Peter*, p. 108; Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie de la Première Croisade", *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VI. (1898), no. 13. Hagenmeyer places this at the beginning of December, 1095.

¹⁰ Robert d'Arbrissel was commissioned to preach the crusade. Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 19.

an army of 15,000 men.¹¹ Whether the pope approved of such recruiting or not, can only be conjectured. Except for the premature time of Peter's mobilization, which was much earlier than the official date of departure, August 15, 1096,¹² there could have been no objection if the recruits were fit for the crusade. The earliest references to this army indicate that it contained few knights.¹³ However, whether it rode or walked, it was well-behaved. There is no evidence of any disorder or of participation in the Jewish persecutions of that time. On the contrary, Peter presented a letter to the Jews of Trier from those of France, which requested their brethren in any town to which he might come to furnish his army with provisions, for he was friendly toward Israel.¹⁴ On April 12, Peter reached Cologne, where a week's preaching added many more to his army, including two counts and a bishop.¹⁵ But the "proud Franks" were too impatient to wait for Peter to recruit Germans, and they departed under the leadership of Walter the Penniless.

Passing through Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria, this band arrived at the Hungarian boundary late in May.¹⁶ The march seems to have been orderly, since Coloman, king of Hungary, did not hesitate to grant Walter free passage through his realm with the privilege of markets.¹⁷ The conduct of the army continued to be satisfactory during the march through Hungary.¹⁸ An incident, which might have been serious, occurred when the army crossed the river Save, which separated Hungary from Bulgaria. Sixteen stragglers were robbed in Semlin, but Walter refused to take up their quarrel, and continued his march.¹⁹

Bulgaria was nominally Byzantine territory, where markets were

¹¹ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ed. Le Prévost), III. 478; Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", nos. 21, 22. The numbers given by these chroniclers are not to be trusted.

¹² Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 15.

¹³ Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 274. Albert says that Walter's army contained only eight *equites*. Ordericus, ed. Le Prévost, III. 474.

¹⁴ Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 27. The Jews of Trier made "gifts" to Peter.

¹⁵ Ordericus, ed. Le Prévost, III. 478; *Gesta Francorum, Anonymi*, ed. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890), p. 120, mentions bishops in the army in Asia Minor.

¹⁶ Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", nos. 21, 33.

¹⁷ "Ubi audita et cognita illius animi intentione et causa assumptae viae, a domno Kalomanno, rege christianissimo Ungarorum, benigne susceptus est, et pacifice concessus est sibi transitus per universam terram regni sui, et emendi licentia." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 274.

¹⁸ "Hic itaque, sine offensione et aliquo adverso incursu, usque ad Belegavam, civitatem Bulgarorum, profectus est." *Ibid.*, p. 274.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275.

a state monopoly. The people of this region, however, were far from being under effective control, and the imperial governor, Niketas, had not been warned of the coming of the crusaders.²⁰ Consequently, when Walter sought permission to buy provisions from "the prince of the Bulgarians and the magistrate of the city" of Belgrade it was refused.²¹ Unable to obtain food otherwise, the crusaders resorted to foraging, which provoked retaliation. One party was surrounded in an oratory, which the Bulgarians burned, killing sixty of those within, and injuring others. Again Walter seems to have avoided trouble, for he hurried on with his army in confusion,²² but although Albert's account of the departure is vague, there is no reason to think that the army was defeated in a general battle.

The march to Nish through the Bulgarian forests took eight days, but at this town the crusaders were well treated, and restitution for their losses was made by the imperial officials. Markets were granted for the rest of the journey, and after an uneventful passage, Walter reached Constantinople July 20.²³ Here the army continued to enjoy the privilege of buying whatever it needed, and settled itself to await the arrival of Peter. The first army to reach the East had conducted itself creditably. Walter had shown excellent qualities of leadership.

Evidence of adequate preparation may also be found in the account of Peter's march. Leaving Cologne on April 19, with an army "innumerable as the sands of the sea", which was further increased by a contingent headed by South German nobles,²⁴ Peter reached the Hungarian boundary after a peaceful march.²⁵ Passage through Hungary was granted on the conditions that there should be no plundering, and that whatever the army required

²⁰ Chalandon, *Règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène* (Paris, 1900), p. 167, note 4.

²¹ "Qui fraudem [or fraudes] et exploratores terrae aestimantes, omnia venalia illis interdixerunt." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 275.

²² "Post hanc calamitatem et attritionem suorum, Walterus, relictis circumquaque sociis, fugitivus [or fugitivis] silvas Bulgarorum, per dies octo, exsuperans", etc. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

²³ "Ubi duci et principi terrae reperto injuriam et dampnum sibi illatum referens, justitiam de omnibus clementer ab eo consecutus est; quin et arma et pecuniam illi in reconciliatione largitus est: ac ei conductum idem dominus terrae per civitates Bulgariae Sterniz et Phineopolim atque Andronopolim pacifice dedit, et emendi licentiam", etc. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

²⁴ "Francigenae, Suevi, Bawarii, Lotharingi", *ibid.*, p. 276. Hagenmeyer, "Étude sur la Chronique de Zimmern", in *Arch. de l'Orient Lat.*, II. 68 ff.; Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, p. 144.

²⁵ Even Ekkehard says that the passage through Southern Germany was peaceful. Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 50-53.

should be purchased without contention and at a fair price.²⁶ These terms were observed until Semlin was reached.²⁷ When approaching this town, Peter heard a rumor to the effect that Guz, a prominent Hungarian noble,²⁸ had planned to attack his army in the rear, while Niketas obstructed its advance "so that the spoils of so great an army in horses, gold, silver, and clothing should be captured and divided". Peter refused to believe this "because the Hungarians and Bulgarians were Christians", but when the clothing and arms of the sixteen stragglers from Walter's army were seen hanging from the walls of Semlin, the crusaders took the town by assault and killed a great many of the inhabitants.²⁹

Here Peter tarried five days, but on hearing that the King of Hungary was gathering an army behind him, he crossed the Morava, although hampered by a lack of boats, and obstructed by the Pincenates. Burdened with the spoils of Semlin, consisting of wagon-loads of grain, cattle, and horses, the march was continued. Niketas did not remain at Belgrade but retired to the walled town of Nish, while the Bulgarians hid their flocks and herds in the forests. Arriving at Nish on the eighth day, messengers were sent to Niketas to ask permission to buy food. This was granted on condition that hostages be given as a pledge of good faith.³⁰ In the morning the hostages were returned and the army prepared to resume its march. But a hundred German stragglers, irritated because of some altercation in the market, set fire to some mills outside the city. This caused the Bulgarians to attack the departing crusaders. Peter, who was already some distance ahead, hastened back with the intention of making amends for the injury which the Germans had done, but before he could begin negotiations, a thousand of his men crossed the bridge to attack the gate of the town, and soon another thousand joined them.³¹ Peter then tried to keep

²⁶ Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 276.

²⁷ "Et pacifice regnum Ungariae transivit, dans et accipiens omnia usui necessaria in numero, justitia et mensura; et sic sine turbine usque ad Malevillam [Semlin] cum omni legione sua profectus est." *Ibid.*, p. 276.

²⁸ "Comes regionis illius, nomine Guz, unus de primatibus regis Ungariae." *Ibid.*, p. 276.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277; Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 42, says this was about June 22.

³⁰ "Omnium rerum sufficientia ad emendum undique illis concessa est; et non habentibus unde emerent, plurima largitio elemosynarum a civitate collata est." *Ibid.*, p. 278. This indicates that the army contained paupers, but it is significant that they should be mentioned.

³¹ "Mille insensatorum hominum juvenus, nimiae levitatis et durae cervicis, gens indomita et effrenis, sine causa, sine ratione, trans praedictum pontem lapideum ad moenia et portam civitatis in gravi assultu vadunt." *Ibid.*, p. 280.

the rest of his men out of the fight, but the Bulgarians took advantage of this lack of harmony in the crusading army and drove the attacking party over the bridge or into the river, killing many of them. This treatment of their comrades aroused many of the crusaders, who thus far had remained spectators, to attempt to cross the river notwithstanding Peter's efforts to restrain them.

In the meantime a messenger reached Niketas, who agreed to negotiate. This was announced, and the fighting ceased. The footmen, however, apparently disgusted, loaded their wagons and, against Peter's wishes, again began to depart. The Bulgarians regarded this as an effort to retreat and again attacked the crusaders. The result was a general rout, in which a large number of prisoners were taken, including many women. Many wagons were lost, particularly the one which bore the treasure-chest of Peter.³² Albert's account makes it evident that much of the trouble was due to Peter's inability to control his men, and it is likely that Niketas had more difficulty in restraining the wild peoples under his rule. Although denial of markets was not the cause of the trouble either at Semlin or at Nish, nevertheless, inasmuch as this was the only portion of the route where either army had trouble, it would seem that more blame must rest upon the Bulgarians than upon the crusaders.

Niketas sent messengers to Constantinople to report what had occurred, and Peter was met at Sternitz by imperial officials.³³ To avoid further disorder, Alexius directed that there should not be a delay of more than three days at any town, and he granted full market privileges.³⁴ At Philippopolis the Greeks made large gifts

³² "Plaustrum quoque, super quod erat scrinium Petri, plenum innumerabilis auri et argenti, captum et retentum est, et ad Nizh una cum captivatis reductum, et in aerario ducis repositum." Albert, p. 281. "Neminem vendentem aut aliquid offerentem invenientes", after the loss of 2,000 wagons, indicates that the crusaders still had money. Albert says that when the army was reunited, after being scattered in the mountains and forests, only 30,000 were left out of 40,000. No reliance can be placed on such large figures.

³³ "Interea nuncii ducis ad domnum imperatorem Constantinopolis praecesserunt, qui sibi universa in malo de actibus et infortunio Petri retulerunt: qualiter Ungaros Malevillae occiderit; et quomodo ad civitatem Nizh veniens, pro benefactis mala civibus reddiderit, sed non tamen hoc impune presumpserit." *Ibid.*, p. 282. This indicates that the early arrival of these crusaders was entirely unexpected by Alexius.

³⁴ Albert has the messengers say: "Civitatis omnibus per quas transiturus es ex imperatoria jussione praecipimus ut pacifice tibi omnia tuisque vendant, et, quia Christianus es, Christianique tui consocii, non ultra iter tuum impediunt; et quicquid in superbia et furore satellites tui adversus ducem Nichitam deliquerunt, tibi prorsus remittit." *Ibid.*, p. 282.

to Peter, because of his losses. A second imperial messenger met Peter at Adrianople, and requested him to hasten his march, "because the emperor was consumed with a desire to see this same Peter, on account of the reports which he had heard concerning him". Constantinople was reached on August 1, and the army encamped near the city, the usual market privileges being again conceded.³⁵ The march from Cologne had taken about three months and eleven days.³⁶

Crusading enthusiasm continued to develop in Germany after the departure of Walter and Peter, although without the organized guidance of the papacy. Because of the struggle respecting investiture and the opposition of the anti-pope, Guibert, Urban II. made little effort to include Germany in the crusade. Probably only three German bishops were loyal to the pope at this time.³⁷ Because of this situation, the Peasants' Crusade represents a large part of Germany's participation in the First Crusade.³⁸ During the spring of 1096, the Jews of the Rhine towns suffered greatly from persecution by the crusading bands, which coalesced to form the other armies of the Peasants' Crusade. Very little is known of the army which was headed by Fulk.³⁹ It passed through northern Germany and apparently was responsible for the attacks on the Jewries of Magdeburg and Prague.⁴⁰ It ended what seems to have been a disorderly career at Nitra, where it was destroyed by the Hungarians.⁴¹

Gottschalk, however, seems to have been a more worthy follower of Peter, although Ekkehard calls him "not a true but a false

³⁵ "Quibus emendi licentia pleniter concessa est." *Ibid.*, p. 283. "Quibus imperator iusserat dari mercatum, sicuti erat in civitate." *Gesta*, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 112.

³⁶ Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 59.

³⁷ Thiemo of Salzburg, Ulrich of Passau, and Gebhard of Constance. Hagenmeyer, "Étude sur la Chronique de Zimmern", *Arch. de l'Or. Lat.*, II. 65.

³⁸ The following passage explains the situation in Germany. "Orientalibus autem Francis, Saxonibus et Thuringis, Baiuariis, et Alamannis haec bucinā minime insonuit, propter illud maxime scisma, quod inter regnum et sacerdotium a tempore Alexandri papae usque hodie tam nos Romanis quam Romanos nobis invisos et infestos iam, heu! confirmavit. Inde est, quod omnis pene populus Theutonicus in principio profectionis huius causam ignorantes, per terram suam transeuntes tot legiones equitum, tot turmas peditum totque catervas rusticorum, feminarum ac parvulorum, quasi inaudita stulticia delirantes subsannabant, utpote qui pro certis incerta captantes, terram nativitatis vane relinquerent, terram repositionis incertam certo discrimine appeterent, renunciarent facultatibus propriis, inhiarent alienis." Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 109-112.

³⁹ Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, pp. 92-93; Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 54, 122-124. Owing to Albert's silence, our knowledge of this army is slight.

⁴⁰ Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 39.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, no. 49. End of June.

servant of God". With a considerable army, which we are told was well equipped and prepared, he passed through southern Germany peacefully.⁴² Coloman readily granted passage through his realm and markets, but with an express understanding that there should be no plundering.⁴³ The terms of this agreement were soon broken by the crusaders. Disorder, which Albert ascribes to the Bavarians and Swabians, caused the Hungarian king to halt Gottschalk at Martinsberg. Finding the crusading army too strong to be attacked, he began to negotiate, and curiously enough the crusaders agreed to surrender all arms and treasure as a pledge of good conduct for the duration of their march through Hungary. Such an extreme concession is proof that Gottschalk and the leaders of his army were eager to satisfy the king's conditions.⁴⁴ The Hungarians, however, did not keep faith with the crusaders, but attacked them as soon as they had disarmed themselves. Few seem to have survived the massacre.⁴⁵

The last army united under the leadership of Count Emicho of Leiningen.⁴⁶ William, viscount of Melun and of the Gâtinais, surnamed the Carpenter, joined Emicho at Mainz.⁴⁷ Other members of the French nobility mentioned are Thomas of La Fère, Clarebold of Vendeuil, and Drogo of Nesle.⁴⁸ While the various bands which united to form this army were gathering together,⁴⁹ many Jewish

⁴² "Tam militaris quam pedestris vulgi, qui, pecunia ineffabili cum ceteris rebus necessariis collecta, iter suum pacifice usque in regnum Ungariae continuasse perhibetur." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 289-290.

⁴³ "Quibus etiam concessa est licentia emendi vitae necessaria; et pax utrinque indicta ex praecepto regis, ne qua seditio a tanto oriretur exercitu." *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁴⁴ "Acquieverunt universi huic consilio, ac loricas, galeas, omnia arma totamque pecuniam, stipendium viae suae scilicet in Iherusalem, in manus magistratus regis reddiderunt." *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁴⁵ Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 50; Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, pp. 96, 158-159.

⁴⁶ "Ubi [Mainz] comes Emicho, vir nobilis et in hac regione potentissimus," etc. Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 292. "Quidam vir militaris, comes tamen partium illarum quae circa Renum sunt, Emicho nomine," etc. Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 126.

⁴⁷ Duchalais, "Charte inédite relative à l'Histoire des Vicomtes de Melun", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*", deuxième série, I. 254.

⁴⁸ Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 293, 299.

⁴⁹ "His itaque per turmas ex diversis regnis et civitatibus in unum collectis," etc. *Ibid.*, p. 291. Wolff (*Bauernkreuzzüge*, pp. 159-170), thinks that there were five bands: (1) a French band led by William, which probably attacked the Jews of Speyer; (2) a second French band, guilty of the persecutions at Metz and Trier; (3) a band of Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Flemings, which persecuted the Jews of Cologne; (4) Emicho's own band, responsible for the troubles at Mainz; (5) the band of Count Hartmann.

persecutions occurred, particularly at Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Cologne, and Trier.⁵⁰ Albert says that this army numbered 200,000, of which only 3,000 were horsemen, and that it contained Frenchmen, Flemings, Englishmen, and Lotharingians, who were well prepared.⁵¹ Passing along the Danube into Hungary, it was further strengthened by a South German contingent headed by Count Hartmann of Dyllingen and Kyburg.⁵² The Hungarians, however, had no intention of permitting such freebooters to enter their country, and the gates of Wieselburg were closed at the king's command. After unsuccessful negotiations for passage, the crusaders decided to force this strategic position and thus obtain entrance to the kingdom. This was not easy, as the town was located at the juncture of the Danube and Leitha rivers, and surrounded by swamps. Six weeks were spent in the construction of a bridge. Then a successful assault was made, and entrance was secured, but when the crusaders were already within the walls, panic seized them, and victory was turned into defeat. Caught with the river behind them, the members of the attacking party suffered disaster.⁵³ William of Melun, Drogo, Thomas, and Clarebold escaped and went to Italy, where they later joined Hugh the Great.⁵⁴ Hartmann later joined Godfrey.⁵⁵ The six weeks' siege of a fortified town indicates that Emicho's army, although disorderly and badly organized,⁵⁶ possessed some military capacity. Its failure shows the impossibility of any band's forcing a passage through Hungary. Preparation and good behavior were demanded by the Hungarian king.

To return to the crusaders in the East, Peter had an audience with the emperor soon after his arrival.⁵⁷ Alexius was eager to hear of the great upheaval that was taking place in the West. Peter, "short of stature but great in word and spirit", told his story,

⁵⁰ Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie" nos. 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40.

⁵¹ "Cum omni suppellectili et substantia rerum et instrumentis armorum quibus Iherusalem proficiscentes indigebant." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 291. Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 127, says 12,000.

⁵² Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, pp. 102, 165; Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 299; Hagenmeyer, in *Arch. de l'Or. Lat.*, II. 67-69.

⁵³ Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", no. 64, places this disaster in the middle of August.

⁵⁴ Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 305.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 322, 427.

⁵⁶ "Et omnis illa intolerabilis societas virorum ac mulierum," etc. *Ibid.*, p. 293. Albert (p. 295) condemns the Jewish persecutions and the disorderly life of this army.

⁵⁷ Peter found Italian crusaders in Constantinople, "Lombardos et Longobardos et alios plures". *Gesta*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 111-112.

and the emperor gave him two hundred gold byzants and a measure of small coins for his men. Five days after reaching Constantinople, the crusaders crossed to the Asiatic shore, where they established themselves at Hellenopolis or Civitot. The Greek merchants brought them provisions and necessities by boat, so that their wants were abundantly supplied as long as they had money enough to pay the traders. Inasmuch as a long period of waiting must elapse before the main armies would arrive, it was necessary for Alexius to find suitable quarters for them.⁵⁸ Hellenopolis seems to have been quite satisfactory,⁵⁹ so long as the crusaders kept out of Turkish territory, which the emperor warned them to do. For two months they lived at this camp in perfect security.⁶⁰

Without giving a complete account of the events in Asia Minor, certain significant features may be noted, for they place the final disaster in a different light. At the end of two months, plundering began against Peter's will.⁶¹ A band of some 7,000 Frenchmen made a successful cattle-stealing raid in the direction of Nicaea. Next 3,000 Germans captured a castle only a few miles from this place, which they occupied as a base for further operations.⁶² The Turks beleaguered the occupants of this castle, and forced them

⁵⁸ The anonymous writer of the *Gesta* says that the crusaders were warned not to cross the Straits. "Nolite transmeare Brachium, donec veniat maxima Christianorum virtus, quoniam vos tanti non estis, ut cum Turcis proeliari valeatis." Ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 112-113. He goes on to say that because they burned houses in the suburbs, and stole lead from the churches to sell to the Greeks, the emperor became angry and ordered them to cross to Asia Minor. Albert indicates that the crossing was agreed upon because of its advantages to the crusaders. His account of the warning is different. After the camp was established at Hellenopolis imperial messengers went to the crusaders and warned them not to venture into Turkish territory. "Assunt nuncii Christianissimi imperatoris, qui Petro omnique exercitui ejus interdixerunt iter versus montana Nicaeae urbis, propter insidias et incursus Turcorum, donec amplior numerus affuturorum Christianorum illis accresceret." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV, 284. It must be remembered that the author of the *Gesta* did not reach Constantinople till some time after the destruction of Peter's army. Albert's account sounds very much like that of a participant.

⁵⁹ Hagenmeyer, *Peter*, pp. 179-186; *Gesta*, ed. Hagenmeyer, 123, note 65. According to Ordericus (ed. Le Prévost, III. 490-491), Alexius had previously intended to establish his Varangian guard at Hellenopolis.

⁶⁰ "Et curriculo duorum mensium illic in pace et laetitia epulati, moram fecerunt, secure ab omni impetu hostili dormientes." Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV, 284.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 284. The *Gesta* (ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 114), without any reference to the two-month period, implies that the crusaders continued to burn houses and plunder after crossing the straits.

⁶² Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV, 284-285; *Gesta*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 115-118.

to submit after eight days. The news of this produced tremendous excitement in the crusading camp. The footmen demanded that the knights lead them to battle forthwith, and when they refused because Peter was absent, Godfrey Burel (*magister peditum*) taunted them with cowardice until they yielded to the popular clamor. The whole army then marched forth against the Turks in six divisions headed by a vanguard of 500 horsemen. As they were emerging into an open place in the forest, the horsemen were attacked before the footmen could come to their assistance. Their horses were shot down by the Turkish archers, and they were compelled to fight on foot against overwhelming numbers. Walter with many other knights, including a number of German nobles, fell in this battle by the Draco river.⁶³ The footmen were routed and slaughtered by the Turks as they fled toward camp.⁶⁴ Later 3,000 fugitives took refuge in a ruined fortress where they defended themselves until rescued by the imperial troops.⁶⁵

Although he was blamed by later writers, Alexius can not be held responsible for this disaster. It has been assumed that he was disgusted with the poor quality of the material in Peter's army, and that he hurried the crusaders over to the Asiatic side merely to get rid of them. The camp at Hellenopolis, however, seems to have been safe enough until the crusaders themselves provoked the fatal attack by disregarding the emperor's warning. Albert says that they began foraging while plentifully supplied with food.⁶⁶ No doubt the monotony of camp life may have been a cause of trouble, and without doubt the Greek traders continued to bring food. The significant point to note, however, is that Peter was in Constantinople at the time of the battle seeking to obtain some form of relief for his people.⁶⁷ The real cause of trouble was that the crusaders,

⁶³ Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 288. For the list of Germans, see Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, p. 187.

⁶⁴ Albert's figures, which are not at all to be trusted, make the proportion of footmen to horsemen about fifty to one. It must be remembered that this battle was the first experience of the crusaders with Turkish methods of fighting. In this connection see Fulcher of Chartres on the battle of Dorylaeum, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 194, 195. The crusading armies of 1101 were just as unfortunate as Peter's followers.

⁶⁵ Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 289; *Gesta*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 127-130.

⁶⁶ "Post duos itaque menses, lascivi et effrenes facti prae otio et inestimabili copia ciborum, vocem Petri non audierunt," etc. Albert, *Recueil, Occ.*, IV. 284.

⁶⁷ "Ante hos enim dies Petrus Constantinopolim ad Imperatorem migraverat, pro exercitu suo rogaturus ut illis venditionem necessariorum alleviaret." *Ibid.*, p. 286.

at least a considerable number of them, had exhausted their resources. Disorder, lack of discipline, the efforts to secure food by plundering, were all caused by a lack of money. The story of the bands which had perished in Hungary was repeated in Asia Minor. The relative success of the different bands was determined by the amount of money possessed by the individual crusaders of whom they were composed. The bands of Walter and Peter had supported themselves by paying for their food for five and one-third months, a creditable achievement, while the others were reduced to plundering when they reached Hungary. The fundamental reason for the failure of the first two bands was their premature arrival in the East.

If this account offers an accurate interpretation of the movement, it would seem that it must have originated in favorable economic conditions rather than in famine and distress. Hagenmeyer, however, endorses Ekkehard's statement that the French were easily persuaded to leave their homes, since France for several years previous to 1096 had been afflicted by civil sedition, famine, pestilence, and plagues.⁶⁸ Wolff concludes that the movement had a background of "religious enthusiasm and bitter want", and as evidence lists all the famines mentioned for the years preceding the crusade.⁶⁹ What year of the Middle Ages did not have at least a local famine? The scanty records do not permit of conclusive statistical results, but there is much evidence to indicate that the last years of the eleventh century were marked by considerable economic progress. The growth of commerce and industry, the rise of towns, and the colonization of new agricultural lands are marks of prosperity more significant than the fact that famines and plagues had not yet ceased to occur. The entire crusading movement may be regarded as one of the first great results of the new forces which culminated in the many-sided awakening of the twelfth century.

That the crusading movement was not preceded by a period of exceptional distress is made more certain by the knowledge that the followers of Walter and Peter, and even the bands which perished in Hungary, were not the product of hard times. The reference to Peter's treasure-chest, Albert's frequent and persistent allusions to market privileges, the reparation for losses, and the coincidence that trouble occurred only when provisions could not be obtained by

⁶⁸ Ekkehard, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 105-106; Hagenmeyer, *Peter*, p. 111, "Das Nothjahr 1095".

⁶⁹ Wolff, *Bauernkreuzzüge*, pp. 175, 108-119.

peaceful means, all imply that preparation for the crusade involved the possession of ready money, or its acquisition by mortgage or sale of property.⁷⁰ The *via sancta* was not for the pauper.⁷¹

FREDERIC DUNCALF.

⁷⁰ Many freeholders in South Germany lost their economic freedom by going on the crusade. The "Zimmern Chronicle" tells how Frederick of Zimmern struggled to equip himself by oppressing his serfs. *Arch. de l'Or. Lat.*, II. 24, 33-34.

⁷¹ "Nimium tamen simpliciter innumerabilis multitudo popularium illud iter arripuerunt, qui nullomodo se ad tale periculum præparare noverunt vel potuerunt. Unde et eorum non parva pars in Ungaria occubuit, quæ terram Ungarorum satis imprudenter devastare præsumpsit." Bernold, *Chronicon, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, V. 464.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR THROUGH THE EYES OF A RUSSIAN DIPLOMAT¹

It is unfortunately true that the average European diplomat does not fully understand the American people and their institutions and consequently misrepresents them in the reports to his government. The extent and seriousness of the misrepresentations depend largely on the differences between the political and social institutions of the country that sends the diplomat and the country to which he is sent. In the middle of the nineteenth century no other two civilized countries were more unlike than Russia and the United States and there were many misstatements made about each other by their representatives. This was not done with any evil intent. It was but natural that a man trained in the philosophy of Nicholas I. should judge American society by a different standard than one who had been brought up on the ideals of Lincoln. The Russian and the American had different backgrounds, different prejudices, different angles of vision, and therefore the objects they sighted seemed different to them. Neither was wholly wrong or wholly right, and the views of each had much in them that was of value to the other. It so happened that Russia had during the Civil War a very able representative in the person of Édouard de Stoeckl, Stoeckl spent about twenty years in Washington in various diplomatic capacities and during that time he married an American wife, formed a large circle of friends among the prominent men of the capital, and learned to admire the American people.² His opinions

¹ This paper is based on the correspondence of Stoeckl with the Russian foreign office, examined by the writer when preparing for the Carnegie Institution of Washington a report supplementary to that section of his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Russian Archives* (Washington, 1917) which related to the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs. When making notes for that section in 1914 he was allowed to carry his search down to 1854 only; in 1917 he was permitted to go on to 1870. All the letters here cited are dated from Washington.

² When Édouard de Stoeckl first came to the United States is not quite clear, but the records show that he was a member of the Russian legation in Washington in 1849-1850. In the winter of 1853 he left Petrograd to go as consul-general to the Hawaiian Islands. When he landed in New York he learned that the Russian minister, Alexander Bodisco, was dead, and that he was expected to take charge of the legation until another man was sent. The outbreak of the Crimean war obliged him to remain at this post and he did such good work that his gov-

are not the results of first impressions but of years of observation in a favorable environment.

From 1854 to 1870 Stoeckl wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Gorchakov, frequently and at some length as he was encouraged to do. Both the emperor and his foreign minister were deeply concerned in what was going on in the United States. Our slavery problem had much in common with their serf question, and our position as a rival to Great Britain had much interest for them at that time.

In 1854 and 1855 Stoeckl was too much occupied in diplomatic matters relating to the Crimean War to give much attention to the domestic affairs of the United States, but beginning with 1856 there was hardly a letter in which he did not make some mention of the difficulties between the North and the South. More than once he raised the question of a possible secession of the Southern States, but almost up to the very outbreak of the conflict he seemed confident that this misfortune would never take place. He gave many reasons for his belief. Secession, he said, is unthinkable because of the economic bonds that bind the North and South. The industrial classes, the farmers of the North and the agricultural classes of the South, who constitute the sane elements of the American population, are dependent on one another and they would never permit the disruption of the Union.³ The Americans as a people, both North and South, are too practical, they are too much absorbed in their material interests, they are too sensible, to break the federal bond—the source of their strength and prosperity—for it is federation and not democracy that is behind their prosperity. Even if the North and the South were foolish enough to desire to separate, the West would never allow it.⁴ The West is daily growing stronger and its large delegation in Congress realizes that the progress of the

ernment appointed him to the vacancy (1857). On January 2 (N.S.), 1856, he married Elizabeth Howard, "American, Protestant, without property", so he reported to the emperor. In 1865 the Russian government increased his pay in appreciation of his excellent work in the United States. In 1866 he was given leave of absence to return to Petrograd and while there the question of the sale of Alaska was taken up and he was instructed to return to his post and open negotiations. When that matter was concluded he asked (July 15/27, 1868) for a long leave on account of his failing health. In the letter he said that he was sixty years of age and that his eyes were so weak that he could not work at night. The leave was granted in September of that year and he left in October. A little after his arrival in Russia he was retired on a pension. The exact date of his death is not recorded in the archives.

³ Aug. 15/27, 1856, no. 1681.

⁴ Oct. 27/Nov. 8, 1856, no. 2217.

West depends on the products of the North and the South and the facilities for transportation to markets offered to it by these two sections. The development of the West is the best guarantee of the permanence of the federation. In his reports for the six months preceding the war, when secession talk was so loud in the capital, Stoeckl expressed a fear that the election of Lincoln and party passions might cause the people to lose their heads and lead them to disrupt the Union; but even then he put that thought aside and argued that this would never happen because the conservative element in the American population, its good sense, its material interests, or some other, as yet unknown, factor would save the situation. He deplored, however, the endless straining and tugging that gradually weakened the bond of union.⁵

The outbreak of war filled Stoeckl with sorrow. In his letter to Gorchakov, written April 15/27, 1861, he said how much it grieved him to see the North and the South hate one another without rhyme or reason when Nature intended them to live together in love and in prosperity. It would seem, he said, as if humanity thirsted for blood and that there were times in the life of each nation when there must be a certain amount of bloodletting.

He next tried to understand and to explain the war. The American conflict suggested to him the nationality struggle in Europe. In the United States, he wrote, each state is "*une communauté à part . . . avec ses lois particulières et souvent avec ses mœurs et ses habitudes différentes*". These American states are kept together by a political tie and if that were cut the whole structure would fall into many pieces and civil war between these pieces would be sure to ensue. The only important difference between the nationality problem in America and in Europe is that in the first case it is complicated by the negro element.

But the negroes are not the cause of the war. It is true, he said, that slavery is opposed to the teachings of religion and the conscience of humanity, but the political and economic safety of the state is paramount to any such considerations. If slavery were really the issue it could be satisfactorily settled without a war. Neither the abolition of slavery nor the preservation of the Union has brought on this conflict, for the men who are responsible for it are as indifferent to the one as to the other. It is these demagogues who are the indirect cause of the trouble. It is they who stir up sectional jealousies and party hatreds, who are ready to sacrifice the welfare of the nation and of the state in order to promote their

⁵ Dec. 23, 1860/Jan. 4, 1861, no. 146.

selfish interests. They do not desire peace; they could not live in its atmosphere. Slavery is a pretext, a godsend to them, particularly to the Puritan preachers and Southern politicians.

But behind the agitator is the system of government that has brought him forth.⁶ That is the enemy, and the cause of the war. The republican form of government, so much talked about by the Europeans and so much praised by the Americans, is breaking down. It has worked well enough until now, when honest and conservative men held office and when the dams which the framers of the Constitution erected against irresponsible democracy held firm; but these barriers are weakening, owing to the rising streams of radicalism and universal suffrage at home, to the recent influx of socialists and anarchists from Europe, and to the coming of such men as Bakunin and Garibaldi. If America does not watch, the waters of radicalism will soon rise so high that they will overflow the dam, sweep away its stabilizing institutions, and leave it a prey to anarchy. What can be expected from a country where men of humble origin are elevated to the highest positions, where honest men refuse to vote and dishonest ones cast their ballots at the bidding of shameless politicians? This is democracy in practice, the democracy that the European theorists rave about.⁷ If they could only see it at work they would cease their agitation and thank God for the government which they are enjoying.⁸

It is quite evident that Stoeckl had little respect for the leaders of American democracy. To him the members of Congress were a noisy, fanatic, intriguing, and dishonest lot. The men higher up in the government were mediocre, inefficient, and ignorant of the fundamental principles of real statesmanship. His comments on Lincoln and Seward are interesting.

The Russian diplomat had a high regard for Lincoln, the man, and spoke of his honest face, courteous behavior,⁹ kindly disposition, and fine character. But for Lincoln, the President of the United States, he had little to say that was complimentary. He thought him weak, undecided, inexperienced, and the tool of unscrupulous

⁶ Nov. 29/Dec. 11, 1864, no. 1900.

⁷ Nov. 22/Dec. 4, 1863.

⁸ On the margin of Stoeckl's letter Gorchakov made this comment: "Je l'aurais voulu mais j'en doute."

⁹ Feb. 28/Mar. 12, 1861. "Sans posséder une figure remarquable, M. Lincoln a une physionomie agréable et honnête. Ses manières sont celles d'un homme qui a passé toute sa vie dans une petite ville de l'Ouest, mais il a été poli et prévenant envers tous [meaning, on the occasion of the first diplomatic reception] et en général le corps diplomatique n'a eu qu'à se louer de l'accueil."

intriguers and office-seekers who selected him for the high office because of his very defects, so that they might use him.¹⁰ Though at times he handled them rather skillfully, yet on the whole he was no match for them. They turned the White House into a political club and worried the life out of the President with their recommendations, until the poor man complained (to Stoeckl) that he suffered more from his friends than from his enemies. Frightened by the clamor of the radicals and the demands of the conservatives, the captain retired to his cabin and left the ship of state to the mercy of the winds and the waves.¹¹ There was nothing to indicate that Lincoln had either a far-sighted policy or an immediate plan. The great trouble with him was that the task was too great for him. These criticisms of Lincoln were made in a very friendly spirit, for, as stated already, Stoeckel had much good-will towards the President and his death at the hands of the assassin affected him deeply.¹²

Senator Seward made a deep impression on Stoeckl, who spoke of him as the ablest American statesman, as the man above all others who should be President of the United States; but Secretary of State Seward proved to be a disappointment and the Russian diplomat was forced to put him into the class of small politicians and leave him there. Stoeckl was disgusted with Seward's irresoluteness, his lack of strong convictions, his ignorance of international affairs, his arrogance, his posing as a great man. This sudden change in his estimation of Seward came almost immediately after the latter had become Secretary of State. Very soon after the inauguration Stoeckl gave a dinner to the members of the cabinet, and when it was over and all the other guests had departed, Seward remained to talk over matters of state. He assured Stoeckl that the North would not force the seceded states to come back into the Union but would leave them undisturbed until such time as they themselves should express a desire to come back. He went even further, and asked that a secret interview be arranged at the Russian embassy between himself and a Southern commissioner, who was at the time in the capital, to talk over a conciliatory policy. But when Stoeckl encountered Seward two or three days later at the residence of Lord Lyons, the Secretary of State had changed his mind completely and announced that if war should break out all commercial relations with the South would come to an end.

¹⁰ Jan. 1/13, 1864.

¹¹ Nov. 6/18, 1861.

¹² Apr. 3/15, 1865.

Stoeckl tells another story illustrating the fickleness of Seward. About the middle of December, 1862, the Secretary of State informed the ministers of France and Russia that he was through with the administration, through with Stanton, through with the radical gang in Congress, through with Washington, that he had resigned and was going home in a few days. On the strength of these positive statements Stoeckl called on Seward to express his regrets and to bid him good-bye. Imagine his astonishment when Seward assured him that it was all a mistake, that he and Stanton had made up, and that from now on they would be good friends and work together. These and similar incidents caused Stoeckl to lose confidence and respect for Seward and to pay little attention to what he said.

Like many others, Stoeckl made guesses as to the duration of the war. In June, 1861, he thought it would be over by winter; in August he predicted that it would continue to the end of the year or possibly until spring. By that time he felt that the North would be exhausted and would quit. When spring came around he contented himself with such general remarks as, "the end of the conflict is not yet in sight", and "the conquest of the South is still an open question", and this tune of uncertainty he sang until the very end.

He also attempted to look into the future to see what would eventually be the outcome of the conflict and what would become of the once powerful United States. On one thing he was quite certain: no matter what the outcome might be, the old Union was gone, the breach between the North and the South was irreparable. When he had the opportunity, he advised those near him that the thing for the North to do was to make a virtue of necessity and to accept the inevitable. To his mind the best solution was the political independence and the commercial union of the two sections, a kind of zollverein, and if this were brought about the chances were, so he believed, that in time the broken parts would knit together.¹³

Though he lost confidence in American institutions and in American statesmen, Stoeckl nevertheless retained his admiration for the American people. He was never quite sure of them. At times he wondered whether he really understood them, and occasionally he referred to them as an exceptional people. More than once he told his government that similarity of conditions in the Old and in the New World does not necessarily produce similarity of results. In the United States, for example, revolution, war, disorganized government, and even disorganized finance do not greatly affect the

¹³ Jan. 29/Feb. 10, 1863, no. 342.

prosperity of the country. In the United States the very poor are well off. Nothing is impossible for this extraordinary people, nothing is difficult for them. When the war opened they responded in a wonderful manner to Lincoln's call and when reverses came they faced them manfully. When one army was destroyed they raised another, when one appropriation was spent they voted another, never doubting the ultimate success of the struggle. One of the characteristics of this nation is its confidence in itself, in its destiny, in its belief that "the best government that God ever saw" will last forever.¹⁴ With that vision before them the Americans plunge right on, regardless of obstacles and dangers.¹⁵ The black clouds that now hang over the country do not excite any apprehension, for they see the sun through them. If one expresses a misgiving he is told not to worry needlessly, that America has always succeeded in whatever it has undertaken; and, strange to say, it has. In his letter of January 12/24, 1865, Stoeckl wrote to his government that the war would go on for some time to come and even if the South were put down the problems of governing a conquered people would be great and difficult. Notwithstanding this, the Americans are so full of conceit and illusions that they really believe that after this bloody war the Southerners will submit tamely and become peaceful and law-abiding citizens. Can one imagine anything more absurd? Yet that is exactly what they say and believe.¹⁶

The end of the war caught Stoeckl quite unprepared and caused him to exclaim that one can never tell what may happen "chez ce peuple exceptionnel". Only a few months back, he said, the statesmen were despondent, the debt was going up, and the credit going down; then, all of a sudden and without any good reason, financial confidence was restored, thousands flocked to fill the gaps in the army, and behold, the fight was won. He insisted, however, that credit for putting down the insurrection was due to the American people, to its sacrifices, to its material resources, and not to the men in power.

¹⁴ Jan. 12/24, 1865.

¹⁵ Nov. 16/28, 1859.

¹⁶ That Gorchakov did not encourage Stoeckl in his pessimistic vein may be seen from the following passage in a letter written by the former to the latter in February, 1862: "La confiance que manifeste le Nord dans l'issue finale de la crise n'a-t-elle pas des fondemens plus sérieux que la jactance particulière aux démocraties?" Here is another letter written a month earlier and approved by the emperor: "L'Empereur est persuadé que les hommes d'État qui ont su apprécier d'un point de vue si élevé les intérêts politiques extérieurs [Mason-Slidell affair] de leur pays, sauront également placer leur politique intérieure au dessus des passions populaires."

He realized, of course, that there were many serious problems ahead, but he expressed confidence that the American people would solve them, too, now that they had survived the convulsions of war and had come out of them stronger than ever.¹⁷ To be sure, they lacked strong leadership but they could do without it. When Lincoln died some people thought that the world was coming to an end, but here was Johnson carrying on the affairs of state in a very able manner.¹⁸ To Stoeckl the biggest problem before the nation was to get the Southerners to come back into the Union, and on the possibility of bringing this about he expressed some doubt. When, however, that question was also satisfactorily settled and he saw how eager both sides were to forgive and forget, Stoeckl shrugged his shoulders and remarked that all predictions fail when one has to do with a people that Providence has taken under her special protection.¹⁹

Stoeckl was honest enough to face once more the question of American democracy, the democracy that was tottering and the fall of which was looked for in Europe. Has it stood the test? Yes, it has, he answered. It has weathered the storms of war and has suffered no serious injuries. However, it still had another test before it, the test of reconstruction. Can it stand up under the turmoils of, what he called, the political revolution that was at hand?²⁰ He thought it might if the suffrage were limited, if the demagogues were kept in place, and if honest and conservative men

¹⁷ Apr. 2/14, 1865, no. 715.

¹⁸ Oct. 15/27, 1865. "Ce qui se passe ici est si extraordinaire, les événemens se succèdent avec une telle rapidité qu'on peut à peine suivre et piger [or juger?] ce qui existe aujourd'hui, mais jamais faire des conjectures sur le lendemain. Il semble qu'une Providence veille sur les destinées de ce peuple et se trouve exprès là pour aplanir les obstacles et les dangers qu'il rencontre dans sa marche rapide. En effet, la guerre finit subitement et au moment où l'on s'y attendait le moins. La lutte une fois terminée par la chute de Richmond, le centre de la Confédération, les hommes du Sud déposent partout les armes et se soumettent, par calcul et avec des arrière-pensées, si l'on veut, mais ils se soumettent, et, guidés par leurs intérêts, ils acceptent l'alliance avec le Nord dont l'industrie et les capitaux leur sont nécessaires pour faire disparaître les ravages de la dernière guerre. Enfin, la mort de Mr. Lincoln donne des inquiétudes sérieuses au pays, on n'a aucune confiance dans son successeur de hasard; il se trouva cependant que Mr. Johnson est l'homme des circonstances et déploie, dans l'oeuvre difficile de la reconstruction, des talents et une fermeté de caractère bien supérieurs à ceux de Mr. Lincoln. En un mot, après une lutte si longue et si acharnée les États Unis rentrent dans l'ordre et reprennent leur équilibre avec une rapidité qui déjoue les calculs [les] mieux fondés."

¹⁹ Aug. 3/15, 1867.

²⁰ Sept. 5/17, 1866, no. 1852.

were induced to hold office. In one of his letters he expressed what seemed to be a sincere wish, that the American people would demonstrate to the world that democracy could be kept from developing into radicalism and anarchy, a political phenomenon rare in the annals of republics. During the year 1867 he watched the stormy skies, often wondering whether the ship would weather the wind and the waves that were threatening to engulf it. In February, 1868, he caught a ray of sunshine through the clouds and announced to his government the glad news that the American people would not succumb to the political revolution any more than they had to the Civil War.²¹ At the same time he advised that they should reform their political institutions.

The above observations by the Russian diplomat suggest many thoughts for discussion, but only two or three of them may be taken up here. In view of the insistence of certain writers that Lincoln was ugly, ungainly, and boorish, the personal description of him by Stoeckl is instructive. The Russian knew good society and fine manners, and when he says that Abraham Lincoln has a "*physionomie agréable et honnête*" and that he was polite and thoughtful of others, his opinion should carry weight.

Though Lincoln and Stoeckl met more or less often, yet the former failed to make any other impression on the latter than that of a well-meaning, thoroughly honest, but weak man. Almost everything that Stoeckl said about Lincoln in the five years' correspondence with his government is given in this paper. There were months at a stretch when the President was not even mentioned and so far as the Russian was concerned did not exist.

One has little complaint to make of the likeness of Uncle Sam as drawn by Stoeckl. Here and there physical and temperamental peculiarities are over-emphasized but on the whole the portrait is a fairly good one; the form, the features, and the outward expression are all delineated. It is not, however, an artistic piece of work because it fails to bring out the inner soul of the subject. From the beginning of the conflict to the end Stoeckl missed the spirit of idealism that animated the American people. There is nowhere in his writings a sentence or a line to indicate that he was conscious of its existence. When he thought we would not fight, it was because of our good sense and economic interests; when we did fight it was because of the demagogues; when we won the war it was because of our resources and determination; and when we reconstructed the Union it was because of a special providence. To him,

²¹ Feb. 16/28, 1866, no. 9.

as to thousands of Europeans before and after him, the Americans were little better than efficient, thinking economic machines.

It is difficult to explain how a man of Stoeckl's diplomatic ability and intellectual force, with such unusual opportunities for the study of society, could live through that stirring period in American history without catching some of its deeper meanings. It may have been due to his Russian background, or to his training to regard the safety of institutions as of more importance than the welfare of the individual, or to the peculiar ambassadorial atmosphere in which he lived. Whatever the reasons were, the fact remains that he failed to understand the spiritual side of the people among whom he lived. This raises the question of the value of diplomatic papers for the study of social history and the value of the diplomat as an agent for international conciliation. Without generalizing too much one may say, at least in so far as America is concerned, that they are of doubtful value. The average diplomat of continental Europe reaches America with certain preconceived ideas of our national characteristics and he is pleased with himself if he discovers evidence to prove that he is right. While at the capital he lives in his own little circle, which amuses itself in pointing out our shortcomings, he associates with the artificial society of Washington and Newport, and seldom comes into close touch with the heart and soul of the people. Yet it is these diplomats who are regarded as the authority on the countries in which they live; it is they who educate foreign public opinion; and it is they who influence the makers of war and peace. They are in part responsible for the idea that has gone abroad that the Americans are chiefly interested in money-getting; and this idea has taken such hold that it is doubtful whether even this World War has done much to dispel it. In the face of all the sacrifices made and the blood shed, a large part of the world is still unconvinced that America entered the war not for the purpose of gain but in pursuit of an ideal.

FRANK A. GOLDER.

TROOP MOVEMENTS ON THE AMERICAN RAILROADS DURING THE GREAT WAR

THE Spanish-American War demonstrated the necessity for reform in the War Department's methods of dealing with the important problem of military transportation. During that emergency there seems to have been very little real co-operation between the railroads of the country and the government. It was not until July 18, 1898, more than three months after war was declared, that the Transportation Division of the Quartermaster's Department was created and charged with the supervision and control of all rail and water transportation.¹

A few years after the Spanish-American War, the Quartermaster General's Office and the transportation companies began to co-ordinate their efforts and to work together more cordially and more effectively than in 1898. In 1905, and again in 1912, arrangements were made regarding the handling of troops and supplies. Throughout 1914 and 1915 it seemed probable that the United States would find it necessary to intervene in Mexico, and during the latter year, in order to avoid the possibility of a recurrence of the conditions of 1898, the officer in charge of the Transportation Division of the Quartermaster General's Office appeared before several transportation associations and outlined the plan of mutual co-operation which was practically the one later put into effect. On October 26, 1915, upon the recommendation of the Quartermaster General's Office, the Secretary of War suggested that the American Railway Association establish a "committee on military transportation to whom the department could look for any information that might be desired as to the railroads of the United States and with a further view to co-ordination between the railroads and the War Department in the transportation of troops and supplies of the United States."² Shortly afterwards a "Special Committee on Co-operation with the Military Authorities" was appointed by the American Railway Association, and Fairfax Harrison, president of the Southern Railway, was named chairman of the committee. During the winter of 1915-1916 the committee was in frequent session with the officers

¹ *General Orders*, no. 122, War Dept., Aug. 18, 1898.

² *Report of the Quartermaster General*, 1916.

of the Transportation Division of the Quartermaster General's Office and a general plan of co-operation was agreed upon.³

The trouble with Mexico became more and more acute and on June 18, 1916, the Secretary of War, through the governors of the various states, called into the federal service the greater part of the organized militia and of the National Guard.⁴ The special committee of the American Railway Association met at once in the office of the Quartermaster General, in Washington, with Lieutenant-Colonel Chauncey B. Baker, who represented the Quartermaster General, and the plans formulated during the previous winter were immediately placed in effect. Competent railway officials were placed at the headquarters of the four territorial departments of the army, at each mobilization camp of the National Guard, and in the office of the Quartermaster General in Washington. These officials, or general agents, as they came to be called, acted as advisers to the officers of the Quartermaster Corps on all questions affecting the railroads. Upon notification that an organization was about to leave camp for the border, the camp quartermaster consulted with the general agent at the camp, telling him the strength of the organization, the approximate date of departure, the number and kind of cars required, etc. The general agent then set about assembling all railroad equipment other than tourist sleeping-cars, in time for the movement. The assignment of tourist cars for troop movements was handled from Washington by the Transportation Division of the Quartermaster General's Office, assisted by a representative of the Pullman Company at the capital. By the adoption of these methods the War Department and railroads alike hoped to prevent a repetition during the operations in Mexico of the congestion which occurred during the war with Spain. That they succeeded is generally agreed. Both the Chief of Staff and the Secretary of War commended the special committee for its splendid co-operation with the government, and the President warmly congratulated the American Railway Association on its patriotic efforts.⁵

From the beginning of the Great War in 1914 many persons in the United States realized that this nation might at any moment become involved in the struggle. Common prudence dictated the necessity of preparation. It was this motive which led to the crea-

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Telegram, Secretary of War to state governors, June 18, 1916.

⁵ *Reports of the Q. M. G.*, 1916, 1917; *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1916; *Report of the Chief of Staff*, 1916.

tion of the Council of National Defense, which was authorized by the Army Appropriation Act of August 29, 1916. An Advisory Commission of the Council, consisting of seven members, was formed, and Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and chairman of the Advisory Commission, was named chairman of a Committee on Transportation and Communication. Its function was the organization of the transportation facilities of the country for the rapid transportation of the large bodies of troops and the enormous quantities of supplies which would be needed if the United States should enter the war.⁶

February 16, 1917, at the request of Mr. Willard, the executive committee of the American Railway Association met in New York City and decided to enlarge the Special Committee on Co-operation with the Military Authorities and to designate it as a Special Committee on National Defense. Though not officially a part of the Council of National Defense nor of its Advisory Commission, it was closely associated with the latter and was sometimes regarded as a subcommittee of the Advisory Commission. Its function was the organization of the railroads for mutual co-operation and co-ordination in case of emergency. Fairfax Harrison, who had been chairman of the Special Committee on Co-operation with the Military Authorities in 1916, was named chairman of the new committee. Four district committees, eastern, central, southern, and western, were established, corresponding to the four military departments of the United States, with whose commanding generals they were to co-operate in connection with the work of the Council of National Defense. The chairmen of these district committees, with Mr. Harrison as general chairman, constituted a special executive committee.

The new Special Committee on National Defense met in Washington March 1, 1917, in conference with the Secretary of War and representatives of the General Staff and the Quartermaster General's Office. At this meeting Colonel Baker, representing the Quartermaster General, presented a definite plan for co-operation between the government and the railways. The railway committee on March 2 decided that the district committees should get in touch with the military commanders of their respective departments as soon as possible. It was also decided that in case of any large troop movements the transportation should be handled under the same plan as in 1916. The central office of the executive committee in Washington

⁶ *First Annual Report of the Council of National Defense* (Washington, 1917).

was put under the charge of George Hodges, a man of wide railroad experience, who had been in immediate charge of the transportation of troops in 1916. By the first of April the organization was practically complete. The railroads were the first great industry of the United States to perfect an organization to co-operate with the military authorities and to offer its services to the Secretary of War.⁷

The emergency for which the railroads had been preparing came on April 6, 1917, when the United States declared that a state of war existed with the imperial German government. The following day the Council of National Defense directed the chairman of the Committee on Transportation and Communication to call upon the railroads to organize for the utmost despatch in the movement of freight.⁸ In answer to the chairman's summons, nearly fifty railway presidents, representing the transportation interests of the entire nation, assembled in Washington April 11, 1917, and resolved to "co-ordinate their operations in a continental railway system, merging . . . all their merely individual and competitive activities in the effort to produce a maximum of national transportation efficiency".⁹ To accomplish this object the railway executives empowered the American Railway Association's Special Committee on National Defense to formulate and direct the carrying-out of a policy of operation for all the railroads. The four district subcommittees composing the Special Committee were increased to six to agree with the territorial departments of the army, which had on April 2 been likewise increased.¹⁰ Fairfax Harrison remained general chairman of the committee.

An executive committee of five members was chosen from the general committee and Mr. Harrison was appointed chairman with authority to select the four other members. Daniel Willard, representing the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, and Edgar E. Clark, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, were *ex officio* members. This committee, which came to be known as the Railroads' War Board, directed the operation of virtually all the railroads of the United States; no less than 693 railroads, controlling over 260,000 miles of track and employing almost 1,750,000 persons, agreed to carry out its orders. During the summer and autumn of 1917 the War Board attempted to secure higher efficiency and better utilization of the available transportation facili-

⁷ *Rept. of the Q. M. G.*, 1917.

⁸ *First Ann. Rept. of Council for Natl. Defense* (Washington, 1917).

⁹ Special Committee on National Defense, *Am. Ry. Assn. Bulletin*, no. 9, Apr. 16, 1917.

¹⁰ *General Orders*, no. 38, War Dept., Apr. 2, 1917.

ties by co-ordinating their efforts and sinking, so far as the existing laws permitted, their competitive individual interests.¹¹

The creation of the Railroads' War Board in the spring of 1917 was "probably the most important and revolutionary step" taken in the history of American railways to that time. By placing the operation of all their facilities under the direction of a single committee of five for the period of the war, it constituted them, with certain limitations, a single continental system. "At the same time, it placed the services of this great railway system unreservedly at the disposal of the government. . . . Perhaps the most significant feature of the matter was that this act on the part of the railways was purely voluntary. No law required it. Another of its very significant features was that the step was taken without any prospect of especial consideration or compensation having been held out by the government".¹² This was in decided contrast with the situation in England, where the government at the very beginning of the war assumed control of the railroads by law. While the English railroads transported troops and munitions free of charge, their earnings were guaranteed by the government.

Subordinate to the Special Committee on National Defense and acting under the direction of its executive committee were several subcommittees. The more important of these were the Commission on Car Service and the subcommittees on Military Transportation Accounting, on Military Passenger Tariffs, and on Military Freight Tariffs. This organization, thus established with permanent headquarters at Washington, with its staff of experts and employees, with subcommittees both in Washington and in many cities throughout the country, was maintained wholly at the expense of the railroads.¹³

The organization described above was designed to control the operation of the entire continental system of railways, and it was as much concerned with the private shipper and traveller as with the government. To handle the problem of troop transportation there was built up at Washington in the office of Fairfax Harrison,

¹¹ Edgar E. Clark, Interstate Commerce Commission, *Government Control and Operation of Railroads, Hearing before the Committee on Interstate Commerce*, U. S. Senate, 65 Cong., 2 sess., pursuant to S. Res. 171 (Washington, 1918), p. 120.

¹² R. H. Aishton, president of the Chicago and N. W. R. R. and chairman of Central Department Subcommittee of the Railroads' War Board, address, Sept. 14, 1917, before the St. Louis Railway Club, quoted in *Railway Age Gazette*, Sept. 28, 1917, pp. 547 ff.

¹³ Special Committee on National Defense, *Bulletin*, no. 9, Apr. 16, 1917.

general chairman of the Railroads' War Board, a small but very efficient organization known as the Troop Movement Force, which was placed under the immediate direction of George Hodges, assistant to the general chairman. Mr. Hodges had been in charge of the troop transportation for the railroads in 1916, and the system used then was expanded and adapted to the greater emergency. The functions of the central bureau of the Troop Movement Force were briefly these: to gather all necessary information regarding equipment needed and available; to arrange for the transfer of equipment from one road or section of the country to another; to expedite the return of empty cars; to keep informed as to threatened conditions of congestion, and to make provisions for avoiding it; and, generally, to assist in every way practicable in the smooth operation of troop trains.¹⁴ In time, this central bureau in Washington came to be divided into three sections: a routing section, which arranged routes subject to the approval of the Quartermaster General; a transportation section, which controlled the arrangements for the actual movement of troops over the railroads involved, and kept in touch with all that concerned troop transportation by means of daily reports from the transportation general agents; and a Pullman section, which apportioned the available tourist cars to the various troop movements under authorization for their use from the Quartermaster General. Liaison between the central bureau and the War Department was maintained through an officer of the Quartermaster Corps and a railway representative. Representatives or general agents of the American Railway Association, designated by the Special Committee on National Defense, were stationed at each of the six departmental headquarters of the army, in the office of the governor or adjutant general of each state, at the headquarters of the Construction Quartermaster, and at each mobilization and concentration camp, cantonment, and port of embarkation. At each place were two general agents, one reporting to the Troop Movement Force and the other to the Military Transportation Accounting Subcommittee. The latter assisted the departmental and camp quartermasters in making out transportation requests, bills of lading, and the like. The former was assigned as a transportation expert, and it was his duty to keep in touch with the quartermaster at his post, to see that all trains and cars were provided when needed, that loading was properly done, and in general to translate

¹⁴ *Id.*, *Bulletin*, no. 8, Mar. 27, 1917; also *Special Regulations*, no. 63, War Dept., Apr. 20, 1917.

into terms of action the transportation necessities of the army.¹⁵ The railroad companies throughout the country were each directed by the central bureau to designate a "troop reporting official", who should be responsible for the carrying out by his company of orders from Washington or from the general agents. These "troop reporting officials" were entrusted with the cipher code used by the Troop Movement Force in reporting the movements of troop-trains.¹⁶

December 28, 1917, the government assumed control of the railroads and on the thirty-first the members of the Railroads' War Board resigned. Their subcommittees were either taken over by the United States Railroad Administration, or dissolved, and their functions were assigned to other parts of that organization.¹⁷ The Troop Movement Force, however, did not at once become a part of the new administration, and for some months its members continued their work as before and were still spoken of as American Railway Association representatives. The government's assumption of control over the railroads occasioned no alteration in the functioning of their organization. May 24, 1918, the Troop Movement Force became the Troop Movement Section of the Division of Transportation of the United States Railroad Administration. George Hodges, who had been in charge of the work since its initiation, was appointed manager, and the functions of the section were defined as the arrangement for, and supervision of, the details of the movement of troops, with their impedimenta, routing, provision of equipment, etc.¹⁸

The authority to order the movement of troops was vested in the Secretary of War, who exercised his power through the General Staff, the co-ordinating agency of the War Department. Orders, once approved by the Chief of Staff, were issued by the Adjutant General of the army. During 1917 and the early part of 1918 all matters relating to troop movements were handled by the Operations Committee of the War College Division of the General Staff. In the reorganization of the General Staff, February 9, 1918, this committee was consolidated with the Equipment Committee of the same division under the name of Operations Division. It was charged with the cognizance and control of army operations and

¹⁵ George Hodges, Memorandum on Troop Movement Force, Dec. 31, 1917.

¹⁶ Interview with H. Y. Turner, Troop Movement Section, Mar. 10, 1919.

¹⁷ For a full account of the work of the Railroads' War Board and of the U. S. R. R. Administration one must seek elsewhere. Here we are concerned only with the Troop Movement Section.

¹⁸ Circular, no. 3, U. S. R. R. Adminis., Div. of Trans., May 24, 1918.

was placed under an officer designated as the Director of Operations, who was an assistant to the Chief of Staff. Among the duties of the division were the movement and distribution of troops and the determination of all "overseas priority". Brigadier-General Henry Jervey was appointed Director of Operations, and the great troop movement of 1918 was carried out under his supervision.

After orders for the movement of troops and their equipment had been issued, the duty of providing the means of transportation devolved upon the Quartermaster Corps.¹⁹ The Transportation Division of the Quartermaster General's Office handled all matters pertaining to transportation, whether on land or sea, and through its Land Transportation Branch it supervised all movements of troops and quartermaster supplies by land.²⁰ During the early months of the war the Land Transportation Branch, when advised of a projected troop movement, at once notified the department and camp quartermasters concerned as to the route to be used; it also informed the Troop Movement Force of the American Railway Association. The latter organization then issued instructions regarding the date of the movement, the assembling of railway equipment, etc., to its department and camp general agents directly concerned, who co-operated with the local quartermasters in arranging the details of the movement. The routing and movement of parties of fifty or less might be ordered by any officer in charge at the point of origin; the movement of larger parties within a department was controlled by the department quartermaster, while all inter-department movements of more than fifty men were authorized at first through the Quartermaster General's Office at Washington, and, after the organization of the Inland Traffic Service in January, 1918, by the Troop Movement Section of that agency. After October 10, 1917, routings were issued by the Troop Movement Force of the railroads, subject to the approval of the Quartermaster General.²¹ August 4, 1917, the Embarkation Service was created in the office of the Chief of Staff and charged with the co-ordination of all shipments of munitions and supplies of every kind and of all troop movements whose ultimate destination was Europe.²² Department and division commanders were ordered not to send any organiza-

¹⁹ *Army Regulations*, 1913, par. 1000; *Field Service Regulations*, 1914, par. 388.

²⁰ *Rules and Regulations of the Quartermaster General* (1915), pp. 209 ff. This paper does not concern itself with the problem of the transportation of supplies, but only with the story of troop movements.

²¹ *Bulletin*, no. 37, Oct. 10, 1917, of executive committee of Special Committee on National Defense, Am. Railway Assn.

²² *General Orders*, no. 102, War Dept., Aug. 4, 1917.

tion to a port of embarkation until the details connected with the movement had been arranged directly with the commanding general of the port or with his subordinates.²³

The very serious congestion on the railroads in the autumn of 1917 led to the taking over of the railroads by the government on December 28, as noted above. On the same day the Storage and Traffic Division of the General Staff was created and placed under Major-General George W. Goethals. January 10, 1918, in an effort to centralize and co-ordinate all army transportation, General Goethals appointed Mr. H. M. Adams, an experienced railroad man, director of inland transportation,²⁴ and instructed him to organize a Division of Inland Transportation (called after May 1, 1918, the Inland Traffic Service), which should have jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to the routing and transportation, inland, by whatever means of transport, of all troops and property.²⁵ The new organization had to do primarily with the transportation of supplies, and its activities in connection therewith cannot be discussed here. In this article we are concerned only with its relation to the movement of troops and their "unit equipment". Generally speaking it assumed the place formerly held by the Land Transportation Branch of the Quartermaster General's Office. The officer who had been in charge of that branch since December 1, 1917, became assistant to Mr. Adams on January 18, 1918, and exercised direct supervision over the handling of troops.²⁶ A Troop Movement Section was established in the Division of Inland Transportation, and after February 26 it was placed under an officer who had formerly been located in the office of the Quartermaster General as civilian representative of the American Railway Association. The principal function of the Troop Movement Section was to act as a channel of communication between the Operations Division of the General Staff, the Embarkation Service, and the Troop Movement Section of the railroads. After movements had been ordered by the Operations Division through the Adjutant General, the department or camp quartermasters requested the Troop Movement Section of the Inland Traffic Service to supply routings, dates of movements, equipment, etc.; this information it secured from the railroad organization, and if it approved the routings proposed it informed the

²³ Adjutant General to commanding generals of all departments and divisions, Dec. 29, 1917.

²⁴ Office Order (not numbered), Director of Traffic, Jan. 10, 1918.

²⁵ *Id.*, no. 151, Director of Traffic, Jan. 15, 1918.

²⁶ Memorandum of Lt.-Col. H. S. Ray, for executive officer, Purchase, Storage, and Traffic Division, Dec. 5, 1918.

military authorities interested as to the routes to be followed, the availability of Pullman and coach equipment, and the scheduled dates for the movements. The Troop Movement Section of the railroads issued the same instructions to the railroads interested and to their department general agents, who informed the camp general agents.²⁷ The responsibility for carrying out instructions rested entirely upon the railroads and the local military authorities were not permitted to change a plan once decided upon nor to interfere with the operation of a train.

During 1918, when an ever increasing number of troops was being shipped overseas, a monthly conference was held at which the Operations Division, the Embarkation Service, the Troop Movement Section of the Inland Traffic Service, and the Troop Movement Section of the railroads were all represented. At this conference a tentative schedule for the next month was arranged. The Operations Division stated what organization it desired to move overseas; the Embarkation Service stated the probable amount of tonnage available; and the railroad officials indicated the amount of equipment they had on hand and to what extent they would be able to co-operate. The date at which an organization was desired at the port of embarkation or at the embarkation camp was fixed by the commanding general of the port. The Land Transportation Branch of the Quartermaster General's Office continued to handle all transportation matters not determined by the Inland Traffic Service, but its work was taken over more and more by the latter and on June 15, 1918, it was abolished.²⁸

The movement of troops with their impedimenta, of selective service men, and recruits may be divided into five phases: first, the movement of the Regular Army from the border to various camps; second, the movement of the National Guard to its training camps; third, the movement of the men of the National Army from their homes to the cantonments; fourth, intercamp movements to meet the needs of the service; and lastly, the movement of organizations from the camps to ports of embarkation.²⁹ This arrangement is not only a convenient one, but it is in the large sense strictly chronological.

The active military forces of the United States, at the outbreak of war, numbered 200,157.³⁰ These men were distributed at vari-

²⁷ Capt. J. D. Cutter to the same, Dec. 12, 1918.

²⁸ Office Order, no. 464, office of Q. M. G., June 15, 1918.

²⁹ Memorandum of George Hodges, Dec. 31, 1917.

³⁰ Mobilization Table, no. 3, Mobilization Section, Historical Branch, War Plans Division of the General Staff.

ous army posts throughout the country, in outlying possessions of the nation, and in China; approximately 50,000 were on or near the Mexican border.⁸¹ In May it was decided to concentrate the border troops at a comparatively small number of camps, principally in the North and East, where the various regiments might be utilized as nuclei for larger organizations, recruits from depots be added, and training for overseas service begun. The first movements recorded by the Troop Movement Section of the railroads began on May 18, 1917, when various regiments on the Mexican border began to entrain for other points. By June 4 this movement, involving the transportation of approximately 25,531 officers and men, was completed. Owing to the relatively small number of men involved and their experience in travel the task of moving them was performed with great ease by the railroads. The longest journey during this period was that of the 1913 men of the 23d U. S. Infantry, who travelled 2624 miles from El Paso, Texas, to Syracuse, New York; the shortest was that of the 1306 men of the 13th Cavalry, from Fort Bliss, Texas, to Fort Riley, Kansas, a distance of 943 miles. These organizations took with them all their baggage, organization property, and animals. Where conditions warranted it, the troop property and animals were loaded on a special train with only a few soldiers; in other cases the troop-train was composed not only of tourist sleepers for the men and baggage- and box-cars for their impedimenta, but also of flat-cars for vehicles and stock-cars for the animals.

It was at this time that the troops for the first convoy were concentrated at Hoboken for transportation to France. Not one of the eight organizations comprising this first combatant force to cross the Atlantic travelled less than 2000 miles to the port of embarkation. One regiment of infantry travelled 2679 miles from Douglas, Arizona; the others came from various points in Texas. The 11,234 men concerned travelled an average distance of 2392 miles to their destination. The first units to leave the border were the supply companies of the four infantry regiments, which entrained on May 31; the infantry regiments and the other units entrained June 2-3, and by June 10 the last train had arrived at Hoboken. The Troop Movement Force of the railroads made all the arrangements for this movement, which has been characterized as the longest long-distance movement of troops that had ever been made

⁸¹ *Report of the Adjutant General of the Army* (1917), table opposite p. 19.

at one time in the United States to that date.³² It was a record often surpassed during the next seventeen months.

July 3, 1917, the President issued a proclamation calling into the service of the United States the National Guard of thirty states. The same proclamation provided that on August 5 the entire National Guard of the nation should be drafted into the military service of the government.³³ At this time the National Guard consisted of sixteen tactical divisions. Orders were issued for their concentration, for organization and training, at as many camps, all of them located in the southern half of the country. The movement of the state troops to camp involved the transportation by rail of about 343,223 men, and extended over a period of eleven weeks, from August 4 to November 23. The entire movement was made by the railroads upon the schedule outlined by the War Department; at the suggestion of the Troop Movement Force it was twice suspended for brief periods during the movement of increments of the National Army to their cantonments.³⁴ The greater part of this movement of the National Guard was completed before the middle of October, 1917; in November the New England regiments still in camp in the North were ordered to Camp Greene, North Carolina. In general, when a unit of the National Guard moved from its home state to camp it carried with it all its organization property, vehicles, and animals. Heavy tentage in most cases was shipped direct from depots to the training camps and not carried by the separate units. Statistics are not at hand for the complete movement of the Guard, but up to October 11, 1917, there had been transported to camp 294,752 officers and men.³⁵ The average distance travelled was 770 miles; in the South, as a rule, the National Guard went but a short distance to camp, while the men from the Northern states often travelled great distances—the Montana National Guard, for example, journeyed 2645 miles to Camp Greene, North Carolina.

In August, 1917, the War Department authorized the formation of a seventeenth National Guard division, the Forty-second, from units selected from twenty-seven states. This division was concentrated at Camp Mills, Long Island, in the latter part of August, 1917. Those units possessing vehicles, engineer, signal corps, and other heavy equipment, transported it to Camp Mills and shipped

³² F. E. Williamson, general agent, New York, to Maj. D. A. Watt, adjutant, port of embarkation, Hoboken, N. J., July 17, 1918.

³³ General Orders, no. 90, War Dept., July 12, 1917.

³⁴ Memorandum of George Hodges, Dec. 31, 1917.

³⁵ Records of the Troop Movement Section, U. S. R. R. Adminis.

their animals to Newport News. Other units of this division, being newly organized, had no animals, technical or other equipment beyond quartermaster supplies, to carry with them.⁸⁶

The movement of the National Guard was still in progress when the first detachments of the new National Army left their homes for the cantonments on September 5, 1917. The process of mobilization, under the Selective Service Administration, may be divided into three stages: the requisition, the call, and the entrainment. During 1917 all requisitions and all calls were made for "the run of the draft", *i.e.*, for men, either white or colored, who were physically qualified for general military service. Practically all of these men were sent to one or another of the sixteen National Army cantonments provided for the purpose. But during 1918 new conditions arose and men with certain physical, occupational, or educational qualifications were requisitioned. Moreover the number of stations to which men could be sent was increased to include every post in the United States, Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, as well as hundreds of schools and colleges. After the calls to be issued under a particular requisition had been allocated to the states which were to contribute to the levy, induction telegrams were issued from Washington, calling on the respective states for the entrainment of their quotas. The railroads were then consulted, the camp commanders notified, and the proper supply bureaus informed. Upon receipt of a call, each state headquarters proceeded to allocate the call for that state among its local boards.

"The time set for entrainment was generally made by the local boards an occasion of formality and ceremony, and in most communities it took on the marks of a public festivity." There were public addresses, parades, and demonstrations at the railroad stations. It was this public celebration on the day of entrainment which had much to do with popularizing the draft; for "the general sentiment of military patriotism came thus to be associated in an open and emphatic manner with the processes of the draft".⁸⁷ Prior to July 31, 1918, drunkenness among drafted men en route to camp had occasionally led to disorders resulting in damage to railroad equipment and other property. On that date certain changes were made in the Selective Service Regulations which provided for the wearing of a brassard in lieu of a uniform by all draftees, thereby making it illegal to sell liquor to them; for the

⁸⁶ *Report of the Acting Chief of the Militia Bureau* (1918), pp. 8-10, 139.

⁸⁷ *Second Report of the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War* (Dec. 20, 1918), pp. 232 ff.

appointment of leaders for each contingent; and for the distribution of regulations governing drafted men en route to camp. These changes resulted in the practical elimination of all further trouble.³⁸

The 4531 entraining points and (in 1918) the hundreds of stations to which the selectives were sent complicated the entrainment problem tremendously. Before a call could be issued the Railroad Administration required fourteen days' notice to enable it to compile and print the train schedules for the movement (which was usually distributed over a five-day period), and to make the necessary arrangements with the railroads. In 1917 the entrainment schedules were all compiled and published by the several passenger associations of the country, and a representative of the American Railway Association was placed in the office of the governor or adjutant general of each state to adjust any difficulties that might arise.³⁹ During 1918 the United States Railroad Administration supervised the preparation of the schedules and replaced the "A. R. A." man by a "military representative" of its Traffic Division. These schedules, which were most elaborate, were prepared for each call in every state. Each gave the number of the call, the dates set for the movement, the camp to which the men were to go, the county, county-seat, and entraining station, the number of men from each county, the route to be followed, the time of departure, and the arrangements made for providing meals.⁴⁰ Copies of each schedule were placed in the possession of the railroads concerned and of every one of the local boards at points of origin. As a result of this careful attention to detail, the mobilization proceeded so smoothly that few persons in the community at large realized the enormous task which was being performed.

The Provost Marshal General in his reports on the operation of the Selective Service System⁴¹ expresses the utmost admiration of the work of the railroads throughout the war. "No more difficult transportation problem", he says, "could be conceived"; their work "was so satisfactorily performed that less than a dozen complaints were received during the whole year" of 1918. At times they were called upon to handle as many as 50,000 selected men in one day, and to transport within a single month over 400,000 men for the selective service system alone. Their performance on November

³⁸ Changes, no. 7, Selective Service Regulations, July 31, 1918.

³⁹ Memorandum of George Hodges, Dec. 31, 1917.

⁴⁰ "Specimen Entrainment Schedule", *Second Report of the Provost Marshal General*, pp. 325 ff.

⁴¹ *Rept. of the Provost Marshal Gen.* (Dec. 20, 1917), p. 26; *id.*, *Second Report* (Dec. 20, 1918), pp. 239 ff.

11, 1918, was especially noteworthy. Calls had been issued and all arrangements completed for the entrainment of some 250,000 men during the five-day period beginning on that day. At 10.25 A.M. on Monday, November 11, the United States Railroad Administration was advised by telephone that the Secretary of War had cancelled these calls. "In 35 minutes they had notified all the railroads of the country; had stopped further entrainment; had reversed such contingents as were en route; and were restoring the men to the original points of entrainment. This achievement", continues the Provost Marshal General, "stands out as a marvel of efficiency and is but an indication of the co-operation which they constantly rendered."

The total number of men called under the selective service system was 2,801,358. According to the records of the Provost Marshal General's Office 2,755,476 of these men were transported to camp by railroads controlled by the United States Railroad Administration.⁴² The average number of miles travelled by each man was 388; the entire mobilization therefore involved the equivalent of 1,069,124,688 miles of travel by one passenger. It is estimated that the movements required for the mobilization under the selective draft represented about one-fourth of the entire troop movement for the War Department.

By the middle of October, 1917, the greater part of the National Guard troops had reached their training camps in the South, and nearly 450,000 selected men of the first draft had been transported to the sixteen National Army cantonments. The movements of the Regular Army already described involved about 36,765 men. Beginning about the first of August, 1917, large intercamp movements of the Regular Army began, in the course of which organizations were ordered from their stations to more convenient camps and concentration points, and recruits were transported from various depots throughout the country to the camps. One small group of recruits, for example, was ordered from Vancouver Barracks to Waco, Texas, a distance of 4078 miles. In September and October training *cadres* of 961 men each were ordered transferred from the Regular Army to each of the sixteen National Army divisions.⁴³ During the autumn of 1917 some 50,000 men of the Regular Army were transferred from their stations in the North to more comfortable winter quarters in southern camps. As time went on the intercamp movements of the regulars increased in frequency and by

⁴² *Second Rept. of the Provost Marshal Gen.*, pp. 240 ff.

⁴³ *Army War College Records.*

January 1, 1918, approximately 308,000 had been thus moved about the country. It was the general policy of the Operations Committee always to move troops from the West towards the ports of embarkation, but it was not always possible or practicable to do so.

About the middle of October, 1917, the Operations Committee began to transfer from each National Army cantonment sufficient drafted men to bring the corresponding National Guard division to full strength. In this connection an interesting situation developed in the South. In September it began to appear that if the three southern National Guard divisions—the 30th, 31st, and 39th—were to be brought to full strength by men drawn from Camps Jackson, Gordon, and Pike, the corresponding National Army cantonments, these latter camps would each be left with more colored than white troops, which was deemed highly undesirable. To concentrate all the white men from these three cantonments at one would leave the other two with no white men and all their negroes. The problem was finally solved by distributing the entire colored draft throughout the country in such a way that the ratio of whites to colored was everywhere preponderant; by filling up all the National Guard divisions with National Army men from the corresponding cantonments; by concentrating at Camp Jackson all the remaining white men in Camps Jackson, Gordon, and Pike, and forming of them an "All-Southern" National Army division (the 81st); and by forming at Camps Gordon and Pike two composite National Army divisions (the 82d and 87th) of men drawn from all the remaining National Army cantonments except Camp Lewis. To accomplish all this necessitated the transportation of between 105,000 and 110,000 more men than had been anticipated by the Operations Committee.⁴⁴ Beginning about December 15 many National Army troops were transferred to camps where Regular Army organizations were being recruited to full strength. In the last ten weeks of 1917 approximately 175,000 drafted men were moved from one camp to another.⁴⁵

During 1918, as the army continued to grow in size, these inter-camp movements increased in volume. The practice of drawing on the drafted men to fill the National Guard and Regular Army divisions continued. In March the Operations Division began to draw on the depot brigades of the National Army for men for various special and technical services—for corps and army troops, for

⁴⁴ Memorandum of Capt. T. W. Hammond, General Staff, for Chief of Staff, Sept. 27, 1917, approved Oct. 4, 1917. *Army War College Records*.

⁴⁵ Records of Troop Movement Section, U. S. R. R. Adminis.

engineer regiments, field signal battalions, replacement organizations of various kinds, medical and veterinary units, the Quartermaster Corps and Ordnance Department, and for the United States Guards. Then men of the Medical Department, either as individuals or as organizations, were constantly moving to and from the medical training camps at Fort Riley, Fort Benjamin Harrison, and Camp Greenleaf; aero squadrons were leaving the aviation mobilization camp at Waco, Texas, for various flying fields, and during the summer and autumn of 1918 there was a steady stream of men to and from the National Army training detachments at various educational institutions throughout the country.⁴⁶ These intercamp movements involved about 42 per cent. of the total number of men transported by rail between January 1 and November 11, 1918.

No accurate statistics are available regarding the number of men who travelled on furlough during the war, but that extremely heavy demands were made upon the railroads by the furloughs granted at divisional camps for week-ends and holidays is obvious. At Thanksgiving and at Christmas, 1917, the number of men on leave was well above 100,000 in each case. As for the number of men regularly on leave, the general agent at Camp Meade, for example, estimated that about 11,500 men (about 30 per cent. of the total strength of the camp) were granted passes or furloughs during the week of February 10.⁴⁷ At Camp Sherman 30 per cent. of the 32,900 men in the camp were granted leaves of absence for Christmas, 1917, and it was the custom at that camp to grant week-end passes to 25 per cent. of the men in each unit.⁴⁸

The movement of troops to the ports of embarkation for transportation overseas was necessarily conditioned by the War Department's plans regarding the composition and strength of the expeditionary forces, and a brief discussion of these plans is requisite for a complete understanding of the problem. At the outbreak of the war and for some time thereafter the War Department had no definite plan of operation.⁴⁹ At the request of both the British and French governments, however, it was decided to despatch as soon as possible base hospitals, ambulance units, railway engineers, and other auxiliary troops, who could be utilized at once by the allied

⁴⁶ *Bulletins*, nos. 1 ff., Misc. Div., Adjutant General's office.

⁴⁷ Report of general agent at Camp Meade to George Hodges, Feb. 18, 1918.

⁴⁸ Reports of general agent at Camp Sherman to George Hodges, Dec. 10, 1917, and Feb. 27, 1918.

⁴⁹ Memorandum from the office of the Chief of Staff for the Adjutant General, Apr. 6, 1917; comment by General Bliss, acting chief of staff, on memorandum from General Kuhn, May 28, 1917.

armies, and throughout the remainder of 1917 noncombatant troops formed a large proportion of those sent overseas. But in June, 1917, at the urgent insistence of the French, a small division of combatant troops was sent abroad, and by January 1, 1918, two complete divisions and parts of three others were in France. July 10, 1917, General Pershing transmitted to Washington his "general organization project" for the A. E. F., which called for a force of twenty combat divisions and ten replacement divisions, organized in five corps of six divisions each, with the proper proportions of corps, army, and service-of-the-rear troops.⁵⁰ This force, about 1,328,448 men, was to be in France "in time for an offensive in 1918".⁵¹

September 11, 1917, the War College Division in a memorandum for the Chief of Staff discussed the problem of raising sufficient men by September 1, 1918, to meet General Pershing's request. Instead of five corps, they planned to create seven corps of six divisions each with the necessary corps and army troops. The last corps would have but four divisions. Apparently their idea was that it would be possible to transport overseas four corps by April 1, 1918, the fifth corps by June 1, the sixth by July 1, and the seventh by August 1. Such an army would have numbered 1,675,000 men. On October 7, 1917, General Pershing sent to the War Department a "Priority of Shipments Schedule" in which was shown the order in which he desired the troops for the expeditionary forces despatched to France. The schedule did not apply to the special and technical troops furnished the French and British, nor did it cover the replacement drafts, aviation troops, and headquarters personnel. Its purpose was to provide a proper balance between all the various elements of the expeditionary forces. The existing situation, he said, was difficult because the service-of-the-rear troops in France did not bear an adequate proportion to the combat troops already there or expected in the near future. The schedule outlined a plan of shipment by "phases", of which there were six in all. Each phase, except the last, consisted of one corps of combat troops and the proper proportion of service-of-the-rear, corps, and army troops. He desired 50 per cent. of the service-of-the-rear troops to precede the combat troops in each phase and the remaining 50 per cent. to be shipped with the first half of the com-

⁵⁰ "A. E. F." project of Sept. 18, 1917.

⁵¹ In his memorandum of July 10, 1917, Pershing places his total forces desired at 1,100,000; Sept. 18, 1917, he increases this figure to 1,328,448. In his Schedule of Priority of Shipments, Oct. 7, 1917, he names 1,247,399 as his grand total, excluding aviation and replacement troops.

bat troops of that phase. The six phases called for 275,200, 267,490, 246,248, 231,743, 210,100, and 16,618 men respectively and the total number was 1,247,399. Without specifying any particular date, General Pershing indicated his desire to have the first four phases—about 1,020,000 men—in France in time for the 1918 offensive. This date was usually set at June 1, 1918.

Throughout the winter of 1917-1918 an effort was made by the Operations Division to have the shipment of troops conform as closely as possible to the "Priority of Shipments Schedule", but various things conspired to make this difficult. In March, 1918, Pershing cabled that altogether too many combat troops were reaching France in proportion to service-of-the-rear (service of supply, "S. O. S."), corps, and army troops.⁵² But the chief difficulty was the shortage of ocean tonnage, especially cargo tonnage, for obviously it was inadvisable to ship troops to France unless we were prepared to maintain them there. The limited production of certain necessary supplies and the limited facilities for embarkation and especially debarkation still further complicated matters. In February, 1918, the situation looked so black that the Director of Operations believed it would be virtually impossible to transport the first three phases—819,000 men—to France by August 1, 1918; it might be practicable, he thought, to send over about 300,000 men in addition to the 275,000 men of the first phase which he anticipated would be in France by March 1. But as a basis for requirements and estimates on the part of the supply bureaus he suggested a "tentative strength table" calling for the presence in France of 837,000 men by June 1, 1,051,000 by August 1, and 1,372,000 by December 1. In other words, the hope of fulfilling General Pershing's plan for an army of five corps in France in time for an offensive in 1918 was postponed until 1919. On February 25, 1918, the plans and recommendations of the Director of Operations were approved by the Secretary of War.⁵³ This is really the first "official plan" for the raising and transportation of the army.

The success of the German offensive which began March 21 was so great that the War Department was led to attempt what five weeks earlier had been considered impossible. Ships were procured, men and supplies were provided, and the greatest troop movement in history began. The complete story of that achievement cannot be told here, for its success was dependent rather upon ship-

⁵² Memorandum of Gen. Henry Jervey, director of operations, to the Adjutant General, Mar. 27, 1918.

⁵³ Memorandum of Gen. Henry Jervey to the Chief of Staff, Feb. 18, 1918.

ping than upon the railroads. But it must not be forgotten that every man shipped abroad had to be transported by rail to the port of embarkation before he could go aboard ship and that frequently detachments travelled farther by rail to reach the port of embarkation than they did by army transport to reach the port of debarkation in France or England. Between the first of May, 1917, and the eleventh of November, 1918, the Troop Movement Section of the railroads supervised the transportation to the various ports of embarkation of 2,174,455 men. Of these 1,758,033 or 81 per cent. of the total, were transported to Hoboken and the embarkation camps serving that port, 250,404 men, or about 12 per cent., to Newport News, and the rest to other ports.⁵⁴ Of the total number carried to the ports of embarkation during the nineteen months of the war 76 per cent. (1,653,470 men) were embarked for overseas in the seven months from April to November, 1918. The shipment of troops continued to follow the "Priority of Shipments Schedule" of October, 1917, but with the emphasis upon combat troops and at no time during the war did the number of auxiliary troops or "S. O. S." troops attain the proportions desired by General Pershing. So far as divisions were concerned the first three phases had been completed by the middle of June; by August 12 the combat troops, at least, of five phases were overseas, and the Operations Division was planning to send the sixth and seventh phases of combat troops. By November 11 these seven phases had been completed. July 18, 1918, it was decided to increase the American Expeditionary Forces abroad to at least eighty divisions (about 3,360,000 men) by June 30, 1919, and the succeeding drafts were all calculated upon that basis.⁵⁵ But the signing of the armistice November 11 halted the fulfillment of these ambitious plans. At that time there were approximately 3,757,624 men in the United States Army; of these some 2,086,000 had been transported overseas and 1,671,000 remained in the United States.⁵⁶

The limitations of space forbid any detailed discussion of the movement of troops to the ports of embarkation. It must suffice to describe the method by which troops were despatched from camp to seaboard. In the first place the Operations Division of the General Staff drew up from time to time "priority lists" designating certain units for service overseas and giving the contemplated dates of

⁵⁴ *Annual Report of the Director General of Railroads* (1918), "Operations", p. 47.

⁵⁵ *Report of the Chief of Staff, U. S. A., to the Sec. of War* (1919), pp. 10 ff.

⁵⁶ *Annual Report of the Secretary of War* (1919), pp. 3 ff.

their movement from mobilization camps to ports. These programmes, made after conference between the embarkation officials, the Inland Traffic Service, the Troop Movement Section of the railroads, and the Operations Division, General Staff, usually covered shipments from camps to ports for a period of one month in advance. They directed the various departments to prepare the troops thus designated for overseas service, and when they were ready, to notify the Director of Embarkation at Washington. A copy of the list, subject to change, was forwarded to the port of embarkation, where it was turned over to the "dispatch office". That office then sent to each organization listed a letter of instructions and the embarkation and debarkation regulations. When a reply was received stating that the organization was fully equipped, or equipped except for certain shortages that could not be supplied, the Director of Embarkation was notified. He in turn informed the Adjutant General, who telegraphed the department or camp commander to forward the troops when their presence was desired at the port. As soon as space was available at the embarkation camps, or on transports, and provided the organization stood in the proper place on the priority schedule, it was ordered to port on the authority of the commanding general of the port of embarkation. The general agent of the Railroad Administration notified the Troop Movement Section at Washington of the movement and the latter then arranged the routing and train schedule to conform as closely as possible to the desires of the dispatch office. "The movements of the troops to the ports were so timed as to fit in with all other rail movements throughout the United States so as to avoid congestion and an excessive demand for equipment during a limited period."⁵⁷ The various authorities of the port who were interested in the movement were also informed and were thus enabled to make the necessary preparations for the reception of the organization upon its arrival. The general agent and the local quartermaster at the starting point were responsible for the assembling of equipment and the arranging of all the details of departure.⁵⁸

Such was the process followed in the case of troops not in divisions. With divisions the procedure was somewhat different. When a division on the priority list was reported nearly ready to entrain for the port, the dispatch office telegraphed for the division liaison officer and at the same time ordered into the embarkation camp the

⁵⁷ *Rept. of the Chief of Staff, U. S. A., to the Sec. of War* (1919), p. 40.

⁵⁸ Report of Maj. S. J. Chamberlin, dispatch officer, to the commanding general at the port of embarkation, Hoboken, N. J., Aug. 29, 1918.

advance debarkation and billeting detachments and the advance school detachments, which usually preceded the division abroad.⁵⁹ Before the great troop movement began in April, 1918, an attempt was made to have the various elements of a division entrain in the order General Pershing desired them to arrive in France.⁶⁰ The first units to depart for the seaboard were generally the engineer regiment and field train, field signal battalion, and sanitary squadrons; then came the division headquarters, followed at a little interval by the headquarters train and military police, the remaining divisional trains, half the medical complement of field hospitals and ambulance companies, the bakery and butchery company, and base hospital. These were followed by the two infantry brigades, the machine-gun battalion and artillery brigade in the order named, and the remaining auxiliary units brought up the rear. The 32d Division, for example, observed this arrangement quite closely in its movement from Camp MacArthur, Waco, Texas, to Camp Merritt, New Jersey. The movement began January 10, 1918, and was not completed until February 13. To transport the 24,874 men in the division required fifty-eight trains, each averaging fifteen cars and carrying 428 men. The distance travelled averaged 1969 miles per train and was covered in five days and eight hours, at an average rate of 15.3 miles per hour.⁶¹

As general agents, camp quartermasters, entraining officers, and railroad officials became more experienced in the handling of troop-trains they constantly bettered their previous records. One or two examples of what they accomplished will not be out of place here. On June 19, 1918, the 91st Division began its movement from Camp Lewis, Washington, to Camp Merritt. Between that date and June 30, sixty-four trains were despatched eastward carrying the 27,085 men of the division. The last train arrived at its destination at 9:00 P.M., July 6. These sixty-four trains were sent over thirteen different routes, the average distance travelled by each train being 3205 miles. Running at about twenty miles per hour each train required an average time of six and a half days to make the journey across the continent. The average number of cars per train was thirteen; of men 423.⁶² Perhaps the best performance of the war in the field of transportation was the movement of the 18,819 men of the 8th Division (less its artillery brigade) from Camp Fre-

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Memorandum of Lt.-Col. J. R. McAndrews, General Staff Corps, for the Chief of Staff, Dec. 7, 1917.

⁶¹ Records of the Troop Movement Section, U. S. R. R. Adminis.

⁶² *Ibid.*

mont, California, to Camp Mills, Long Island, in October, 1918. The first train left camp at 9:00 A.M., October 18; the others at hour and a half intervals from 9:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M., at the rate of six trains per day; the last train left at 4:30 P.M., October 24. These forty-two trains averaging 448 men and 13.8 cars to the train, traversed the 3444 miles to their destination at an average rate of speed of 20.2 miles per hour. The average time per train was seven days and three hours. The efficient co-operation of all concerned in the movement made possible the despatch of all the trains on the minute scheduled, with the exception of two, which were respectively four and five minutes late. As a result of a competition in loading inaugurated among the train commanders, few trains after the second day required more than five minutes from the time of arrival of the troops in the entraining area to the last man entrained. Fifteen trains were loaded in less than three and a half minutes each.⁶³ The utmost secrecy was maintained in the despatch of troop-trains to ports of embarkation and all telegraphic reports regarding their movements were transmitted in cipher. While railroad officials had been authorized as early as September 13, 1917, to notify accredited Red Cross representatives at points where troop-trains were scheduled to stop, on December 11 they were instructed not to impart this information in the case of trains moving toward a seaport.⁶⁴ This restriction remained in force until October 12, 1918, when it was removed by order of the Director of Operations.⁶⁵

As regards equipment it was at first the policy of the War Department to send troops to the ports of embarkation completely equipped with both personal equipment and organization property. This was not always practicable, however; the artillery units almost without exception took no guns with them, and horses or mules, when taken, were usually sent to Newport News for shipment to France. In November, 1917, General Pershing was insistent that all divisions and other units sent to France should be completely equipped with the authorized transportation, at least, before leaving the United States.⁶⁶ The instructions to the ports of embarkation directed that all equipment so far as practicable be shipped on the same vessel with the organization to which it pertained,⁶⁷ but the

⁶³ Report of Capt. C. D. Gorton, entraining officer, 8th Div., to commanding general, 8th Div., Oct. 26, 1918.

⁶⁴ *Bulletins*, nos. 30, 30A, Sept. 13, Dec. 11, 1917, of ex. com. of Special Committee on Natl. Defense, Am. Railway Assn.

⁶⁵ Memorandum, Gen. Henry Jervy for the Adjutant General, Oct. 12, 1918.

⁶⁶ Pershing, cable no. 279, par. 5, Nov. 10, 1917.

⁶⁷ Director of Purchase, Storage, and Traffic to the Adjutant General, Apr. 19, 1918.

heavy troop movements in the summer of 1918 made this procedure difficult if not impossible. July 5, 1918, Pershing cabled that confusion existed due to the fact that organizations were still arriving without their equipment. He recommended that the organizations should be embarked with their equipment on the same transport; if that were impossible, organizations should be stripped of their organization property in the United States, the property turned into depots and subsequently shipped in bulk without reference to any particular organization: it would thus become available for general issue.⁶⁸ The second alternative was adopted August 10, 1918; troops were ordered to take with them overseas only individual equipment and clothing, field ranges and organization records.⁶⁹ Until July 11, 1918, each enlisted man was entitled to carry with him a barrack bag with extra equipment, the weight being limited to seventy-five pounds; after that date his clothing and equipment were reduced to that carried on the person. Officers' baggage also was reduced, company officers being allowed to take only 150 pounds instead of the 250 pounds previously authorized.⁷⁰

From May, 1917, when the Troop Movement Section began its work, until November 11, 1918, the railroads of the country transported 8,714,582 men, an average of 502,764 per month. The maximum was reached in July, 1918, when no less than 1,147,013 men were moved. Between September 5, 1917, and the armistice 2,287,926 drafted men were entrained at 4531 separate points in larger or smaller units and moved on schedule to their stations, in many cases upward of a day's journey, and in all cases were fed in transit.⁷¹ It would be difficult to overestimate the amount of detail involved in routing, scheduling, moving, and feeding these men. It required 11,959 special troop-trains, each averaging 875.4 miles, to transport 5,046,092 men, in addition to the drafted men referred to above and the 1,380,564 men carried on regular trains. This is undoubtedly the greatest long-distance troop movement by land in history. The railroads carried 2,174,455 men into the crowded port terminals for embarkation overseas without interfering with the heavy traffic already being handled through those ports and in the

⁶⁸ Pershing, cable no. 1419, July 5, 1918.

⁶⁹ *Circular*, War Dept., Aug. 10, 1918.

⁷⁰ *Id.*, July 11, 1918.

⁷¹ The figures given here are those of the Troop Movement Section. *Second Rept. of the Provost Marshal General* (1918), p. 241, says that 2,755,476 drafted men were transported to camp by rail. It is quite possible that many men transported in regular trains were not reported to the Troop Movement Section, which concerned itself primarily with the movement of special trains.

adjacent territory. During one period of thirty days more than twenty troop-trains each day were brought into the port of New York. During the entire period of the war there were but sixteen train accidents involving death or injury; but thirty-nine men were killed and 335 injured. Of the total number of men moved during the war about 26.2 per cent. were drafted men on their way to camp; 24.9 per cent. were troops moving toward the ports and the remaining 48.9 per cent. represents the mobilization of the Regular Army and National Guard, and the intercamp movements.

To accomplish so vast an achievement required the use of approximately 70,413 sleeping-cars, 135,756 coaches, 16,285 baggage- and express-cars, and 23,075 freight-cars. The average number of men carried in each special troop-train was 421; the number of cars per train was 12.6 and an average rate of 19.8 miles per hour was maintained. Besides the 11,959 special troop-trains mentioned above it is estimated that 4576 special trains were required for drafted men. It was not found necessary, as in Europe, to utilize freight-cars for the transportation of troops; and in fact it was customary to furnish sleeping-cars in all journeys which extended over twenty-four hours. It was not always possible to do this, of course, but 2,671,074 men, about 30.6 per cent. of all troops moved, were handled in Pullman cars.⁷²

The work of the railroads of the United States in transporting the soldiers of the American army to the camps, from camp to camp, and finally to the ports of embarkation for service overseas, was not spectacular, nor did it receive as much attention as it deserved from the people of the country, for much of it was necessarily veiled in secrecy and the newspapers said very little about it. But it was splendidly done, nevertheless, and it was by no means the least factor in the ultimate success of the United States in the war. That the War Department so regarded it is shown by the fact that in March, 1919, it conferred the Distinguished Service Medal upon Mr. George Hodges, manager of the Troop Movement Section, for meritorious services in connection with the movement of troops in the United States.

ROSS H. MCLEAN.

⁷² *Annual Report of the Director General of Railroads* (1918), "Operations", pp. 46 ff.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE GERMAN INDEMNITY AND THE SOUTH

COMPARISONS are odious to the historian because events are so differently conditioned that it is difficult to set the camera to the same scale in any two cases. Comparisons between the generosity of the North in its treatment of the South after the Civil War, and the harshness of the Versailles Peace, are so often made, however, that it seems worth while to square the basis on which such a comparison should rest.

In the first place, according to very ingenious estimates recently worked out by my student, Mr. J. L. Sellers, the South expended for the war a proportion of its wealth about four times as great as that expended by the North. Secondly, the war was fought in the South, and the destruction of property was immense. Thirdly, such Southern property as had passed into the hands of the Confederate government, and it was large, including much of the cotton then selling at so high a price, passed into the hands of the Federal government. In these respects the South was much worse off relatively to its opponent than Germany at the close of the late war.

In addition, the defeat of the South inevitably entailed the overthrow of the southern industrial system. This was not a matter of the freeing of the slaves alone. That might theoretically have been accomplished without any disturbance of economic values, but practically was bound to be extremely costly. It actually involved, moreover, the practical overthrow of the plantation system of agriculture. Besides these changes which amounted to an industrial revolution, there was the repudiation of the Confederate currency, the Confederate debt, and the war debts of the states. This wiping out of property rights almost completely destroyed the financial relationships of the South, and made necessary the slow rise of a new economic leadership. Many of these changes were ultimately beneficial, but they meant that for fifty years the South was economically handicapped in ways that Germany has scarcely noticed.

It is from this base that comparable measures in the case of Germany and of the South are to be viewed; and here the comparison seems to escape notice because though the economic measures are comparable, the political conditions differ. Germany remains inde-

pendent, the South was reincorporated into the United States. The result is that an indemnity is used in the case of Germany, while the ordinary course of taxation brought from the South its share of the war compensation and cost incurred by the North. The South paid its full share of all the Northern war expenses, in so far as they had been met by loan—about four-fifths of the whole—and also its share of the \$20,000,000 direct tax. It paid its full share of the pensions for Union soldiers, the same being raised from the whole country and for the most part paid to residents of the North. In addition the voice of the South has, since the war, counted, until lately, almost nothing in determining the economic policies by which these taxes were to be raised and its industries fostered. I cannot at present estimate the weight of these contributions upon the South, as compared with the burdens exacted from Germany, but the burden was a heavy one.

The South received in return, aid in rebuilding its railroad system, and some relief for food shortage in 1865 and 1866. The army of occupation was paid for nationally, the South contributing only its share. The national administrative services kept certain things going, that might have failed utterly had the South been alone, and the maintenance of national credit was a distinct contribution.

The great difference in the two cases which was beneficial to the South was that political unity meant a free field for individual co-operation, and that Northern capital and mechanical skill helped the South, as foreign capital and skill are not apt to help Germany.

The reader is especially asked to notice that attention is here called to economic conditions purely, and that no attempt is made to apply standards of justice or legality to even these.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

A History of the Art of Writing. By WILLIAM A. MASON. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. ii, 502. \$5.00.)

THIS is a comprehensive, well written, interesting, profusely and admirably illustrated book. It covers the whole field of writing in sixteen chapters from Primitive Picture-Writing to the Age of Printing, discussing between these two the various systems of writing used by the North American Indians, the ancient Mexicans, the South Sea islanders, the Chinese, the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians and Assyrians, Hittites, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, that used in the Middle Ages, and the European alphabets derived from the Greek. It is a panorama of wide extent, and no man could dream of knowing all these multitudes of languages and scripts in an authoritative manner, or even being master of the vast bibliography of them. If these all were to be treated with the assured hand of a master the book could only be written by many men with a masterful editor to mold them into unity, and the book thus produced would run great risk of being unreadable by the unlearned, and this book produced by one mind is assuredly not that. Such a suppositious book would have to be reviewed by a number of men each possessed of technical knowledge in but a few languages. It would be interesting to submit this book to such an examination, but that would far exceed the judicious amount of space and attention which a journal of history could allot. I make not the slightest pretence of appraising the excellence of the chapters on the writing of the American Indians, the Mexicans, the South Sea islanders, the Chinese, or yet others, but have given a careful examination of the discussion of the Egyptian, the Cuneiform, the Hittite, and the Phoenician scripts where my own scientific studies have lain, and am sorry to have to admit that the conclusions are disappointing. These chapters, before publication, should have been submitted for advice and criticism to experts—the evidence for this is overwhelming, but only a part of it can here be set down. The fundamental fault of all these chapters is that the literature on which they are based is generally, though not quite universally, old and at times very old, far behind the present conclusions of philological and historical science. The best of these chapters is the one on the Egyptians, but that is deficient in only a less degree than the others. On p. 194 there is reproduced a plate of a part of the Rosetta inscription which comes from William Osbourn, *The Monumental History of Egypt*, vol. I., facing p. 168, and

Mason did not notice that the Greek for "writing" (γραφισιν) has been omitted. (See Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 326.) Osbourn's book was published in 1854, and should not have been used. The translation of the Central Park obelisk (Mason, pp. 197-199) leaves much to be desired, and for the centre line (Thotmes III.) Breasted's translation (*Ancient Records of Egypt*, II., 255) should have been used. On p. 210 it is said of Menes, "the mummy of this king . . . discovered at Thebes in 1897, now reposes in the Gizeh Museum in Constantinople". This is a confusion of inaccuracies; the king's mummy has not been found, but only a fragment of a vase with his name, and that was discovered at Thinis, where he was probably buried, and the Gizeh Museum is in Cairo, not in Constantinople. Far less acceptable is the chapter on Cuneiform Writing which abounds in errors, of which a few may here find mention. On p. 224, the reference 2 Kings xxv., should be 2 Kings xxiv. 14; p. 228, Medic should be Susian or Elamite; p. 230, "One branch of this Mongol race in Mesopotamia inhabited the northern part of the valley, called by them Akkad, 'the mountains', giving the name Akkadian to their language." This is quite wrong, though reminiscent of older views. The Akkadians were Semites. The inscription on p. 231 translated, "Nebuchadrezzar, eldest son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, restorer of the tower and of the pyramid I", should be rendered "Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, preserver of Esagila and Ezida, first-born son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon (am) I"; and the text on p. 233 translated, "Beltis, his lady, has caused Uruk, the pious chief, King of Hur, and King of the land of the Akkad, to build a temple to her", should be, "To Innina, his lady, Ur-engur, great man, King of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, built her temple". These errors are due to the use of antiquated authorities, for when Miller later in the same chapter uses Barton his results are better, only to slip again on p. 245, where the Sumerian inscription should be translated, "Ur-Nina, king of Lagash, son of Gunidu, the house of Girsu, has constructed". On p. 250, line 10 from bottom, "Babylon" should be "Sumer", and on p. 258 Sharganishar-ali is wrongly identified with Sargon; this was believed in 1907 when Clay wrote (*Light on O. T. from Babel*) but he is now known to be a different king. (See Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia*, p. 133, and compare Rogers, *Hist. of Babylonia*, II. 36 f.) The chapter on the Hittites needs much revision, the translations from the Assyrian on p. 272 are not satisfactory, and the reliance upon Conder (p. 285) as a decipherer is ill-placed. The chapter on the Phoenician alphabet leaves much to be desired. The Moabite Stone is well reproduced on p. 293 from Lidzbarski, but the transliteration of its opening lines (p. 294) contains a serious error. There is no such name as Kamoshmald, which is perhaps an accidental corruption of Kemosh-mlk, but the lacuna in the original after the word Kemosh is sufficient for only two letters, and Lidzbarski suggests that the word should be read Kemosh-kn, though many others would read

Kemosh-mlk. I have exceeded the reasonable limits of this notice, but the book seemed to deserve serious examination, and I have given it. I hope it may reach a second edition, and receive a rigorous revision to make it still more deserving of confidence.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

Le Travail dans la Grèce Ancienne: Histoire Économique de la Grèce depuis la Période Homérique jusqu'à la Conquête Romaine.
Par GUSTAVE GLOTZ, Professeur d'Histoire Grecque à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1920. Pp. 468. 12 fr.)

THIS is one of a projected twelve-volume series under the general editorship of Georges Renard of the Collège de France, which has set itself the ambitious task of presenting in fairly connected form a universal history of labor. Six of the volumes are already in print. The work assigned to Professor Glötz on Greek labor has been broadly conceived by him, and its result is much better expressed in his subtitle, "Economic History of Greece", than by the word "labor". This breadth of treatment is fortunate. Through it, all phases of Greek economic development, the professions, fishing industry, agriculture, free labor both skilled and unskilled, slave labor, manufacturing, the growth of state monopolies, transportation and marketing, tools and technical methods, appear in synthetic treatment in their essential interdependence. The entire economic sequence is well developed upon the background of the changing political conditions of the Greek world, in part motivating these political changes, less markedly reacted upon or determined by them.

The book is exceedingly well done, both in organization of material and in the charm and clarity of its style. Although planned, as the entire series seems to be, to appeal to the intelligent reading public of France, the work of Glötz will be used by professional scholars with gratitude to its author for filling a marked gap in their literature. It is because of the entirely scholarly character of the work that the consistent omission of all references to the ancient sources will be felt as an irritation by the academic clientèle which should, and necessarily will, use it. The conclusions as well as the facts are certainly based upon Glötz's own knowledge of the widely scattered original material, except in the Hellenistic period, where he depends upon the best secondary sources, Bouché-Leclercq, Wilcken, Preisigke, and others. The text is full of source-quotations which one should not be forced to look up by laborious thumbing.

The progress of Greek economic development is presented in four periods: the Homeric, archaic, Athenian, and Hellenistic. This division is justified by the author as corresponding to the increasing quantity and changing character of the sources available in these periods. The

term "archaic", generally accepted in the study of Greek sculpture, is badly chosen to designate the period of Greek colonization and trade expansion.

Glötz's analysis of the principles of work required in the economic field of ancient history is altogether admirable. The rigorous discipline against self-deception which he demands, against rationalizing from insufficient or inconclusive evidence, is the only method by which a sound knowledge of ancient economics can ever be reconstructed.

The absence from the bibliography of a number of fundamental books and articles shows that the secondary material upon the subject has not been entirely covered. The prevailing European attitude of neglect of American scholarship perhaps explains the omission of Ferguson's *Hellenistic Athens*, though Trever's dissertation upon Greek economic thought was used. Rostovtsev's article *Frumentum* in Pauly-Wissowa, and Weber's "Agrargeschichte" in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, as well as Reil's excellent dissertation on the trades in Hellenistic Egypt (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Gewerbes in Hellenistischem Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1913), might all have been used with profit by Glötz.

In his conclusion Glötz attempts to establish an inherent difference between ancient and modern economic and social conditions, based upon the ancient system of "manufacturing" with slave labor, as against the modern machine-factory system, which is not reconcilable with the system of slavery. This distinction, the fundamental character of which is certainly questionable, aligns Glötz against the views of Eduard Meyer as expressed in his *Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums* and his *Sklaverei im Altertum*.

I believe that Meyer's view is the sound one. Whatever be one's decision upon this point, Glötz certainly misunderstands or misrepresents Meyer's attitude when he classes him with Pöhlmann and his *Communismus und Socialismus*, and accuses them equally of establishing a Greek "proletariat", consciously voicing the demands of modern socialism (p. 456). There is no real foundation for such a criticism of Meyer, either in the two great monographs mentioned above, to which Glötz and all the rest of us are greatly indebted, or in his synthetic history. For Meyer's attitude toward Pöhlmann's work see his *Geschichte des Altertums*, V. 283: "in the title itself [Pöhlmann] gives expression to an historical point of view which I do not regard as applicable." After all, the war is over, and Meyer remains the greatest figure of his time in ancient historiography. The omission of his *Geschichte des Altertums* from Glötz's bibliography is, therefore, a strange one.

W. L. WESTERMANN.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Weltgeschichte in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. In Verbindung mit . . . herausgegeben von LUDO MORITZ HARTMANN. Band IV. *Das Mittelalter bis zum Ausgange der Kreuzzüge.* Von S. HELLMANN. (Gotha: F. A. Perthes A.-G. 1920. Pp. iii, 350. M. 24.)

BRIEF notice has already appeared in the *Review*¹ of Professor Hartmann's *Weltgeschichte*, composed by him and other German scholars, of which the fourth volume is now before us. Herr Hellmann's book begins with the foundations of the Frankish kingdom and ends with the death of Frederick II. The first section, of four chapters, carries Frankish history through the dissolution of Charlemagne's empire. There follows a section of five chapters concerned with the ascendancy of Germany and with the awakening of the Anglo-Saxons, of the Scandinavians, and of the Slavs to political life. The only unsatisfactory chapter in this section is the final one, on Islam and Byzantium previous to the Crusades, brief perhaps because these subjects have been dealt with in the preceding volume of the series. The last and most extended section, entitled "Das Zeitalter der Hierarchie", consists of nine chapters—on the social and economic aspects of the period, the Church and the papacy through the investiture struggle, the first Crusades, the new Capetian and Norman-Angevin monarchies, Frederick I. and Henry VI., the age of Innocent III. and Philip II., the advance of western Christian civilization against Moslem Spain and against the Byzantine world in the Fourth Crusade, Scandinavia and the folk on the eastern German border, and Frederick II. There is a general bibliography of sources and literature as well as a brief additional list preceding each chapter, and a chronological table of important events covering seventeen pages. There is no index.

The aim of the book, consistent with that of the series, as Professor Guiland has described it, is to disclose the great historic currents of world development. In this respect Hellmann's volume is in the main excellent. The directions of these currents are as admirably outlined in the general introduction, for the period as a whole, as in the shorter introductions which precede each of the three sections of the work. Clearly and definitely drawn, these pages, with the epilogue, constitute excellent interpretative historical passages. The inner meaning of the early Middle Ages is touched with a sure hand. Not only has the author succeeded here, but several of the chapters, amply supplied with detail as they are and must be, are written with a broad sweep; the opening chapter is a model of successful weaving of intricate pattern.

There are some obvious defects in the work. Panoramic *Weltge-*

¹ In Professor Antoine Guiland's article on "German Historical Publications, 1914-1920", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV. 641-642.

schichte naturally face the danger of superficiality. The writer has not entirely overcome this difficulty. The pages on economic developments are undoubtedly superficial, perhaps necessarily so. As for bibliography, the book makes no pretence to exhaustive lists (for example, the only source cited at the head of the chapter on the foundation of the Frankish kingdom is Gregory of Tours), but even when they are viewed merely as selected bibliographies there are questionable omissions. As an illustration, no work of this kind, containing many pages on English institutions, should fail to mention to readers whom it aims to direct to more intensive treatments the work of Stubbs, especially when the book is presumably meant for use outside of England. It is on the institutional side that the book is weakest: the bifurcated root of the immunity is not recognized (p. 26), the ecclesiastical influence in the development of the benefice is ignored (p. 33), although both institutions are supposedly fully discussed; the Anglo-Saxon ealdormen and Canute's earls are confused (p. 130); the feudal régime in the Crusaders' states in Syria is described from the Assizes of Jerusalem as of the early twelfth century (p. 217) although Dodu's *Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques* is listed in the bibliography of the chapter.

The defects last mentioned may be due in part to hasty writing and to a desire for quick publication without careful editing, since there are other evidences of this in very careless proof-reading. Unfortunately too, the press-work is in sad contrast to what we were wont to expect from German workmen. The war however has not biased the writer's attitude toward the commanding rôle of French civilization in the history of Europe in the Middle Ages.

E. H. B.

Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age. By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in Goucher College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 451. \$6.00.)

THE viking incursions into western and southwestern Europe began toward the close of the eighth century and continued for a period of nearly two hundred years. English writers have given us much information of a general sort about these invasions; but their accounts have little to offer concerning the social aspects of the movement—the ideas, the customs, the religious beliefs, and the political institutions which the vikings brought with them into the lands that they seized and occupied. Scandinavian scholars have, however, not allowed these fields to lie fallow. Alexander Bugge has described the social life and the economic activities of the viking period. Hjalmar Falk has discussed the methods of navigation and the art of warfare. Finnur Jónsson and Axel Olrik have studied the intellectual activities and the literary sources of the time. Oscar Montelius has described the material

civilization of the North in the early Middle Ages. Johannes Steenstrup has outlined the legal and political systems in the viking settlements. And there are many others whose studies, though less inclusive, have added materially to our knowledge of Scandinavian life in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The researches of these men have revealed a civilization which in many respects compares favorably with the culture of contemporary Christian Europe. Their conclusions have in part been made accessible to English and American readers in Gjerset's *History of the Norwegian People*; but for the larger field there is no other work quite so inclusive as Professor Mary W. Williams's volume on *Social Scandinavia*. Professor Williams begins her presentation with three introductory chapters on the land and the people, kinship and nationality, and social classes. She next describes the environment and traces the typical activities of the Northern people in the closing years of heathendom, from the day when the infant received his name to the later day when his kinsmen drank the grave-ale. As life in the Northern countries was quite largely rural, the greater part of the work deals with conditions and occupations on the medieval farmstead; but the author has added a fairly adequate account of town life and commercial methods. The public life of the age is discussed under the heads of government, systems of justice, and religious worship. The intellectual culture is described in a series of chapters dealing with language, literature, scientific knowledge, religion, superstition, and the runes.

Though Professor Williams's study has the appearance of being in large part a compilation, it is not wholly of that character. The author has evidently made an extensive study of the sources for the period, not only the laws and the sagas, but also the material remains of the age, in which the Northern countries are comparatively rich. She accepts Fridtjof Nansen's belief that the Finns of the saga period were not the ancestors of the modern Finns, but a primitive Aryan race, traces of which may still be found in Denmark and southwestern Norway; but she rejects Nansen's theory that this people was fundamentally Celtic. Certain topics, like marriage and divorce, the position of woman in heathen society, and superstitious beliefs, Miss Williams appears to have studied with particular care. Her general conclusion seems to be that, while the position of the gentler sex was not entirely ideal, it was more endurable than that of the Christian women in the lands beyond the sea. Though she admits that the sources show clear traces of the suttee, it is her opinion that the practice of burning widows had become practically obsolete long before the saga period. She believes that the same was true of wife-purchase: the terminology used is frankly commercial; but the bridegroom was apparently no longer purchasing the bride but the guardianship over the bride.

It can scarcely be said that Professor Williams has exhausted her theme; but an author has the right to impose limits, and the reviewer

has no fault to find with the plan. In places the proof-reader has failed to note errors; the foot-note references to Scandinavian titles should have been read with greater care. Thorberga (p. 115) should no doubt be Bergthora. The reviewer doubts very strongly that any Northern ship in the saga period ever carried as many as one thousand men (p. 253). The map showing the "towns and areas of Scandinavian influence" is useful for the location of towns, but the area of influence is somewhat overdrawn.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy. By CHARLES WENDELL DAVID, Associate Professor of European History in Bryn Mawr College. [Harvard Historical Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1920. Pp. xiv, 271. \$3.00.)

ROBERT CURTHOSE, the oldest son of William the Conqueror, is usually described as a kindly and generous but lazy and incompetent prince, one who possessed neither the capacity nor the energy demanded for the government of a turbulent province like the Norman duchy. This view apparently still holds. Duke Robert's latest biographer, Dr. C. W. David, makes no attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of the discredited prince; in fact after one has read Dr. David's account of Robert's career, one feels that earlier estimates of his character and abilities were probably too generous. Mr. E. A. Freeman, who did not love the Norman dynasty, was at least willing to grant that Duke Robert possessed real abilities as a warrior and a leader of armed men. Dr. David doubts the correctness of this estimate: "Robert was, so far as we know, never foremost in council; he was rarely foremost on the field of battle, and he showed no particular capacity for generalship" (p. 119).

It is doubtful whether the career of the "sleepy duke" is really worthy of an extended study. Dr. David's work finds its justification, however, in the fact that Duke Robert's reign covered a period of Norman history which can be most satisfactorily studied from the viewpoint of ducal policy. The two decades following the death of William the Conqueror were a period of much confusion, especially along the borders of the duchy, which confusion was in great measure due to the weak government of the careless duke. The author devotes the greater part of his work to these years. Duke Robert's struggle with the barons on the border, his loss of Maine, his difficulties with his more aggressive brothers, his effort to obtain the English crown, his loss of ducal authority and personal freedom—these and other related subjects are discussed with all the fullness of detail that the sources permit. Dr. David has included chapters dealing with Robert's career before he inherited the ducal coronet, with the part that he played in the First

Crusade, and with his long imprisonment after the disaster at Tinchebray; these, though of some interest and necessary to the completeness of the work as a biographical study, are of minor importance. The narrative closes with a chapter on "Robert Curthose in legend", in which the author follows his subject into the field of romance and shows how within a single generation the story of the duke's military achievements in the Orient had become overlaid with legendary growth.

Dr. David has added several useful appendixes, most of them dealing with problems relating to Duke Robert's participation in the First Crusade. Appendix A is devoted to a critical discussion of the sources, which, though somewhat brief, will be found of real value. Students of military history will be interested in Appendix F, in which the author reviews the controversy as to the tactics employed at Tinchebray; the conclusion is that Oman, though he exaggerates the importance of the infantry in this fight, is more nearly correct than most of his critics who have generally held that the battle of Tinchebray was chiefly a matter of cavalry warfare.

While Dr. David has not presented any new conclusions of startling importance, he has produced a volume which students of English and Norman history will find exceedingly useful. His researches have cleared up a number of controversies as to biographical and political details, and he has been able to correct the conclusions of earlier writers, like Freeman and Gaston Le Hardy, on many significant points. The result is that our knowledge of Norman affairs during the period covered is far more accurate and specific than it formerly was. The volume is carefully indexed and is provided with a map showing the principal places in England and Normandy referred to in the narrative. The reviewer is pleased to add that the work of the printer and the proof-reader seems to have been done with unusual care.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Ser Marco Polo: Notes and Addenda to Sir Henry Yule's Edition, containing the Results of Recent Research and Discovery. By HENRI CORDIER, D.Litt., Professor at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. x, 161. \$4.00.)

THE names of Henry Yule and Marco Polo will always remain inseparable in the minds of those who have the medieval geography of Asia and the study of the Mongol period on their hearts. Hardly any other medieval traveller has exerted such a profound influence on modern research, whether it be geography or cultural history, nor could he have been more lucky in finding so competent and sympathetic an interpreter as Yule. His edition of Polo, first published in 1870 (second ed., 1874; third ed., 1903, by H. Cordier), has become a classic and household book in the hands of all students interested in Asia; and

during twenty-five years of activity I do not know of any work that I have consulted and quoted more frequently than Yule's *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, which is an inexhaustible mine of information on almost all questions bearing on the history, geography, ethnography, and folklore of medieval Asia. Professor Henri Cordier, to whom we are indebted for a revised and largely increased edition of Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, has collected in this small volume of 162 pages additional information apt to shed light on Polo's observations or on Yule's comments, and either published in print after 1903 or contributed to him by his correspondents and collaborators directly. The volume thus presents a harvest mostly of brief notes and essays with reference to the third edition and arranged according to Polo's chapters. This book is easily readable only for those who know their Polo by heart, or who have closely followed the discussion of pending problems, and this small band of readers will doubtless peruse the volume with great pleasure and profit. Others will have to refer constantly to Yule's edition, and must first read up in order to appreciate the fresh evidence. There are no new contributions from the hand of the editor; the most valuable notes are from the pen of Sir Aurel Stein, chiefly concerning the route and topography of the Venetian. Sir Richard C. Temple has supplied a very interesting notice of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which gives a good summary of the present knowledge of the inhabitants. The reviewer has contributed twelve short articles, also the only illustration, which serves as the frontispiece, and which represents a Lo-han out of a Chinese series of Five Hundred Lo-han. Most readers will be at a loss to grasp the *raison d'être* of this illustration in the book, no explanation to this effect or a page-reference being added to the plate. It refers to the article on the alleged Marco Polo Lo-han of Canton (pp. 8-11).

The editor has given a few additions to Yule's bibliography, to the manuscripts of Polo's work, and to Polo literature. The proof-reading is not carefully done, and even whole words have occasionally dropped from a sentence. Nor does the editor discuss or decide contradictory opinions of his collaborators. Thus on pp. 69-70 two conflicting interpretations of the Mongol word *chinuchi* peacefully follow each other. In my opinion, that given by Pelliot is far-fetched and wrong; but how is the unsophisticated reader to decide for himself? The same difficulty is prominent in Cordier's third edition: the method adopted is simply to quote authorities in full and *verbatim*, and in many cases one statement flatly contradicts another. What will the editor of the fourth edition do? New materials will doubtless come to light during the next years; and if this method of mere citation, without an intelligent discussion of the problems, should be kept up, Yule's head will finally be buried under a mass of débris, and the commentary will no longer be intelligible or useful. It seems to me that the new editor should break

away from the past, fling the superfluous ballast overboard, retain only what is good, and present a co-ordinated essay in the place of a massed attack of bewildering notes.

B. LAUFER.

Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century. By HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 427; viii, 432. \$9.00.)

It is now almost a decade ago that Henry Osborn Taylor gave us *The Medieval Mind*, a work which, in a masterly manner, traced for us the gradual formation of the medieval spirit until it found the end of its development and proper issue of its genius, at the close of the thirteenth century, in the immortal *Divina Commedia*. There were many who looked forward to another book from the same pen that should have to do with the Renaissance; and so, when at last a new work by the same author was announced, and we learned that its chief purpose was to give an exposition of thought and expression in the sixteenth century, some of us wondered why the two intervening centuries had been ignored. Slighted they are, but not ignored. It would have been impossible to have overlooked them altogether even in a book that has for its purpose the presenting of a survey of only the sixteenth century. Even in the preface, the fifteenth century assumes its rightful place side by side with its immediate successor. "We shall treat the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries," says our author, "as a final and objective present." And what has he done with the fourteenth? "All that went before," he tells us, "will be regarded as a past which entered into them." Thus, evidently, he would date a new era from the close of the fourteenth century. But the attempt fails. The century of Petrarch and Boccaccio and Giotto refuses to be regarded as medieval. Its place as the first modern century quickly becomes evident. In the first pages of the book we find our author telling us that "Petrarch was a great inaugurator", that Boccaccio, in "looking to life" and "drawing from life", was not medieval, that "no man is medieval who goes straight to the life about him", and that the work of Giotto, "summing up the past's attainment" and "incorporating riches of its own", was "altogether a prefigurement of Italian painting in the *Cinquecento*".

The truth of the matter is that a new era began towards the close of the thirteenth century. More than once our author finds himself obliged to repeat that "emotionally as well as intellectually, the final *summa*, and a supreme expression, of the Middle Ages was the *Divina Commedia*". There is, of course, much that is medieval in Dante; but to summarize a period is to end it. Dante could not have been "the voice of ten silent centuries", as Carlyle said he was, had not the time permitted him to view the work of those centuries as being essentially completed. And so to the present writer it seems that it would have

been better had our author taken the fourteenth century more fully and formally into consideration. A full and frank acceptance of the three centuries of the Renaissance as a distinct and vital period in the human story might have had a decidedly beneficial effect upon the book.

The book attempts a survey of the Renaissance and the Reformation. In dealing with the first of these two movements it devotes two dozen chapters to the development of letters, literature, art, science, and philosophy; and eleven chapters are allotted to the Lutheran, Zwinglian, Calvinist, and Anglican theological revolts against Rome.

The chapters devoted to the humanists will be found useful and stimulating by every student of this period; but there is still need of a study that shall segregate and arrange for us the forward-looking thought of these men who, in addition to their attachment to the literature of the classical past, were so greatly interested in the life of their own time and place, and who so eagerly endeavored to peer into the future. The boldness of Lorenzo Valla's thought, for instance, is insufficiently indicated; and virtually to content oneself with saying that Luigi Pulci was "a genial and comic soul" is surely to miss the pregnant fact that his writings show us that men were coming to have faith only in themselves.

It is quite true that "painting became, and never ceased to be, the supreme expression of Italy", the medium through which "the Italian genius unfolded itself most completely". And so one wonders why only one of the thirty-five chapters is devoted to it, and why all Venetian painting has been dismissed undescribed with the rather peremptory statement that it "is better to look at, and surrender one's self to, than to read and write about". Our author understands Ghirlandajo far better than he comprehends Botticelli, a fact which, as we read on, we discover to be somewhat indicative of the character of the entire chapter; but many of his enthusiasms are justifiable and contagious, especially that for Leonardo. Here and there a slip is to be detected, as when he tells us that though the instincts of Michelangelo's "dynamic nature turned to the masculine rather than the feminine form" one may "stand astonished before the feminine figure of *Night* in the Medici Chapel". The statue, in the first place, is not in that temple of the lapidary's art, and never was, but in the austere and classical new sacristy which adjoins the chapel. And then, in the second place, though it is the figure of a woman, it has been given masculine characteristics; it is a nude female form treated in the male key. The fact that the great artist could never escape or conceal his passionate preference for the male form is very significant in any sympathetic approach to the study of his character and genius.

There are similar slips in the chapters that have to do with the theological revolts. Luther was a friar, not a monk. It is an error to declare that "assuredly the worship of the Virgin and the saints is

a Roman Catholic tenet". It is a practice of the members of that church to adore those persons, to entreat their intercession with God, but not to worship them. It is not altogether true to say that John Huss "drew his doctrines" from Wyclif. Huss was deeply indebted to the English reformer; but he was, at the same time, the heir of a long series of Bohemian reformers. Then there are a number of inaccurate statements concerning the sacrament of confession. Leo X., we are told, "proclaimed a 'plenary indulgence' offering sweeping benefits to purchasers". All the benefits that could possibly be conferred upon the purchasers are implied in the word "plenary". What our author probably means is that sweeping financial benefits were offered to the *sellers* of the indulgence. Then we are informed that the priest pronounces "absolution from eternal punishment". He does nothing of the kind. He absolves only from guilt. And when that is done it remains for the penitent to fulfill the punishment which his sins have incurred. "Righteousness through faith alone", it is declared, "would have been intangible" in the Middle Ages. Quite so. It is intangible to many to-day. The sufficiency of faith without works, a faith that cannot be acquired by any merit whatsoever on the part of the person concerned, a faith that comes to him solely as the gratuitous gift of another, will continue to remain intangible to many who believe themselves to be able and willing to reason accurately.

It is acknowledged that Calvin's "*post mortem* grip throttled liberal thought and studies in Geneva". The unfortunate Servetus felt the effects of that grip eleven years before the death of Calvin. The records of the city of Geneva show that within the space of sixty years, part of which is included in the lifetime of Calvin, one hundred and fifty wretches were burned at the stake for witchcraft, and that torture was an incident of almost all criminal trials. It is contended that in Geneva there was created by Calvin "a model church-state, in which the morals, beliefs and energies of the people were held at the pitch of efficiency". But again the evidence of the municipal records shows that at no other period was the immorality of the city fouler or more deeply seated than it was in the years in which our author asserts that Calvin's "direction of affairs promoted the welfare of the town". We are informed that Calvinism had similar beneficial effects in the colony of Massachusetts Bay. For the correction of this belief one may perhaps be permitted to prescribe a large dose of Brooks Adams's *The Emancipation of Massachusetts*.

The purpose in pointing out these errors, and in taking issue with these opinions, has been to indicate that the entire treatment of the several revolts from Rome is distinctly unsatisfactory. It is not as fully informed as it should be, it is not always based upon accurate and courageous thought, and it is not inspired by a forward-looking spirit.

The attitude towards the liberal groups and individuals of the sixteenth century is deplorable. Our author speaks of the Anabaptists as "various anarchistic sects . . . who were for throwing down the social structure altogether, and agreed in little beyond denying the validity of infant baptism and demanding adult immersion for the full cleansing of sin". It would be difficult, indeed, more completely to misrepresent a set of people in as many words. There is no mention of Sebastian Castellio, the apostle of tolerance, or of such liberal leaders as Lelio Socini, Caspar Schwenkfeld, and Sebastian Franck, men whose winged thoughts and kindly deeds fell in the fiery atmosphere of the time with the gratefulness of summer rain. Why? "The world", our author answers, "was not interested in liberalism and tolerance." But for many years the patient and careful research of scholars has been revealing to us how wide-spread was liberalism at that time, and also, alas, how wide-spread and determined were the efforts of orthodoxy of all kinds to exterminate it. And once more we come upon inconsistency in thought. Giordano Bruno, we are told, with "an imagination, constructive, rational, and fearless", brought "to sharp expression the master tendencies of his epoch". How then can it be that "the world was not interested in liberalism"?

One other defect, and we shall conclude. The Catholic Reaction, or whatever title one may prefer to give that movement, is entirely omitted. And without an exposition of the salient features of that movement how is it possible successfully to claim for the book a complete survey of the thought of the sixteenth century? Nor is there any reference to life and thought in the Scandinavian and Slavic lands.

This is not the book on the Renaissance and the Reformation for which the world waits, the book that shall do justice to the free and aspiring thought of the time, to the liberalism that suffered persecution at the hands of retrospective orthodoxy, whether of the ancient communion or the new ones. But it has many useful chapters and numerous helpful passages. When our author leaves the theologians and deals with the poets and painters and philosophers we find, almost invariably, something of an ampler ether, a diviner air. He is interested in humanity. He is a critic of life; and, with all the shortcomings we have not hesitated to expose, sense and sensibility have both contributed to make him an unusually catholic critic.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

La Pensée Italienne au XVI^e Siècle et le Courant Libertin. Par J.-ROGER CHARBONNEL, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1919. Pp. ix, A-UU, 720, lxxxiv. 20 fr.)

THE variety and multiplicity of Italian thought in the sixteenth century are well illustrated by this portly volume which deals with names and topics almost unknown to the general reader of works on the Italian

Renaissance. With the exception of some comparatively brief references to Ficino, Bembo, Castiglione, and Leo Hebraeus, there is scarcely anything in this book relating to the cultivated society of the courts of Italy in the sixteenth century—Ferrara, Urbino, Mantua, and Milan. The author's object is not to portray social usages, or the revival of interest in classical literature and art, but to trace the growth of philosophic thought in Italy from Plato, Aristotle, and Lucretius, through the Arabian philosophers, and to show the influence of Italy on France and the connection between Italian free-thought of the sixteenth century and French "libertinage" of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

The plan of the extensive work is as follows. In the first chapter the fact of Italian influence is established by numerous extracts from French writers citing or judging Italian authors, chiefly Machiavelli. The philosophical material at the disposal of Italian thinkers of the end of the fifteenth century is examined in the second chapter; while the third deals with the Paduan school of thought, the expounders of Aristotle and Averroes, and their popularizers. The fourth chapter is devoted wholly to the social and political "positivisme" of Machiavelli. Italian thinkers whose labors and speculations prepared the way for the modern conception of the universe are studied in the fifth chapter, and the sixth and final chapter treats of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century thinkers in France, England, and Germany, who continued the work of the Italian philosophers and were influenced by their speculations.

The names which bulk large in Charbonnel's work are, in Italy, Pomponazzi, Cremonini, Cardan, Vanini, Bruno, and Campanella; in France, Descartes, Bayle, Voltaire, and Fontenelle; in England, Bacon, Hobbes, and Berkeley; and in Germanic lands, Spinoza and Leibnitz. In the later reaction against free-thought Pascal and the German philosophers Jacobi, Schelling, and Hegel, are the prominent figures.

The story of the Italian thinkers is a tragic one. Two of them, Bruno and Vanini, met their death at the hands of the Inquisition, the former at Rome, the latter at Toulouse, and Campanella languished for twenty-seven years in a Neapolitan dungeon, for political reasons, it should be said.

This brief analysis gives little idea of the extraordinary richness of the materials collected by the author. He gives from his writers extensive extracts both in Italian and in Latin, "which", he says, "have seemed to us easily intelligible for a reader of average culture, who is anxious to control our statements". Some of these texts have been relegated to the appendix on account of their prolixity. The copious analyses and citations of the original sources enable even the reader to whom the field is new to follow the author and to verify his conclusions. A full bibliography and a sufficient index add to the value of a work which, on its scholarly side, leaves nothing to desire.

If it is permitted to criticize so masterly a work it would be in regard to its arrangement. The second chapter, the object of which is to establish the fact of Italian influence in France, seems too limited in its scope—dealing almost exclusively with Machiavelli—and might better have been incorporated in chapter IV., which is devoted wholly to that writer. Finally, it seems to the reviewer that the space devoted to this writer is, considering the general character of the philosophic thought discussed in the work, excessive. The social and political philosophy of Machiavelli, treated so extensively, seems somewhat out of harmony with the religious and moral character of the other Italian thinkers. The vitality and fascination of the Italian statesman are lasting; just the other day there appeared at Barcelona the first Catalan translation of *Il Principe*, by Señor Pin y Soler, in the introduction to which stress is laid, and rightly, we believe, on Machiavelli's humanism and patriotism. In this connection it is interesting to note the only reference to the Great War in Charbonnel's book. It occurs on p. 435, where Machiavelli's voice is said to echo still in certain pages of Nietzsche and Treitschke, "but with a more imperious tone and a more cynical arrogance".

T. F. CRANE.

The Life of Sir John Leake, Rear-Admiral of Great Britain. By STEPHEN MARTIN-LEAKE, Garter King of Arms. Edited by GEOFFREY CALLENDER. In two volumes. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vols. LII. and LIII.] (London: Navy Records Society. 1920. Pp. clxii, 333; x, 490. 42 sh.)

A STUDY of Admiral Leake's life will help to remove two current historical misconceptions; that England's naval supremacy was definitely and irrevocably established in 1588, and that she gained a vast empire in a "fit of absent-mindedness", for this biography shows that her navy passed through a most critical period under William III. and Anne, during which the acquisition of Gibraltar and Minorca were the result not of accident but of design. Under the Stuarts the navy declined, but it was not until after the destruction of the Smyrna fleet (1693) that William adopted a Mediterranean policy, the effect of which was scarcely visible until the next war, although Marlborough and the king were aware of its possibilities.

In accepting the will of the King of Spain (1700) Louis XIV. threatened England's commercial interests. If there were no longer any Pyrenees, France would monopolize the coveted Spanish-American trade. Moreover, she would control the littoral from Toulon almost to the Rhine mouth, and Antwerp might soon rival London. William wished to attack the Spanish colonies, but the Allies championed Archduke Charles's claims to Spain, which made the Mediterranean the main sphere for naval operations. Lisbon was impracticable as a naval base,

and Gibraltar, when captured, proved inadequate, although a strategic gain. Marlborough appreciated this and insisted on the capture of Minorca as a permanent base for annoying France. In executing these plans, Leake was particularly important. He was not only largely responsible for relieving Londonderry and pursuing the French at La Hogue, but for capturing both Gibraltar and Minorca. In each instance, as well as in saving Gibraltar, he was tactful and industrious, although his merits, like those of his colleague, Rooke, were then little appreciated.

Stephen Martin-Leake, son of Captain Stephen Martin, printed, in 1750, a life of his uncle, but the edition was limited to fifty-one copies, and has long been practically inaccessible. The Navy Records Society thus rendered historical students a service by editing this work with an introduction and explanatory notes. It supplements their recent editions of the life of Captain Martin, also by Martin-Leake, and Rooke's *Journal*. Of the three the life of Leake is the most important, raising the questions of Marlborough's influence and insight, Peterborough's achievements, and the honor of capturing Gibraltar, Barcelona, and Minorca. Martin-Leake insisted that his uncle was mainly instrumental in capturing these places, and that neither Rooke, Peterborough, nor Stanhope could take away his laurels. His account is obviously biased, but founded on abundant source-materials left by the admiral, much of which he printed. The treatment is marred by an ignorance of the technical side of naval affairs and by atrocious English.

New light is cast upon Queen Anne's relations with the Pretender and the pope. She became highly incensed because she was informed that the pope had assisted the Pretender's expedition against England, so she demanded a large indemnity on pain of bombarding Civit  Vecchia. Fortunately Leake's attack on Minorca prevented his executing the threat. Finally, it is strikingly evident that the navy's activity as a fighting machine was greatly limited by the necessity of furnishing convoys for merchantmen.

Mr. Callender of the Royal Naval College at Osborne, and the author of several able books and articles on naval affairs, has written a valuable introduction, although he displays a great deal of passion and prolixity, which does not characterize his earlier works. In turn, he berates Admiral Churchill, who probably deserved it; his brother, Marlborough, who has been all too much reviled already; Stanhope, and above all, Peterborough. All merit harsh criticism, but it would have been more efficacious, if less heated and sarcastic.

WILLIAM T. MORGAN.

Les Id es Politiques en France au XVIII  Si cle. Par HENRI S E.
(Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1920. Pp. 264. 12 fr.)

"THE work of the political writers of the eighteenth century, as a whole," writes M. S e, "consisted essentially in the destruction of the

conception of absolute authority, in the elaboration of the principle of the rights of man, in the proclamation of the emancipation of human personality"; his volume is a demonstration of this thesis. The survey begins with the latter days of Louis XIV., with the writings of Fénelon and Saint-Simon, and ends with the brochures of 1788 and 1789. The influence of English literature and English institutions on French thought, the views of d'Argenson, Montesquieu, and Voltaire—the liberal school of the first half of the century—the ideas of Rousseau, of Diderot, of Helvetius, and d'Holbach, in the second half, and of Mably and Condorcet, at the end of the century, all these are passed in rapid review, the exposition of their ideas strengthened by a wealth of well-chosen extracts from their writings. A short chapter is also devoted to the Physiocrats. From the beginning to the end of the century there is a pronounced hostility to despotic government and privilege, and toward the end a marked growth of republican sentiment, strongly influenced by the American Revolution. Here, for the first time, the ideas of the philosophers had abandoned the domain of speculation and had been applied to reality. "It was, then, natural that they should acquire in the land of their origin a much greater power of propaganda." On reading the brochures of 1789, it is noteworthy that nothing is left of the old absolutist conception of the state; the ideas of the philosophers have prevailed. "The state no longer represents the king, but the nation." Montesquieu and English institutions were less in favor than they had been in the first half of the century; the idea of the separation of the powers of government had displaced the English idea of checks. Democratic doctrine had made great progress and the influence of Rousseau was very marked at the outbreak of the revolution. "One was preoccupied less with creating a constitutional monarchy than with establishing a régime that would permit the nation to manifest its will and to exercise its rights. The principle of national sovereignty began to dominate men's minds. . . . If the men of '89 were not the servile disciples of the thinkers of the eighteenth century, if they showed themselves above all things occupied with present circumstances, they were, none the less, imbued with the philosophical doctrines. . . . One may not say," concludes M. Sée, "that the ideas of the eighteenth century directly provoked the French Revolution, but they acted powerfully upon the mind of the generation that accomplished the greatest transformation known to history."

The value of M. Sée's volume is not found in the presentation of fresh information concerning the writers passed in review, or concerning the influence of England and America on France. The novelty of his work is found in the synthesis, and even the connoisseurs of the period may read it with profit, because of the skilful manner in which he groups the political criticism of the age, shows its chief characteristics and changes, and relates it all to the literature of 1789. The book

is not the work of a novice. M. Sée has to his credit valuable studies on Diderot, Fénelon, Voltaire, and Saint-Simon, the first dating back to 1897. The volume will be extremely valuable to one wishing to be *orientiert* on the eighteenth century and very suggestive in the way of topics for further investigation, such as the influence of the American Revolution on French thought and the influence of the ideas of the eighteenth-century writers on the brochures of 1788 and 1789, subjects that were simply touched upon by M. Sée.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Dupleix et l'Inde Française, 1722-1741. Par ALFRED MARTINEAU, Ancien Gouverneur des Établissements Français dans l'Inde. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1920. Pp. xi, 534.)

THERE has been for some time a growing interest in the life of Dupleix and a rapidly increasing knowledge of the subject. Until about 1880 the information regarding that great figure of eighteenth-century colonial history was relatively scanty and derived in large part from his opponents the English. Aside from the life of Cultru, the decade 1881-1891, however, saw the appearance of no less than five works concerning him: Hamont's *Dupleix d'après sa Correspondance Inédite*, Castonnet's two volumes on his "expeditions and his projects" and on his fall, Dehaisnes's *Notes Biographiques et Historiques*, and Malleson's well-known *Life in the Rulers of India* series. Thereafter there was a long period of relative silence, broken only by Guenin's *Dupleix*, in 1908, the Marquis de Nozelle's monograph on Dupleix's defense of Pondicherry (1909), and the subsidiary volumes of the memoirs of Dupleix's native secretary or factor (*dubash*) Ananda Ranga Pillai, "the Indian Pepys", a too little known work of great interest. Now suddenly and almost simultaneously appear two considerable works, Mr. Dodwell's *Dupleix and Clive*, in English, and M. Martineau's *Dupleix et l'Inde Française, 1722-1741*.

Of these the latter is at once more extensive—for this is but the first of three volumes promised—and the most informative, if not the most scholarly, which has yet appeared. As the work of the director of the ministry of the colonies, and former governor of the French establishments in India, it commands special attention, not only from the unusual qualifications of its author to treat such a subject, but from his unusual opportunities for securing material for such a work. The idea of writing this book, he tells us, came to him during a visit to Pondicherry, and though he disclaims any ambition to produce a study "définitive et sans appel", it is apparent that if his design is carried to completion, as we may venture to hope it will be, it will provide certainly the most comprehensive and minute account of the great French empire-builder which has yet appeared.

The present volume covers the little known period from Dupleix's

birth to his accession as governor in 1742. In its composition the author has utilized the six volumes of Dupleix correspondence in the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the Arsenal, the letters between the superior council in Pondicherry and the council of Chandernagore, both in manuscript, with much like first-hand material published and unpublished—though, oddly enough, so far as the present reviewer has been able to note, Pillai's diary seems to have escaped his attention or at least his reference. That material he has woven into a narrative, interspersed with letters, reports, and documents of various kinds, introduced by an account of India and the Company before 1725 and followed by various appendixes. His chapters cover the "origins" of Dupleix and his life to his nomination for a post at Chandernagore, an account of that factory and its relationships, his private affairs, European commerce with India, Indian commerce, the "comptoirs", the "affair of the rupees", the "affair of the Jesuits", and the volume ends with his marriage. It need scarcely be said, in view of this table of contents, that the present volume contains a mass of information, of wide range and great importance. The information is, indeed, so great that it will probably not be easy for a reader unacquainted with the story in its various ramifications to follow the thread of Dupleix himself amid his various interests and his far-reaching relations. Yet the story is there, and in this great warehouse of facts it is evident that we have not merely a life of Dupleix but a fund of information regarding the India of his day which will throw new light upon the whole episode of Anglo-French relations if, as seems probable, the two succeeding volumes bear out the promise of the first. And for that we cannot be too grateful.

W. C. ABBOTT.

The Early English Cotton Industry, with some Unpublished Letters of Samuel Crompton. By GEORGE W. DANIELS, M.A., Senior Lecturer in Economics in the University of Manchester, with an Introductory Chapter by GEORGE UNWIN, M.A., Professor of Economic History in the University of Manchester. (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xxxi, 214. 8 s. 6d.)

MR. DANIELS in this little book has added somewhat to our knowledge of the beginnings of the English cotton manufacture as that history has come down to us through the writings of Baines, Guest, Radcliffe, Chapman, and others. Such new information as he furnishes comes mainly through his use of recently discovered account-books and letter-books of a large Manchester firm whose origin dates from the eighteenth century. The records of this firm which have been utilized by the author cover the years 1795 to 1835, and among its correspondence are some original letters of Samuel Crompton which relate to his invention

of the spinning-frame known to this day as the "mule". Mr. Daniels has published these letters as one chapter of his book.

The more important points presented by the author are probably the following: (1) The cotton industry had been organized on a capitalistic basis long before it had passed into the factory stage. (2) The manufacture of goods composed, at least in part, of cotton dates back to at least the beginning of the seventeenth century, and was most probably introduced into England by the Flemish immigrants who settled in Lancashire in the latter half of the sixteenth century. (3) Contrary to the usual statements, the manufacture of all-cotton goods had begun in England before the introduction of machinery. (4) While the industry was still in the domestic stage, the spinners and weavers were not, as has generally been supposed, independent producers, nor were most of them, Mr. Daniels believes, engaged part of their time in agriculture, but were cottagers who carried on no other activities and were financed by master clothiers who gave out the work and paid the worker for his work when the product was returned to them. (5) The workers in some branches of the cotton manufacture were organized into trade unions at least as early as the middle of the eighteenth century. Such a combination was dealt with by Lord Mansfield in 1759. (6) The change from the domestic to the factory system in the cotton manufacture called for no great change in the economic relationship of the employing and the employed classes. (7) The anti-machine riots of the latter part of the eighteenth century, which led to the destruction of the Hargreaves and Arkwright spinning machines, were not due to the effects of the introduction of the machines upon the position of the operatives, although the operatives thought their distress was caused by the machines. It was, in reality, caused by the wars and the hampering of trade expansion which resulted. (8) From the very beginning of the cotton manufacture, "a continuous development can be traced in all directions. Even the inventions of the jenny and the water-frame, when viewed in their right relations, are seen as the outcome of efforts extending over more than thirty years preceding their appearance, and come as something expected, rather than as something sudden and unique" (p. 145). (9) The opposition to the patents granted to Hargreaves and Arkwright came from men who wished to use the machines without complying with the rights which the patents conferred. Crompton's mule was not patented and its inventor never received adequate remuneration for his services, but, owing to his lack of business ability, he probably would not have benefitted much by any sum of money granted him in any other form than that of a pension.

Professor Unwin's introduction traces the relations between the Lancashire cotton industry and the development of the textile industries in Europe during medieval and early modern times.

M. B. HAMMOND.

Der Preussische Verfassungskampf vor Hundert Jahren. Von Dr. PAUL HAAKE, Professor an der Universität Berlin. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1921. Pp. vii, 126. M. 12.)

THE publication of this monograph is worth comment irrespective of its real merits. It appears in a series similar to the prize essays of our own Historical Association but at the risk of a private publisher. Is there any other land so economically exhausted where a publisher would continue to put out such historical monographs? The second point is that the author has thought it timely to make a synthesis of his previous special studies of an historical period in which consistent effort and popular demand brought Prussia to the verge of popular representation and modern political institutions.

For the period covered (1806-1823) and the theme chosen, the rise and fall of the idea of a central representative legislature for all Prussia, it is the best survey in print. This excellence arises from the inclusion of the neglected eight years from 1815 to 1823. For the earlier period it owes much in interpretation and treatment to Meinecke, whose brilliant and suggestive survey is nowhere reached by Professor Haake's heavy style. His selection of essential facts is excellent throughout.

The struggle for a constitution, chiefly a national assembly, is divided into three periods—is there anything the historical mind doesn't divide by three? The first period closes with the fall of Stein in November, 1808, and the passing of Frederick William III.'s momentary and unreal acquiescence in a plan for national representation. The second phase, which, as a period, is a subjective product of the author's mind and is really a part of the first, runs through the Wars of Liberation. The battle seems to him to have a more extended front and to exhibit definite groups, comparable to real parties.

The third and last phase includes the years 1815 to 1823 and ends in the decision to recall or establish eight provincial diets along old lines. This was a defeat for Hardenberg and the liberals, and attested the dominance of the feudal party over any attempt to modernize the political central government of Prussia. It is in the survey of this third period that the author makes his real contribution.

The key to the whole situation was Frederick William III. The author is clear on this, and it is refreshing to have this narrow-minded, timid, and essentially reactionary sovereign characterized without any of the restraint that even his most hostile German critics have hitherto exercised. Given such a sovereign with full power to grant or withhold a charter, and the outcome of any movement for liberalism was foredoomed. Only as dire necessity grasped him by the throat could any reformer, whether his name were Stein, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, Boyen, or Humboldt extract a reluctant consent from Frederick William III. Even his subordination to Alexander I. during the latter's lustrum of liberalism was unnatural. It is not difficult for the author to show

that all hope of a real representative body for Prussia was dead before the Teplitz conference in 1819.

Nevertheless the author, who is a defender of Hardenberg, makes the battle between the chancellor and the reactionaries led by Ancillon, Karl of Mecklenburg, Marwitz, Wittgenstein, Albrecht, and Knessebeck seem a very real one, in which Humboldt, who had much the same aims as Hardenberg, really gave the Brutus stab.

In the failure of Frederick William III. to follow the modestly liberal policy of Hardenberg after 1815, and by such timely concessions to set the feet of the Hohenzollern monarchy on the path to modern government, Professor Haake finds the answer to the question as to why the Hohenzollerns no longer rule. Possibly; but without offering a defense of Frederick William III., there is much before and after him that goes to the explanation of such a downfall.

G. S. FORD.

A History of the Chartist Movement. By JULIUS WEST, with an Introductory Memoir by J. C. SQUIRE. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920. Pp. xii, 316. \$4.00.)

THE most valuable contribution of this book to historical literature is that it indicates a state of mind. Studies in the early origins of labor or working-class movements are, at the present time, as fashionable in certain circles as were researches in early Christian lore some few decades ago. The last ten years have witnessed the publication of no less than seven scholarly studies on Chartism, one in German, one in French, and five in English. Of this book it may be said that its principal differentiation from the earlier volumes lies in this fact: it attaches to this abortive protest and muddle-headed revolt even more significance than do its predecessors.

To the late Mr. West, Chartism "made possible (indirectly) the renascent trade-union movement of the fifties, the gradually improving condition of the working classes, the Labour Party, the co-operative movement and whatever greater triumphs labour will enjoy in the future". In consequence, to him, the roster of the names of delegates at the Chartist Convention becomes by implication as important as that of the signers of the Constitution of the United States, and the minutiae of the agricultural experiments of Feargus O'Connor take on as much interest as the diplomacy of the Congress of Vienna.

The reviewer has no right to quarrel with this point of view. He may, however, call attention to this fact: Chartism as a subject for historical research has been overworked. The three doctoral dissertations of Columbia University in 1916, and Hovell's *Chartism*, published in 1918, have covered this particular field fairly well, and he to whom political and industrial democracy still disclose the path toward the Golden Age might well turn his attention to many of the other phases of the labor movement as yet but partially studied.

It is an unfortunate fact that Mr. West was in ignorance of the superb history of Chartism about to be completed by Mr. Hovell until his own book was nearly finished. Had he known of the work of his fellow historian, so abruptly terminated by death in the service of his country, he would doubtless have pursued his researches in a somewhat different direction, much to the enrichment of scholarship and to the furthering of a more complete understanding of industrial and social history. A clearing house for historical scholarship along the lines attempted by M. Solvay of Brussels is most urgently needed if mistakes of this character are to be prevented in the future.

A History of the Chartist Movement approaches its subject with a view at once broader and at the same time, to the mind of the reviewer, less sound than the approach of Lieutenant Hovell. Mr. West's introductory emphasis is political, that of his fellow historian economic; he begins his history in 1776 with an account of the agitation for parliamentary reform headed by Major Cartwright. Chartism to him is but one phase, possibly the culminating one, of the radicalism of the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, and he skilfully orientates it as such. This, I believe, is largely an illusion. Mr. Roebuck and Major Cartwright were neither socially nor intellectually in the same strata with O'Connor and O'Brien. Their motivation was essentially middle-class, even if they did hold radical views *in re* suffrage reform; and the nexus between Chartism and the new economics, as emphasized by Mr. Hovell, was far closer than that between it and philosophic radicalism.

Both Mr. Hovell and Mr. West have toiled arduously and to good purpose through the great Place manuscript collection in the British Museum. For the convenience of other British historians who contemplate that task it is well to note that the London collection is incomplete, several volumes of the Place collection being in the private library of Professor E. R. A. Seligman of New York. Mr. West has also added still further to our knowledge of the career of Richard Oastler as a Chartist agitator, and admirers of the fearless yet childlike and misguided friend of the English factory children are in his debt for so doing. It is to be hoped that some day a biography of Oastler may appear, and there still remain for the historian, untouched and apparently unknown, in an obscure corner of the British Museum, the incomplete files of his little magazine *The Throne, the Altar, and the Cottage*. Oastler was a Chartist, it is true; but Chartism, I think, may more justly be considered as a side-eddy of the larger and more catholic interests which he and his friends held at heart than as the centre and heart of the tide moving toward social justice and a genuine democracy.

WALTER PHELPS HALL.

The English Reform Bill of 1867. By JOSEPH H. PARK, Ph.D.
[Columbia University Studies, vol. XCIIL., no. 1.] (New York:
Longmans, Green and Company. 1920. Pp. 285. \$3.00.)

DR. PARK has chosen as the subject of his monograph one of the distinctly dramatic moments in the constitutional history of England, when in Robert Lowe's phrase "the bag of the winds was untied", and in Carlyle's, England "shot Niagara". But the dramatic possibilities of the story are here studiously ignored. Many extracts from speeches are quoted, but none that are even tinged with purple, not even Gladstone's famous "You cannot fight against the future" peroration. The author has chosen rather to set forth the facts soberly, clearly, and accurately, and this he has done well, so well that the book is not only informing but interesting in spite of its deliberate restraint.

The main points of the story of Gladstone's failure of 1866 and of Disraeli's triumph of 1867 have been already told, notably by Monypenny and Buckle in the fourth volume of their recent life of Disraeli. But Dr. Park's study undoubtedly gives us a richer and safer store of information by which we may satisfy ourselves as to the great issues of the Bill. Did the events of the sixties in Italy and America hasten the concession of votes to the working-classes in England and make that concession inevitable? Were events and forces in England moving towards such a consummation regardless of democratic successes elsewhere? Was the Bill only the outcome of party battles, the jousts of politicians playing for power, or were there fundamental reasons why it should come in 1867? Should we give Disraeli the credit for it, or were Gladstone and John Bright the real authors? Was it a conscious step towards democracy?

These questions indicate the plan of the book. They are not always answered in any final way, for an absolute answer is not always possible. The chapters on the working-classes in the sixties and on the popular attitude towards reform illustrate admirably the familiar generalization that not distress alone but distress following prosperity means a storm, and show very clearly why parliamentary reform was regarded with indifference in the early sixties, with passionate insistence in 1867. Though the author quotes with apparent approval Morley's statement that "the Italian revolution of 1860 gave new vitality to the popular side in England" and Trevelyan's that "if democracy triumphed in America, nothing could long delay its advent over here", he gives ample reason for believing that the real causes for the extension of the franchise must be sought in Britain and in Britain alone. And whatever partisans might charge at the time, no one, with this book before him, is likely now to assert that the measure was one of pure party expediency, brought in and carried in order to "dish the Whigs". Equally convincing is Dr. Park's argument for Disraeli's consistency. No one, perhaps, who had read *Coningsby* and *Sybil* needed any argu-

ment, but on the face of it the great Jew's opposition to Gladstone's bill of 1866 and his advocacy of a more radical reform only a year later has seemed to many pure political opportunism, and those who hold such a view will find interest and profit in this admirable analysis of the facts in the case.

We have therefore no criticism of the book to offer. It is not epoch-making; it does not propose any novel point of view or conclusion; it makes no pretence to originality or eloquence. But it is a careful, workmanlike narrative of a great moment in the history of modern democracy, and we are glad to have it.

CECIL FAIRFIELD LAVELL.

Bismarck's Auswärtige Politik nach der Reichsgründung. Von HANS PLEHN. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1920. Pp. xii, 381. M. 32.)

THE special study here undertaken has wanted doing, increasingly, for the past ten years. The amount of widely scattered material bearing on the subject has increased beyond the scope of the two or three chapters devoted to it in the usual biography of Bismarck or more general history of the period; the problems involved require treatment at close range and in some detail. Plehn's point of view is far from that of an unprejudiced observer. The son of an East Prussian landlord, for some years a functionary of the Agrarian League, finally a suicide following the German Revolution—the influence of his own political convictions is only too evident in his estimate of Bismarck's work. The writer's last years before the war were spent as a newspaper correspondent in London; and his *Deutsche Weltpolitik und kein Krieg*, published anonymously in 1913, advocated the abandonment of Germany's forward policy in the Near East in favor of co-operation with Great Britain in Africa. The reaction of these associations and opinions upon his treatment of Bismarck's policy is also evident enough. His familiarity with English sources is especially marked. It is worthy of note, however, that no trace is to be found in this book of the theory developed since the writer's death, that an English alliance was one of the primary objects of Bismarck's diplomacy. The *Daily Telegraph* article in 1912, relating the approaches of 1878 and 1887, seems to have escaped his notice.

Bismarck's policy is interpreted, throughout, along the traditional lines marked out by the Chancellor himself. His complete disinterestedness in the Eastern Question and his impartial fairness to Russia and Austria are reasserted without qualification. No attempt is made to reconcile this theory of motives with the admission (p. 136) that Bismarck used all his efforts to isolate Russia at the Congress of Berlin, while cultivating support for Austria, and the statement (p. 302), regarding the combination which checked Russia in 1887, that "Bismarck

hat dieser Entente . . . wohl Geburtshilfe geleistet". Bismarck's policy toward France is treated as purely and consistently one of an alert defensive; and the wrong side of his frequently contradictory remarks concerning "preventive wars" is simply ignored. The War Scare of 1875 reappears as a groundless conspiracy against the Chancellor—an appearance kept up by pulling several events out of their temporal context. Through similar treatment the crisis of January and February, 1887, is dispersed into thin air. The latter years are treated in general too slightly in proportion to the scope of the book and the amount of material available; while the guiding thread of Bismarck's own policy is often lost in the discussion of other factors in the situation.

Many of the book's defects are common to all works on the subject completed before the important revelations of the last two years. There are a few omissions of earlier sources of information, which need not be enumerated, as the present importance of the chief of them has been greatly reduced by Pribram's authoritative work on the secret treaties of Austria-Hungary. The Russian side of things is remarkably well brought out, considering the fact that no sources in the Russian language have been employed. Despite its inconclusiveness, Plehn's book commands attention as a well-ordered synthesis of scattering materials on the largest scale yet attempted. The employment of recent disclosures in support of orthodox interpretations is not the least interesting feature of the work. Many such special studies, approached from many angles and incorporating the new material as it appears, will be necessary before a mature and balanced statement of the case can be evolved.

J. V. FULLER.

Lebenserinnerungen und Politische Denkwürdigkeiten. Von Botschaftsrat a. D. HERMANN Freiherrn v. ECKARDSTEIN. In two volumes. (Leipzig: Paul List. 1919. Pp. 324; 440. M. 34.)

In Germany during and since the World War there has been much searching of hearts as well as searching of records to determine the causes of her unpopularity among the nations and the reasons why so many of them ended by combining against her. There has naturally been wide divergence of opinion. The first impulse has been the usual one, to condemn the statesmen and diplomats who have been responsible for the foreign policy their country has pursued. But here a line must be drawn; it is still not the fashion to question the wisdom and skill of Bismarck. The errors of the ways of Germany are taken as beginning with about the year 1890, even if it is admitted that Bismarck's policy of balancing between Russia and England was too complicated to be kept up indefinitely by anyone but a genius like himself. But whose fault was it that Russia and France came together, and at a later date France and England, and then, most astonishing of all, England and

Russia, whereas Germany at the hour of trial was deserted by her allies, Italy and Rumania? Some of these things were perhaps inevitable but surely not all.

When we come to the question of just what blunders were committed, we find in the main two schools of opinion. There are those who believe with Reventlow and Tirpitz that the worst mistakes the statesmen of the German Empire made were their failure in 1890 to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia, and their inability to perceive that the real rival of the future was England. The only sound policy was the one which Prussia had followed throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, that of intimate relations with her eastern neighbor, with whom she had much in common and no really conflicting interests. All that was needed was conciliation as well as firmness and a friendly attitude towards Russia in questions that did not affect Germany. Friendship with England, on the other hand, besides estranging Russia, was a delusion and a snare in itself, owing to the jealousy of German progress felt by the British and to their determination to brook no equal on the sea.

Another school of German writers take what we might call the Lichnowsky point of view, which is exactly the opposite of the above. They maintain that Russia was the inevitable foe and menace to Germany but that Great Britain was the obvious and proper friend. They say that there was no fundamental cause for difficulties between the two and that most of those which actually occurred were the fault of German policy. Baron von Eckardstein is a champion of this school, in truth his work has furnished a whole arsenal of weapons for those who support it. Whether one agrees with his thesis or not, the information he offers is both interesting and important.

Eckardstein's first volume is devoted to his early experiences in the army and in the diplomatic service. These are entertaining though not extraordinary, and some of the anecdotes have value. The notable part of his book begins with his transfer to the German embassy in London. During a twelve years' stay in England he was in a position to see and hear a great deal of what went on behind the scenes, especially when, owing to the prolonged ill health of his chief, Count Hatzfeldt, he was practically in charge of the embassy, even if one sometimes suspects this was a little less often than he would like us to think. He was also in close correspondence with Holstein, with whom he fell out only toward the end of his own career. In addition, he seems to have been at home in the highest English political and fashionable society, indeed he married an English woman. He was thus in a position to be well informed and we now get the results of his information, including several original documents. They must be painful reading for any German, if for no other reason from the circumstance that while Eckardstein continually defends and praises the British statesmen with whom he had to deal, he has few good words for the foreign policy of his own

country and for the men who conducted it. In particular the emperor and Holstein come in for savage and repeated criticism. Eckardstein's whole tone is that of a public servant disappointed and embittered by failure, who believes that his country has been ruined by the blind folly of those who shaped its destinies.

But however much we may question the fairness of his views and justly accuse him of not taking into account all the difficulties of the situation, there is no denying that the facts he gives us are important, not to say startling, though some of them need controlling from other sources.¹ His main thesis is that whereas Bismarck several times, notably in 1878 and in 1887, made direct overtures to England for an alliance and was unable to bring one about, it was England at a later date that was anxious for the alliance and according to Eckardstein, in 1895, 1898, 1899, and repeatedly in 1901, suggested a treaty of the sort, and it was Germany that then refused to give ear. Much of what he has to tell in this connection is totally new or has only been recently suspected even by students. One of the most amazing tales is the proposal of Lord Salisbury in 1895 that the Ottoman Empire should be divided between England, Germany, and Austria. The history of the later English offers is also full of interest. Had they been accepted it might have changed the fate of Germany and of the world. We note among other things the eagerness of the British government as late as the autumn of 1901 to sign an agreement to check the designs of France on Morocco. But the Wilhelmstrasse believed that what the English wanted was for Germany to pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them, in Africa as regarded the French, and in Asia as regarded the Russians. It did not believe that an entente between England and either France or Russia was within the bounds of practical possibility. Holstein was emphatic on this point. We can now understand better than ever before the wrath and discomfiture of the German Foreign Office when in 1904 France and England did come together and England handed over to France this self-same Morocco which a couple of years earlier she had been so anxious to keep her out of. The German reply was the visit of the emperor to Tangier and the Morocco crisis, but by this time Eckardstein had resigned in disgust his position in London and had returned to his own country. His book, which has already given rise to lively controversy, will long be referred to as an authority on the momentous events of which it treats.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

Fünfzig Jahre Reichsdienst: Lebenserinnerungen. Von OTTMAR VON MOHL, Preussischem Kammerherrn und Wirklichem Geheimen Rat. (Leipzig: Paul List. 1920. Pp. 318. M. 30, bound.)

GERMAN bureaucracy could hardly produce a better exponent than

¹ In certain cases this has already happened. Cf. review of Hammann's first two volumes in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1920 (XXV. 718-719).

the modest and dignified author of this book. Von Mohl's half-century of experience was varied and characteristic, if not of great political or diplomatic importance. He claims to have been the first South German to enter the "Reichsdienst". Well connected in the intellectual and political circles of Baden, he began his service in the diplomatic corps of the North German Confederation, at Munich, just before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war. From 1871 until 1873 he was in the imperial consular service, first at New York and then for a few months at Singapore. Thence he was called to Berlin to receive appointment as a private secretary of the Empress Augusta. Six years of intimate contact with court life provided interest but no prospects for a career, so von Mohl re-entered the consular service and was stationed at Cincinnati from 1879 to 1885, and at Petersburg until 1887. From Russia he went to Tokio, where he assisted in the reorganization of the imperial Japanese household. Returning to Berlin in 1889, he served in one of the personnel bureaus of the Foreign Office, which he left to assume his last station (1897-1914) in Cairo as member of the Egyptian National Debt Commission.

Aside from the picturesqueness of these different scenes and the occasional intimacy with the "great" which they afford, von Mohl has related very little of importance. An endless succession of comings and goings of notables and their gatherings for the celebration of birthdays and other historic anniversaries comprises the bulk of the book. The presentation, as the author states in his brief preface, is that of a journal or enlarged diary consecrated to the glorious days of William I. Devoted to the memory of this period in which he faithfully and discreetly performed his duty, von Mohl rarely ventures into comment or criticism—a pattern of bureaucratic loyalty. Such digressions as he vouchsafes are free, on the whole, from the influence of war-bitterness. His memories of America are charitable, although he does mention the contrast between the genial Yale student, a neighbor of Ohio days, and the present German-hating (*sic*) Mr. Taft. And in lamenting the dispersion of the art treasures of the Hermitage, he notes that, through the hands of Jewish middlemen, they may soon be seen in the Metropolitan Museum. Sadly, also, he contrasts the little, old, Hanoverian widow whom he visited with the Empress Augusta at Windsor, with her descendants who have forsaken her very name.

Perhaps the most illuminating portion of the book is his account of his Japanese service, which he has described more fully in another book, *Am Japanischen Hofe* (Berlin, 1904). He ventures the opinion that Germany's influence, carefully and very successfully developed in Japan until 1894, was utterly destroyed in a day by the rashness of the "new course" of William II. It is obvious, in fact, that despite the cordiality with which the last of Hohenzollern monarchs received von Mohl on his return from the Far East, the latter was not captivated. His book concludes, indeed, with the reflection that the downfall of the empire is due

to the emperor's unnecessary rashness, his aggressiveness, and his ambition to play the *arbiter mundi*. It is possible that von Mohl derives some comfort in accounting for William's false course from the thought that it was England, her greatness, her sea-power—nay, even her princess—who inspired the imagination of the young kaiser.

LAURENCE BRADFORD PACKARD.

Dalmatia and the Yugoslav Movement. By Count LOUIS VOINOVITCH, with a Preface by Sir ARTHUR EVANS, LL.D., F.R.S. With Ethnographical Map. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. 320. \$3.00.)

THIS book, by the hand of a native Dalmatian, was written singly and solely to the end of proving that for upwards of a thousand years Dalmatia has been essentially and overwhelmingly a land of Slavs. So convincingly does the author conduct his argument that the reader finds himself wondering how the thesis of the Italian nationalists to the effect that the eastern shore of the Adriatic is integral soil of Italy ever succeeded in winning adherents. And truth to say it has, even in Italy, never had the support of others than the Hotspurs of imperialism, camouflaged as sorrowing or indignant irredentists, and even these swear by the untenable doctrine only because like all victims of the imperialist dementia they live on a diet of delusions. Coolly and objectively considered the Italian claim, such as it is, rests on two historical incidents. The first is the Roman conquest which, effected in the days of Augustus, was some six hundred years later, in the period of the Great Migrations, reduced to an indistinguishable dust-heap, stirred now and again by a vague memory. The migrations brought the Slavs to the Adriatic coast and gave Dalmatia the racial character which it has retained to this day. A second penetration of the coast with Italic influences occurred when Venice rose to greatness. But though this republic of merchant oligarchs maintained a political control over Dalmatia for about four centuries and conferred many indubitable cultural benefits on the inhabitants, it neither made nor did it so much as try to make them over inwardly or outwardly into Italians. When in 1797 Venice, obedient to the command of Bonaparte, ceased to be, again much as in the case of Rome, there was left, after a brief space, no other reminder of Venetian supremacy than a handful of splendid monuments together with a few rich and tender memories. With these memories some fifteen to twenty thousand Dalmatians, who largely as officials had been in intimate contact with the Venetian overlords, became so thoroughly identified that even after Venetian rule had disappeared, they continued to cultivate Italian speech and came quite naturally in the course of time to look upon themselves as sons of the Italian mother. Constituting no more than three per cent. of the total population, these converted Italians present the only palpable basis of an Italian nationalist claim. At no

time, it is interesting to note, did a stream of Italian immigration set toward the eastern coast. The much contested Fiume, as not technically included in Dalmatia, is not considered in this book.

That the author is a controversialist, given at times to excessive and indefensible emphasis, is sufficiently comprehensible in view of the fact that he is engaged in defending his home-land against what seems to him a brazen plan of conquest. In the main, however, he appeals to history, unfolding a picture of the racial and political vicissitudes of Dalmatia since the days of the Illyrians. More than half of his material is devoted to the nationalist movement of the nineteenth century, during which time Dalmatia was a province under Hapsburg rule and came into its Jugo-Slav consciousness. This is the most important part of the volume, since the earlier phases of Dalmatian history, often significant and always picturesque, are treated too superficially to have justice done them.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Italy and the Jugoslavs. By EDWARD JAMES WOODHOUSE, of the Department of History and Government in Smith College, and CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE, of the Department of Economics and Sociology in Smith College. (Boston: Richard G. Badger. 1920. Pp. 394. \$3.00.)

LAUDABLE as the intention of the authors is "to improve the quality of American thinking on international questions and especially on the Adriatic problem", it is to be feared that their success will not prove startling and that their failure to win the attention which their cause deserves will not be due solely to the fact that the American public, as all signs indicate, has committed itself to a total suspension of thought on any and all matters lying beyond its immediate dooryard. Although elaborated, as must be frankly conceded, with much painstaking care from published treaties, ministerial speeches, editorial opinion, and war propaganda, the book lacks the large pattern which a reader with a sense of unity demands, and which besides supplies convincing evidence of a writer's complete mastery of his material. In so far as there is manifested in this volume anything resembling a governing principle, it is the idea of nationalism; and it is from the summit of this idea that the Adriatic situation, over which two hostile nationalisms have come to grips, is examined with, on the whole, a notable detachment and a praiseworthy effort to yield the floor in turn to the chosen spokesmen of both Italy and Jugo-Slavia. If at the close of the debate the reader is left with the distinct impression that the Italians have high-handedly attempted to profiteer from the victory of the allies and that Jugo-Slavia has by far the better cause and has maintained it also with greater moderation, he is shrewdly made to feel that the conclusion is his own rather than the authors', and that in substance it is no more than a

logical deduction from the facts. However, the question must be raised if it is historically permissible to examine the Adriatic problem from the single angle of the nationalist friction between Italians and South Slavs. Very evidently the Adriatic has tremendous implications for all central and southeastern Europe, and though some of these are broached, rather accidentally than by design, on more than one occasion, it is indubitable that if the historian desires to view the Adriatic in its deep and significant perspective, he must resolutely rise above the rancors of a cantankerous nationalist debate. In this failure to be just to the full European scope of the problem lies the main defect of the book. To be sure, the authors disclose themselves as internationalists, of the type of President Wilson, but none the less they seem to hope from the application of nationalism pure and simple a peaceful and equitable settlement of Europe. If such a delusion was, while the war lasted, as intelligible as it was universal, it no longer possesses the slightest justification in the light of the economic paralysis and moral disintegration which have attended the nationalist rearrangement of vast sections of central and eastern Europe. Though a force of grave import which no state will ignore except at its peril, nationalism is no panacea. Again, however, let it be said that, considered solely as the presentation of a narrow nationalist issue between neighbors, the book is rich in information judiciously organized. The treaty of London of April, 1915, cast for the rôle of villain, slips darkly in and out of the pages, and in order that we may judge for ourselves of the evil bred in its bone, we get it at last *in toto* by way of appendix. Added thereto and hardly less welcome because affording a glimpse of that amazing phenomenon, the official mind, are the memoranda with which the South Slavs and Italians attempted to justify their respective claims before the Peace Conference.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

The Evolution of Sinn Fein. By R. M. HENRY, M.A., Queen's University, Belfast. (New York: B. W. Huebsch. 1920. Pp. 318. \$2.00.)

UNTIL recently there was not available for the general reader much information about Sinn Fein. Down to the time of the Dublin Rebellion in 1916 the various year-books and encyclopedias either made no mention of it or passed it by with the merest allusion. Actually the movement had attracted little attention outside of certain circles in Ireland, and students striving now to investigate its earlier history will not find much about it in the more important contemporary publications of the British Isles. It was only after the events of the Easter Rebellion and the attempted establishment of an Irish republic that books about Sinn Fein began to appear. The scholarly studies of Wells and Marlowe (1917-1918) and the reviewer's *Ireland and England* (1919) contained

something. There was a detailed brief account in H. M. Pim's article in the *Nineteenth Century* (1919), and in the same year appeared P. S. O'Hogarty's *Sinn Fein*. Now comes Professor Henry's volume, which, while it leaves not a little to be desired, is the best thing so far on the subject.

The volume treats briefly of the general background of Irish history, Irish nationalism, Sinn Fein as the manifestation of Irish nationalism at present, the early years and development of Sinn Fein, its connection with Irish republicanism—much the best and most original part of the book—its connection with the Volunteer Movement, also excellent, its relations with the Ulster Unionists, and with the Nationalist movement for Home Rule which was led by the late John Redmond, the development and influence of Sinn Fein from the beginning of the Great War to the Rebellion in 1916, and its immensely increased power and swift rise to predominance since then. The book is pleasantly written, but the writing has neither power nor distinction. This American edition is well printed. The book has no index.

This volume affords the fullest account of Sinn Fein so far given. It is the particular merit of the book that the author quotes frequently and extensively from the writings and speeches of Sinn Fein leaders, a source of primary importance. These writings are for the most part collected from the files of the extreme nationalist periodicals of the last two decades, papers which had but a limited circulation in Ireland and are now not easily seen by scholars outside of that country. The author's spirit is generally fair, and his strictures often restrained, though for the later period, with which his book is mostly concerned, and with things of which he was himself a part, he writes for his cause with increasing fervor, he can see little good in anything that Great Britain has recently done with respect to his country, and Mr. Lloyd George appears only as a skilful trickster.

The author descends somewhat to the level of the Irish and Irish-American propagandists in this country when he asserts that the Act of Union was not acceptable to the Catholics in 1800 (p. 14), that Irish emigration in the second half of the nineteenth century resulted solely from the famine and the clearances (p. 23), that disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and the first Land Act were merely concessions to the Fenian movement (p. 36), that Parnell is remembered now chiefly for saying "No man can set bounds to the march of a nation" (p. 39), and that Ireland has been overtaxed $2\frac{3}{4}$ million pounds sterling a year (p. 47).

In the opinion of the reviewer it is a principal defect of the book that it gives so little information concerning the organization, the structure, and the working of the Society of Sinn Fein, precisely the point concerning which we most lack information at present. The author does not sufficiently describe Sinn Fein as one of the manifestations of that

growth of nationalism which so marked the past two generations, and he largely fails to explain its present extraordinary development and success as in part the result of the mighty unrest and ferment of ideas brought on by the war. Bolshevism, Sinn Fein, utopianism, high idealism, labor radicalism, and many novel theories, all of them to some extent have arisen from one source, and all of them are probably waning now with the slow return of more normal times.

RAYMOND TURNER.

Margot Asquith, an Autobiography. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1920. Two volumes. Pp. viii, 266; 282. \$7.50.)

THIS is not a very important book historically, but it is better than the best novel to any student of English politics. Columns have been given up to censuring Mrs. Asquith for violations of good taste, even to gloating over her indiscretions. To the reviewer, who must in advance confess himself an Asquithian in politics, it seems that much of the resentment against the book can be explained by the political bitter-nesses of the last five years before the war. When the landowning class in Britain set out to punish a woman for her husband's political attack upon their interests, when the rage at his Irish policy was taken out in slights upon her, it is hardly surprising that London scribblers, who, still as in the eighteenth century, take many cues from the great world of society, were ready to pounce upon her. A great deal has been made of a few passages that might well have been left out. Most of them indeed seem to have been omitted in this edition, printed in America. But when one takes into account Mrs. Asquith's knowledge of the dinner-table side of English politics and when one holds in mind her purpose to be entirely frank and sincere—are we not all a little weary of the false modesty of many recent biographies, *e.g.*, of Morley's—one can only say that she has been fairly discreet. She has said—at least in this edition—few unpleasant things and those mostly about people now beyond the reach of hurt. She has said only the best of her husband's rival, Harcourt, only the best of his opponent, Joseph Chamberlain. Of both much else might have been said; that, Mrs. Asquith knew very well.

The book is rambling and confused. We pass abruptly from the nineties to the late teens of the twentieth century and then back again. There is no unity, and even the good stories, of which there are many, are inserted anywhere. Discerning men, as Jowett and Morley, told the young Margot that, an she would, she could write, a favorite form of flattery of young women by older men. But save for now and then a good idiom or fortunate phrase, save for the rapid and affecting narrative of her sister Laura's illness and death, and for the judicious estimate of Balfour, there is little evidence of literary talent.

In appraising the book we must always remember that it is not the story of her life but of her "glorious youth". A youth so glorious deserves record. There are only incidental, if many, references to her life since marriage. Life since then has been hardly less interesting, but a much more solemn affair, and in writing this book she has, as it were, been reviewing her youth. The little triumphs at dinners, the compliments of dukes and princes, the light conquests, are all told with naïve eagerness, told as if a very young woman were telling her mother, but told without pose, with entire sincerity, and with a frankness that should disarm.

The historian will read the book for its light upon London society of the eighties and nineties and will find occasional explanations of politics and a few glimpses at great figures. We know more about Jowett of Balliol, a little more about Morley, we understand a little better the social setting of the Liberal Party. Mrs. Asquith says that the story of the "Souls" deserves telling, but she has told little enough of it. Too bad, too, that the character-sketch of Gladstone which she showed to the Master of Balliol, the sketch of that great figure whom she knew so intimately and loved so much, she could not have trusted to her readers. Her reticences are more interesting than her indiscretions. Her conversation with Lord Salisbury, who foresaw 1911 so clearly, is worth more than all the pages about Peter Flower. She had the chance of a Lady Holland, but she has never been at heart a political woman; rather a woman of passionate loyalties and infinite capacity for friendships, who listened to politics because it was all around her, but who was really absorbed in people, in good-looking and great people perhaps more especially, and in their ways. She would fain be a Liberal yet she belongs to the old order, even when she befriends a crossing-sweeper, or ventures into east London, or visits a dangerous woman in jail.

It is to be hoped that the elaborate diary from which these chapters are but excerpts and summaries, will be published, say in 1950. Historians will be grateful for it.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

International Law and the World War. By JAMES WILFORD GARNER, Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois. In two volumes. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xviii, 524; xii, 534. \$24.00.)

THESE two volumes are intended primarily for the use of lawyers and others especially interested in international law. They make it possible readily to discover what has been decided by the tribunals, and to ascertain the manner in which the principles have been applied to the international incidents of the war.

The traditions and the economic interests which sometimes determine the views of the respective governments are not considered, nor does

Professor Garner attempt to compare the situation of the World War with that other great war period of a century ago, in which we find so many analogies to the present. The student of diplomatic and political history would have been interested to learn in how far the extraordinary disregard of the recognized rights of neutrality which we have witnessed was due to the disappearance of any body of neutral states considerable enough to enforce respect of those rights. Both of these titanic conflicts engulfed almost all the neutral powers, and reduced the two opposing groups to the régime of unrestricted belligerence in which the primordial laws of war and of retaliation overrode the neutral rights of those states that were either too indifferent to international justice to intervene in the conflict, or in too weak and precarious a position to justify it.

But the author does furnish us with what the reviewer believes to be the only comprehensive legal history of the cases in which international law rights were violated or vindicated during the four years of the war. A great mass of material has been carefully digested and classified, and supplied with numerous bibliographical and critical notes. After a brief introductory chapter on the Status of International Law at the Outbreak of the War, the incidents have been gathered into thirty-five chapters arranged in logical sequence, without any division into parts or books further than that which results necessarily from the apportionment into volumes. In the absence of this elaboration, we might, perhaps, have been warranted in expecting a more complete index, but we should be grateful for the valuable bibliographical list of material which has appeared since the outbreak of the war.

Among the many questions discussed, we note the treatment of the inhabitants of the occupied lands, Belgium, France, etc. (chaps. XII., XIII.), the imposition of collective fines (chap. XXVI.), the deportation of civilians (Lille) (chap. XXVII.), the execution of Edith Cavell (II. 97-105), submarine warfare on merchant vessels (chaps. XV., XVI.), including the Fryatt case (I. 407 f.), the premeditated and reiterated destruction of hospital ships by German submarines (chap. XX., pp. 505 f.), and aerial warfare (chap. XIX.). Even the general reader will be interested in Professor Garner's account of these international cases which have been discussed in every country by all kinds and conditions of men during the course of the war.

In a work of this kind, it is of prime importance to consider the impartiality of the treatment, especially when the author is a loyal citizen of one of the states actively participating in the war. Professor Garner preserves throughout a calm, judicial language suited to the formulation of judicial criticism, but he confesses in his preface that the effect of blockades and censorship has been to render inaccessible to him important sources of information, and after the United States became a belligerent, he remarks, not even technical or scientific publications were admitted from any of the enemy countries. "In consequence

of this", Professor Garner adds, "the German defense to many charges made against them for violating the law was not always known to me, or was only known through newspaper dispatches from neutral countries. Nevertheless, the views of the German jurists on all questions of international law, the rules of which the Germans were charged with disregarding, were so distorted and colored by partisanship that it may be doubted whether their inaccessibility was a loss of any real consequence, and I may add that Professor Oppenheim shared with me this view as to the untrustworthiness of German authority" (preface, pp. vii.-viii.)

We seem to feel in some places a reticence about entering into an outspoken discussion of certain incidents which have aroused national passions. For example, in the discussion of the execution of Edith Cavell, Professor Garner brings out clearly the unjustifiable and utterly shameless manner in which the victim was denied every semblance of a fair trial, and executed without any grounds to justify a procedure so summary and a shrift so short. We must all agree with the author that the act was as impolitic as it was abusive. It is appropriately compared to Napoleon's execution of a poor bookseller, and Professor Garner aptly applies Carlyle's comment to Miss Cavell's case:

I am not sure but he had better have lost his best park of artillery, or had his best regiment drowned in the sea, than shot that poor German bookseller, Palm. It was palpable, murderous injustice which no man, let him paint an inch thick, could make out to be other. It burnt deep into the hearts of men, it and the like of it; suppressed fire flashed in the eyes of men as they thought of it, waiting their day, which day came (II. 105).

Nevertheless, we cannot quite feel that the juridical aspects of the Cavell case have been adequately considered until the author shall have indicated more clearly some criterion whereby it may be decided whether a government is justified in executing even a woman who, yielding to patriotic and humane sentiments, uses her position of trust as a hospital nurse, clandestinely to engage in acts injurious to the military interests of the occupying power.

Again, in the case of the seizure of the Dutch ships by the United States and Great Britain, we note the same hesitancy in the author's conclusion of his account, when he writes: "It would seem that if the right of requisition is allowable at all under international law, the manner in which it was exercised by the United States and Great Britain in this case was not objectionable" (I. 176). After all, the evident purpose of this work is to set forth the decisions and the opposing views with some brief and appropriate reference to circumstances which are likely to influence the final verdict. Professor Garner is probably wise in not attempting for the present to formulate final conclusions, but his volumes will facilitate the task when it is undertaken.

In his penultimate chapter (XXXVII.), Professor Garner discusses the effect of the war on international law, and writes:

In the first place, the war demonstrated in a striking manner that many of the rules which had been agreed upon by the body of States for the conduct of war were inadequate, illogical, or inapplicable to the somewhat peculiar and novel conditions under which they had to be applied during the late war. In the second place, the war brought out the fact that the existing rules did not by any means cover the whole field; that they were wholly silent in regard to the employment of various agencies and instrumentalities for waging war, and that they did not deal at all with certain conditions and circumstances which were unforeseen at the time the rules were formulated (II. 452).

These statements are sweeping, and it may be questioned whether the rules were really so much at fault as were those who were responsible for their enforcement. Again, it may be asked whether rules of neutrality which presuppose a preponderance of neutral states are workable when the greater part of the world is divided into two hostile camps.

A concluding chapter deals with the Enforcement of International Law, and the Outlook for the Future, and in this connection Professor Garner discusses the punishment of the ex-Kaiser and others who are accused of having violated the law of nations.

In regard to the question of sanctions, "it hardly seems possible", in the opinion of the author,

that international law can ever be made effective in the sense in which municipal law is effective. Nevertheless, there would seem to be several ways by which its binding force can be materially strengthened and its value as a body of law enhanced. In the first place, as stated above, the body of law itself must be reconstructed and elaborated, and to this end there should be provided a more efficacious machinery for making international law and for revising it, from time to time, as changing conditions require. In the second place, an effort should be made to establish an international organization with appropriate agencies for enforcing its prescriptions. Third, provision should be made for the compulsory investigation of international disputes of a political character and the compulsory arbitration of those of a justiciable character. Finally, there should be an agreement among the powers to employ their moral and economic, and if necessary their armed, strength to compel disputing nations to have recourse, except in cases of self-defence, to the one or the other of these expedients, depending on the nature of the controversy. In short, the making of war, except in case of self-defence, should be declared illegal and the disputants should be restrained by the joint action of the body of States from attacking each other and thereby disturbing the general peace, until they have made a sincere attempt to settle their disputes by conciliation or arbitration (II. 465-466).

We shall leave it to the technical reviews devoted to international law and jurisprudence to draw attention to the few omissions and necessary corrections, which must necessarily be found in an original investigation of such magnitude.

It is a matter of surprise and congratulation that a work so broad in scope, so fair in purpose and so thorough in detail, has been brought to completion almost as soon as the termination of the war to which it relates.

ELLERY C. STOWELL.

Mémoires du Général Galliéni: Défense de Paris, 25 Août-11 Septembre 1914. (Paris: Payot et Cie. 1920. Pp. 271. 16 fr.)

THIS book is published by the family of the late General Galliéni. The prefatory note explains that it was completed in June, 1915, and laid aside for publication after the war. Thus, while other volumes of memoirs have appeared before it, none can claim so early a date, and this may be regarded as the earliest, rather than the latest, treatment of what may be called the Joffre-Galliéni controversy.

The general's introduction outlines his activities as commander of the Fifth Army just before the war, especially his studies on the probable form of a German offensive. His conclusion, based upon map manoeuvres, was that the attack would come through Belgium, and his official recommendations were shaped accordingly. This was, of course, a familiar idea to all French military men; but in view of the somewhat exaggerated expressions of surprise after the event it is interesting to see that it had been unreservedly accepted by the commander of the Fifth, or left flank, Army.

On his retirement in April, 1914, he was designated as second in command of the Armies of the East, in case of war; and on August 2 he was placed on duty as such. On August 26, however, he was made military governor of the entrenched camp of Paris.

The book describes vividly the weakness of the defenses, and the measures taken to strengthen them. It also emphasizes the weight attached by General Galliéni to making the defense mobile, and the effort made by him to secure the necessary mobile troops. Of course, he was unable to secure all he wanted, for they were too urgently needed elsewhere, but he did collect enough to make a good striking force.

The high lights of the book are those parts dealing with the assumption of the offensive by the Paris garrison. The writer insists that it was General Joffre's fixed intention to continue his withdrawal behind the Seine and the Yonne, there to remain on the defensive until the armies could be reinforced; that Galliéni was the first to propose the offensive against the German flank and rear; and that it was only gradually and with difficulty that Joffre was won to this point of view. He gives a vivid description of the operations, and cites in full numerous documents tending to substantiate his contention. The discussion is, of course, the brief of an advocate, but is conspicuously well done.

The famous taxicab incident comes in for notice, and assumes here its true perspective. It was not a fundamental element in the operation,

as has been popularly represented, but merely an expedient for the movement of a specific body of reinforcements—the infantry of a single division. It was new in that the cabs were used for a large troop movement at a distance, and it attracted attention because many of them were seized on the public streets; but commercial motor vehicles had been taken over long before, both by the French and by the British. Galliéni himself had been thus using taxicabs within the entrenched camp ever since August 29.

As illustrating the feeling in official circles as to the defense of Paris, the author describes his visit to the American ambassador on September 3, and gives a reproduction of the poster which the ambassador had already printed, in good French and fair German, for the protection of the property of American citizens.

Considerable space is devoted to the relations of the Paris force with the British; these seem to have been entirely pleasant, but the opinion is clearly expressed that Marshal French did not act with the proper energy.

One peculiar discrepancy in documents is noted, which might justify inquiry. One of Galliéni's despatches mentions the line Coulommiers—Changis as that proposed for the British. Changis is a tiny hamlet southeast of Meaux, south of the Marne, which does not appear upon the 1/200,000 map. The British reply describes the line as Coulommiers—Charny; the latter place is west of Meaux, north of the Marne. Since the British made no effort to reach either line, probably no damage was done, but as a matter of the technique of orders it is an interesting small point.

All in all, the book is extremely attractive, and is a valuable contribution to knowledge of a delicate controversial point.

OLIVER L. SPAULDING, JR.

Seaborne Trade. Volume I. *The Cruiser Period*. By C. ERNEST FAYLE. [History of the Great War based on Official Documents, by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defense.] (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xvii, 442. \$7.50.)

SIR JULIAN CORBETT, historian in charge of the British Naval Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defense, begins the preface to the first volume of his *Naval Operations* with the following words:

On June 28, 1916, the Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith) announced in Parliament that "In view of the demand which is likely to arise and the desirability of providing the public with an authentic account, it has been decided to prepare for publication, as soon as possible after the close of the war, an Official History dealing with its various aspects." The present volume is the first instalment of the promised work.

But, although the British Historical Section was not established in its present form until two years after the outbreak of the World War (to

give it the official title recognized by the American Army and Navy), nevertheless it had been in existence, for the study of the Russian-Japanese War and other purposes, since 1907. As early as January, 1915, the Committee of Imperial Defense approved the appointment of Sir Julian Corbett and Captain C. T. Atkinson "to collect and collate all naval and military matters respectively for the ultimate compilation of an official history". Under Sir Julian Corbett were placed three trained historians, including Mr. Archibald Hurd, as well as four research assistants and a staff of clerks. It will thus be seen that an efficient historical organization was already available when the commission to write the official history of the Great War (as it is officially called in Great Britain) was given to Sir Julian.

The impulse is irresistible to compare this generous and far-sighted policy of the British government with the provision made for our own Naval Historical Section in money and personnel, the only trained historical writers now available being reserve officers ordered to the duty of collecting and collating naval material with a view to publication, no appropriation having been made at all for historians, all the small sum appropriated, \$20,000, being expended on the salaries of the clerks necessary.

Sir Julian Corbett's arrangement of the publications of the British Naval Historical Section is logical and comprehensive. Besides his own great work on the purely naval operations of the war, which he hopes to complete in four or five volumes, the first of which has just appeared, two other histories are projected, namely, the book under present discussion, and Mr. Archibald Hurd's *The Merchant Navy*, both of which will be in several volumes. All three of these works are both general and specific in character. In other words they abound in details and yet do not shrink from drawing historical conclusions that more timid authors might rather leave to the judgment of ripened years. That their judgments are considered to be only their own is proved however by the notice printed at the beginning of each work, to the effect that "The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have given the author access to official documents in the preparation of this work, but they are in no way responsible for his reading or presentation of the facts as stated."

Mr. Fayle's book differs in character somewhat from the other two in that it deals, not with the achievements of the Royal Navy and the merchant service, but with the results of those achievements. It will be completed in three volumes, of which the present one, *The Cruiser Period*, covers the time from the outbreak of the war to about the end of January, 1915, roughly corresponding to the period treated of in the first volumes of Sir Julian Corbett and Mr. Hurd. It consists chiefly of a description of the far-reaching preparations made throughout the maritime world to safeguard British shipping, and of the spectacular and devastating activities of the German commerce-destroyers up to the time when they were all sunk, driven ashore, captured, or interned.

It is difficult to preserve a judicial moderation in speaking of this work, which is about everything that a book of the kind ought to be, and must remain for a very long time the chief authority upon all matters connected with the keeping open of the world's water-ways for seaborne trade, not only of Britain but of her allies and of neutrals. It would seem to merit the compliment of much more space than the reviewer has at his command, and yet such is the high quality of the book and its vast importance as a contribution to history, that it really suffices to say that it is absolutely indispensable, not only to the historian but to all who care to appreciate fully the essential factors in the greatest of all wars, particularly those connected with the economic development of the struggle. No one can read it without having impressed upon him once again the overwhelming importance of seaborne trade, of the merchant marine in fact, to any country bordering upon the ocean, both as a source of riches and as a decisive factor in national defense.

Mr. Fayle's style, exact yet spirited, is well suited to a work of this kind, in which graphic descriptions of the exploits of the *Emden* or the *Karlsruhe* alternate with clear expositions of trade situations and tonnage problems.

A small but excellent appendix gives tables of shipping losses, export and import values and weights, and the prices of staples for the period covered by this volume. There is also a good index. The book is not illustrated but is furnished with nine admirable maps (contained in cover-pockets) showing the principal trade-routes of the world and those of certain particular areas, as well as the scenes of the activities of the German raiders.

EDWARD BRECK.

Secrets of Crewe House: the Story of a Famous Campaign. By Sir CAMPBELL STUART, K.B.E. (London, New York, and Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton. 1920. Pp. xiii, 240. 7 s. 6 d.)

THIS book is one of those semi-official accounts of special phases of war or armistice activities with which the public already is familiar, and which promise to form an imposing department of post-bellum literature. It gives a history of the British government's propaganda in enemy countries from February, 1918, when that work was made a distinct branch of war endeavor, until the close of hostilities. It merely alludes by implication to what had been done to influence enemy opinion previously, and still continued to be done, in a less formal way, by other agencies. The author touches upon the propaganda conducted within the territories of the Central Powers by other Allied countries and the United States, only so far as it was associated with British work in this field, through the effort made, very late in the contest, to co-ordinate the propaganda of all the governments fighting Germany under a single advisory committee.

These limitations of subject-matter are less important than might appear at first glance, because after Lord Northcliffe organized his new department at Crewe House, propaganda quickly assumed much greater significance than previously. To some extent this was the result of concentration of effort and increased efficiency under a specialized personnel. But in a larger degree it was because those critical days had come when the peoples and armies of the Central Powers opened their ears to truths to which they had been deaf earlier in the struggle, and because propaganda policies now involved weighty commitments as to the terms of peace.

Indeed the book will be valuable to historians principally on account of the interrelation it traces between programmes of propaganda and political and diplomatic programmes. Otherwise its "secrets" are too innocuous to thrill the reader. It is discreetly reticent as to the actual channels through which literature was smuggled into enemy territories and distributed there; the information it gives as to the mechanics of propaganda is limited mostly to matters of common knowledge. It is not a book of anecdotes or sensations. Its personal allusions are confined to colorless references to official section heads who are introduced with a toastmaster's conventional eulogies. All this, however, is in the spirit of an honest effort to give credit where credit is due. The author was second in command to Lord Northcliffe at Crewe House, and later his successor. Consequently his book has the virtues of authority and ample information, tempered by that touch of banality which seems fated to dull government bureau histories.

But as soon as we approach the larger problems of propaganda, the book becomes a valuable source of knowledge. It lays down the principles which must guide the art of influencing enemy opinion in war. "First of all axioms of propaganda is that only truthful statements be made. Secondly, there must be no conflicting arguments." We are given a lucid description of the way these two guiding rules shaped the organization, technique, and policies of the British propaganda office. The grand strategy of that office is traced—the concentration of forces against Austria-Hungary, with its discordant races open-minded to teachings of revolt; the accommodation of its arguments and appeals to shifting sentiment in Germany, and to the German type of mind, by that "master of psychology", H. G. Wells; the centring of attack at first upon the Junkers rather than the Hohenzollerns; the emphasis of America's great preparations and accomplishments; the stress upon the Allies' constructive peace programme. Here the book, which is illustrated with reproductions of circulars actually used in Germany and on the front, becomes an important contribution to the history of enemy opinion: and it will therefore hold a permanent and creditable place in the literature of the war.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

A History of the Peace Conference. Edited by H. W. V. TEMPERLEY. [Published under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs.] Volumes I. and II., *The Settlement with Germany*; volume III., *Chronology, Notes, and Documents.* (London: Henry Frowde, and Hodder and Stoughton. 1920. Pp. xxxi, 517; xvii, 488; vii, 457. 42 sh.)

THIS is the most comprehensive and important historical work dealing with the Peace Conference that has thus far been attempted, and even those critics who refuse to admit that it can properly be called history, in the strict sense, must recognize its value, probably of a unique sort, to the student of recent events. In view of the number of historians serving on the staffs of the British and American Peace Commissions, it was natural that discussions should arise at Paris directed toward the organization in historical form of the events and movements with which these historians had come into touch. Practical results were assured with the founding of the Institute of International Affairs, among the activities of which was to be the publication of an Annual Register, beginning with an account of the Congress of Paris. The three volumes under consideration form the first installment of this register, and are to be complemented by two other volumes, dealing presumably with the Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish treaties. The work was planned largely by Lord Eustace Percy and the late George Louis Beer, and American historians will therefore take a keen personal interest in the results, although Dr. Beer, Professor Hazeltine, and Professor Shotwell are the only Americans who contribute directly to these first volumes.

The scope of the work is much broader than might be surmised from the title, for those who planned it desired to record, not merely the events of the Conference itself, but also the military background of the peace negotiations, the social and economic situation in Europe, the state of public opinion in the world, and something approaching a philosophic analysis of the treaties. The difficulties presented by such a programme are obvious. The work could not be carried through by a single historian, or even by a small group, but must be the co-operative effort of a number of specialists. It would be impossible to avoid unevenness, not merely of quality, but of method. Certain chapters demanded a narrative style, others an analytical. Some contributors would regard their task as one of presenting historical material in the rough, others would prefer to write historical essays. With topics of the most widely varying character, the preservation of a single continuous thread, either of a logical or narrative type, would be out of the question. Repetition could hardly be avoided. The finished product bears the impress of such difficulties, which have by no means been obliterated. But the extent of success is such that the originators and editor of the volumes are more than justified in their belief that the

deficiencies inherent in a work of this kind are heavily outweighed by the counterbalancing qualities.

The first volume covers three general topics, the end of the war, Europe in dissolution, and the preliminaries of the Conference. It begins with a brilliant résumé of fifty pages describing the military and naval events and factors that led to the armistice, which is followed by a narrative of the revolutionary movement in Germany from 1917, and concludes with a brief sketch of the armistice negotiations from the political point of view. The second general topic covers the material effects of the war upon belligerents and neutrals, the official war-aims of the belligerents, the policies of the labor groups in the chief countries, and a narrative of the relations between the Bolsheviks on the one side and Germany and the Entente on the other. The third section begins with a study, in part analysis and in part narrative, of the organization and executive working of the Conference. It suffers by comparison with Professor Haskins's account, by reason of lack of color, but it describes succinctly and with some detail the preparations for peace made by the different states, the organization of the Council of Ten and of Four, emphasizes the work of the technical commissions, and traces the negotiations with the enemy. As was to be hoped, stress is laid upon the executive functions of the Conference in the operation of the Armistice Commission at Spa, the work of the Supreme Economic Council in the matter of relief and food problems, and the attempted maintenance of order in Poland and Hungary. This phase of the activities of the Conference receives here, for the first time, the prominence that should be accorded to it. It is followed by an analysis of the legal basis of international relations prior to the re-establishment of peace by treaties. The first volume concludes with an appendix which includes extracts from the secret agreements of the Allies and from President Wilson's speeches, the text of the notes that preceded the armistice, and the text of all the armistices.

The first volume is thus devoted chiefly to the conditions that preceded the Conference and those under which it operated. The second volume deals more specifically with the German settlement. It opens with a brief chapter narrating the negotiations that led to the signature of the treaty, summarizing the chief points of the German objections and the Allied replies. There follows an important section devoted to an analysis of the general and international clauses of the Versailles Treaty, including the League, the labor clauses, the reparation and financial clauses, and international communications. It is here that we find the discussion of the economic aspects of the German treaty, although the casual reader might look for it in the following chapter, entitled the Principles applied to Germany. In reality, the latter is devoted entirely to the military and naval terms. Two chapters on the settlement of German territorial problems in Europe follow, the first devoted to the western, the second to the eastern frontiers of the new

Germany. After a brief study of the territorial settlement in Africa, comes a continuation of the discussion of the legal basis of international relations begun in the first volume, which serves as a convenient heading to cover divergent interpretations of the principles upon which peace was to be made and a survey of the application of those principles in the case of the German settlement. The volume concludes with a sketch of the New Germany after the armistice, to the establishment of the constitution, a sequel to the chapter on the revolution in the first volume.

The third volume is composed of appendixes, chiefly documentary in character. It begins with the German treaties of March and May, 1918, with Russia and Rumania. Miscellaneous documents on the League of Nations follow, including numerous extracts from the speeches of President Wilson, and the statements of General Smuts, of Clemenceau, and of Lloyd George on the Versailles Treaty. The major portion of the volume is made up of the text of the Versailles Treaty with ancillary agreements, and of the German constitution. It concludes with the official index to the German treaty.

It is obvious from the foregoing that the arrangement of material is confused, although any critical reader who attempts to improve it will appreciate at once the difficulties that confronted the editor. Sections of the first volume are broken off, to be resumed later in the second. There is inevitable overlapping of topics and much repetition, although where the same topic is covered in different chapters it is generally treated from different points of view. The scope of the work and the difficulties of arrangement have naturally led to the omission of important topics. The most noticeable, perhaps, is the almost complete disappearance of the question of Shantung, which is barely mentioned in the first volume, and to which no allusion whatever is made in the lengthy analysis of the German settlement. In other respects the volumes cannot be regarded as definitive. The contributors evidently retain an unwillingness to reveal what seems to them confidential information and their treatment is often purely formal. The true story of the formation of the Council of Four is not told, nor is there reference to Lloyd George's desperate effort to secure wholesale concessions to the Germans in June. On the other hand, certain chapters and passages deserve the warmest praise. The summary and analysis of President Wilson's foreign policy in chapter V. of the first volume is the fairest and most penetrating that has yet been offered; the same may be said of the discussion as to whether the Fourteen Points should have been applied to Austria. In sum, and disregarding incidental deficiencies and points of excellence, the three volumes, with their full indexes, provide a work of reference that cannot be superseded for many years, and for which we must be profoundly grateful. It is to be hoped that the supplementary volumes will soon appear.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

The League of Nations at Work. By ARTHUR SWEETSER. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. \$1.75.)

VERY wisely Mr. Sweetser has elected to elucidate the League not by an analysis of its principles but by a discussion of its structure. As a member of the Public Information Section of the League Secretariat, which he entered after service with the Peace Conference, the training school for so many of the Secretariat personnel, he has had exceptional opportunities for mastering the somewhat intricate machinery with which he deals.

So rapidly is the League developing that any book on the subject must necessarily be out of date by the time it goes to press. This book was published in September, 1920, before mediation had been undertaken in the Polish-Lithuanian dispute and before the Assembly had met. Yet, although the activities of the League have grown enormously since the book was written and many of the chapters already need sequels, the structure of the League remains practically unchanged. The book has a present value in giving a clear and stimulating study of that structure, in a popular and readable form, thus supplying from the inside what can scarcely be obtained from scattered press accounts. Any future historian must go to it for a graphic picture of the League's genesis and initial organization. He will find, too, registered there, in all sincerity, the high hope of the League in its first year of life by one who is a part of its machinery and in daily contact with the difficulties which confront it.

The author, after giving some description of the conditions under which the League had its birth and a sketch of its early history, proceeds to an enumeration of the organizations within the League which are specifically provided by the Covenant, namely the Assembly, Council, Secretariat, Permanent Court of International Justice, Permanent Armament Commission (now called Military, Naval, and Air Commission), the Permanent Commissions on Mandates and on International Transit, and the International Labor Organization. These he differentiates from those organizations which have been developed in order to fulfill certain duties prescribed by the treaty, such as the International Health Bureau, the International Bureau Section, the Public Information Section, the Treaty Registration Section. In later chapters he takes up these bodies in more detail and gives an outline of their structure, the personnel of those already established, and the problems with which they are dealing. The chapters on the Permanent Court, on Health, and on Armaments necessarily seem fragmentary in view of later history. Yet although the chapter on the court was written before the final draft had been drawn up by the committee of jurists, since which time it has been amended, adopted, and is now in process of ratification, nevertheless the chapter remains valuable for its summary of the various plans originally submitted by the several nations.

In writing of the Council one could perhaps write a more critical study and yet be as sincere a friend of the League. However, it is since the book was written that the Council has developed a more individual character. It is in dealing with the Council and the Assembly that one feels most keenly the need of revision. Any one writing now would have a wealth of material with which to prophesy the future of both bodies.

Those who wish to understand the function of the Secretariat will find in that chapter and in the subsequent one dealing with Minorities and with the Free City of Danzig and the Saar Basin, a clear outline of its many activities. The early history of the Åland Islands dispute will be found in the chapter on the League as Mediator. In the chapters on the transit, labor, and health organization and on Economic Cooperation one gets a vivid appreciation of the benefits, other than political, which even we who are not members of the League may hope to enjoy from the fact of its existence.

Throughout, the author emphasizes the value of this new machinery, yet he takes pains to make it clear that no amount of machinery will be adequate without popular enthusiasm or, as he calls it, "the urge" behind it. The book cannot fail to impart to the reader some of Mr. Sweetser's conviction of the high purpose and possibilities of the League.

SARAH WAMBAUGH.

An Introduction to the History of Japan. By KATSURO HARA.
[Yamato Society Publication.] (New York and London: G. P.
Putnam's Sons. 1920. Pp. xviii, 411. \$2.50.)

THIS is the first publication of the Yamato Society, an organization composed of a number of prominent Japanese gentlemen, whose object is "to make clear the meaning and extent of Japanese culture in order to reveal the fundamental character of the nation to the world; and also the introduction of the best literature and art of foreign countries to Japan so that a common understanding of Eastern and Western thought may be promoted". The author, Professor Katsuro Hara, of the University of Kyoto, is one of the distinguished historical scholars of Japan, and he tells us his book is "intended for those Europeans and Americans who would like to dip into the past, as well as peer into the future of Japan—Japan, not as a land of quaint curios and picturesque paradoxes only worthy to be preserved intact for a show, but as a land inhabited by a nation striving hard to improve itself, and to take a share, however humble, in the common progress of the civilization of the world".

An introductory study which tries to cover nineteen hundred years of a nation's history in 398 pages must present to the author many problems of proportion and emphasis. On the whole, Dr. Hara has apportioned a fair amount of space to an account of the social and cultural

life of the people, even at the expense of other matters which are usually given more prominence in similar works. His book is primarily designed to help the reader to understand modern Japan, for only seventeen pages are devoted to the great events of the past fifty years. Thus the fullest treatment of a period is that of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867), to whose political régime, cultural and social conditions, and decline and fall, a hundred pages are given. Here, as might be expected, the necessities of condensation have occasioned surprising omissions. There is, for example, no reference to the first foreign treaties, of 1854, the first to be mentioned being that of 1858 with the United States. This was, of course, the most important of all the treaties of the period, yet it seems as if a history of Japan could hardly overlook Commodore Perry. A similar omission occurs in the treatment of the Christian propaganda in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although the missionaries are severely condemned, yet there is no adequate statement of the measures taken by the Shoguns to rid Japan of their dangerous teachings.

These comments should not be considered criticisms. They are intended merely to indicate some of the problems of selection. But they also suggest why the reviewer believes that Dr. Hara's work will be read with greater interest by Western students of Japanese history than by persons approaching the subject for the first time. A text of this kind, written in English by a Japanese investigator, should be welcomed by every student. If, occasionally, the author takes too much for granted, and thus may confuse the beginner, the student understands the reference and welcomes the suggestive discussion which accompanies many of the topics, and he will be interested in seeing how a native scholar evaluates the events of Japanese history. But he will note, with regret, the absence of citations to authorities and of a bibliography—a critical estimate of the better known histories written by Western scholars would be of value in a book of this kind—while the lack of any maps greatly lessens the usefulness of the book for the general reader. Some unusual forms of proper names have been adopted in place of those well established in English.

PAYSON J. TREAT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783. By HERBERT E. BOLTON, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of California, and THOMAS M. MARSHALL, Ph.D., Professor of History in Washington University. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1920. Pp. xiv, 609. \$4.25.)

THE history of the colonial period in America, long neglected by text-book writers, has meanwhile been revolutionized by the acceptance,

among investigators, of a few significant concepts: the concept of the frontier; the view that commerce was the *raison d'être* of colonization and "the very centre of colonial life"; the idea of colonial history as imperial history; the recognition that English colonization was a phase of a greater European movement.

In the Bolton and Marshall volume—the first attempt to summarize the results of recent research in a comprehensive college manual—each of these points of view has found some place, though the first and last have been emphasized. The book has been prepared avowedly as "a text written from the standpoint of North America as a whole, and giving a more adequate treatment of the colonies of nations other than England and of the English colonies other than the thirteen which revolted" (p. v). In this respect the authors have succeeded in making their synthesis comprehensive. In two of the major divisions of the book (The Founding of the Colonies, Expansion and International Conflict), in less measure in the third (The Revolt of the English Colonies), the conventional accounts have been greatly broadened. Here will be found more than perfunctory handling of the Dutch and Swedish colonies; of the various West Indian colonies; of the French in Louisiana and the West; of Russian expansion in the far Northwest. Spanish activities in the Southwest are unfolded with special interest and authority; indeed, these chapters give the book its real distinction. The authors have sought to unify their continental theme by emphasizing the rivalry of empires in America. There emerge, in this account, half a dozen border conflicts outside the scope of the Parkman epic: on the frontiers of Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, in the Caribbean zone. The frontier assumes primacy among colonial interests, but especially the frontier of the explorer, trader, and missionary, the frontier of contact with the Indian and of conflict with rival colonies.

All this is admirable, in revealing to the student wider horizons. But questions, always debatable, of proportion and scale arise. On institutional development there is less than most teachers will require. The machinery of imperial administration is not neglected; but corporate colony, proprietary province, quit-rent, are terms which will be sought in vain in the index, nor is there anywhere topical presentation of such matters. Though the authors have recognized, in passing, the importance of commerce, they have not given it extended analysis. The early commercial companies are described, but few students would discover the vital connection between the early English colonial empire and the older commercial empire. Again, a closer view of the structure and economy of New England trade would make clearer the colonial attitude toward the Molasses and Sugar Acts.

The volume is made more useful by an index; by select but unannotated bibliographies in each chapter, suggestive of further reading rather than completely descriptive of sources; and by nearly fifty line maps. Introductory sections in many of the chapters serve excellently

to project colonial history against the European background, though here, as elsewhere, it would be well at some points to shift emphasis from the narrative of events to the description of institutions and of movements.

To lucidity and general accuracy Professors Bolton and Marshall have added a quality less common in text-books, originality. Not the least result of the use of this manual in college classes will be the re-vamping of syllabi.

V. W. CRANE.

The Frontier in American History. By FREDERICK J. TURNER, Professor of History in Harvard University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1920. Pp. iii, 375. \$2.50.)

THE period of American history covered by this collection of essays and addresses is what Professor Turner calls "the age of colonization which came gradually to an end with the disappearance of the frontier and free land". It is now twenty-seven years since the first of these illuminating essays, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", was read at a meeting of the American Historical Association. What was then a fresh and exceedingly suggestive interpretation of our history has come to be almost a commonplace in American historiography, so completely have the younger historians made this point of view their own. Most of the earlier essays in this volume are elaborations of a common theme—the movement of western expansion. The West is the outer edge of the wave of advance across the continent, Professor Turner tells us in a dozen different ways. "The problem of the West is nothing less than the problem of American development." "The very essence of the American frontier is that it is the graphic line which records the expansive energies of the people behind it, and which by the law of its own being continually draws that advance after it to new conquests." The last chapter in the book—an address delivered in 1918—sketches once again the outstanding features of pioneer society in contrast with the dominant characteristics of the Old World. There is in this concluding chapter perhaps less buoyant optimism, as though the author were more keenly aware of the great strain which is being put upon American institutions and somewhat more concerned lest the heritage of the age of colonization should be lost in this new era. "When we lost our free lands and our isolation from the Old World," he warns us, "we lost our immunity from the results of mistakes, of waste, of inefficiency and of inexperience in our government."

It is somewhat unfortunate that Professor Turner nowhere defines in set terms what he means by democracy, a word that appears on almost every page. There is, indeed, no term which is used more carelessly in everyday speech and in contemporary literature. For the most part Professor Turner employs the word to describe frontier society in which relative equality of social condition and of economic opportunity

prevailed; but he often uses the word loosely in a political sense to mean merely self-government or representative government. And in this latter sense, he has only followed the careless usage of western Americans who have invoked democracy very much as the preacher held his hearers spell-bound by that blessed word Mesopotamia. The concept of democracy in the age of colonization was much narrower than at the present time, for it connoted no more than a government based upon the suffrages of male adults. Measured by contemporary events, the western American whom Professor Turner describes was not a full-fledged democrat, nor even a believer in equality of political opportunity for all adults.

All these essays and addresses bear rereading, and will be heartily welcomed in this serviceable form. Professor Turner has a gift for epigrammatic expression; and many of his incisive statements may be recalled with profit by those who have followed eagerly the trail he has blazed. American historians are prone to forget that "the West, at bottom, is a form of society, rather than an area", and that "not the Constitution, but free land and an abundance of natural resources open to a fit people, made the democratic type of society in America for three centuries."

ALLEN JOHNSON.

Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730. By THOMAS GODDARD WRIGHT, late Instructor in English in Yale University. Edited by his wife. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1920. Pp. 322. \$6.00.)

THE purpose of this book is stated accurately in the introduction: "The pages which follow will not attempt to weigh colonial literature, either to condemn or defend it (although at times they may endeavor to correct impressions which, to the writer, seem erroneous), but rather will attempt to determine that which lies back of any literature, the culture of the people themselves, and to study the relation between their culture and the literature which they produced." The author divides the time treated into three periods—1620-1670, 1670-1700, 1700-1730—and in each period discusses Education, Books and Libraries, Inter-course with England, Other Phases of Culture, and Production of Literature. Under each head he presents a mass of significant material, gathered from original sources or from secondary works of acknowledged trustworthiness, and stated in clear and interesting form. His thesis is that "the general state of culture in the colonies" was "higher than it has usually been rated".

The excellence of the education given at Harvard, during the first period, is proved by the academic honors and church positions given to Harvard graduates in England under the Puritans, and by the fact that several sons of opulent English families were sent to Harvard to be

educated. Dr. Wright shows that even in Plymouth, where culture was less than in Boston, few of the early settlers lacked books: "Of over seventy inventories examined in the first two volumes of the Wills, only a dozen failed to make specific mention of books"; William Brewster's library was valued at £43, nearly a third of his whole estate, and Miles Standish left about fifty books, including Caesar's *Commentaries*, the *Iliad*, and Calvin's *Institutes*, all stimulating to the martial spirit. The pages about private libraries and the library of Harvard College contain less that was not generally known, but new light is thrown upon the actual use of books by many extracts from letters that reveal extensive lending of volumes by John Winthrop and others. Dr. Wright says that the printing press, the powerful instrument of culture, was set up in Cambridge, Massachusetts, a year earlier than in Glasgow, and ten and thirty years earlier than in Rochester and Exeter respectively; the output of the Cambridge press between 1638 and 1670 numbered 157 separate works. As to the quality of the colonial literature of the first period, the author makes some interesting comparisons with contemporary literature by English Puritans, barring Milton and Marvell, and concludes that "if no great literature was produced by the Puritans in New England, it may be not because they were in New England, but because little great literature was produced by the Puritans anywhere."

The same method yields like results in regard to the other two periods, except that the second shows some decline, due largely to less intercourse between the Puritan colonies and England during the Restoration. An appendix contains the inventory of Brewster's library, a list of the books given to the college by John Harvard, selected titles from the Harvard College Library catalogue of 1723, invoices of books shipped to Boston in the last quarter of the seventeenth century (including some "romances"), references to books in the writings of Increase and Cotton Mather, and some other material. An index of names and titles concludes the book.

Every student of American history and literature will be grateful to the author of this valuable work, and will regret that his early death forbade its completion and the undertaking of other studies in the same field. One mildly warning note should perhaps be sounded. In his zeal to prove that the intellectual life of colonial New England was on the same plane with that of Puritan England, Dr. Wright largely ignores the fact that the literary culture of the colonies, in the narrower sense of the word "literary", was much lower than the literary culture of England as a whole in the years which produced Milton, Herrick, Dryden, Addison, and Swift. The book contains, however, the means of correcting its own emphasis on this point. To say, as Dr. Wright does, that the New England Puritan was as literary as the average English Puritan is after all only another way of saying that New England was settled by representatives of the least artistic portion of the

English people; indeed, Dr. Wright's book-lists remind us anew of this truth, for again and again they include the mediocre poems of the Puritan Wither while lacking the great names of Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton.

WALTER C. BRONSON.

William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, 1741-1756: a History.

Vol. I. By GEORGE ARTHUR WOOD, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of American History, Ohio State University. [Columbia University Studies, vol. XCII.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. 433. \$4.50.)

ASIDE from preface, bibliography, and index, this volume contains almost exactly four hundred pages. Four of these give Shirley's ancestry. Nearly one hundred are devoted to his experiences under Governor Belcher and the rise of a Whig oligarchy in Britain, much colonial history appearing in explanation of Belcher's fall and the problems which faced his successor.

A second hundred pages recount the difficulties between crown and colony and the reforms attempted by Shirley. Among these the currency problem is emphasized and the governor's position thus stated: "The bad paper currency existent in America was one of the by-products of the shortsighted British colonial system. Under this system the development of colonial resources was hampered, the commercial and military interests of the colonies were often disregarded in the foreign policy of the empire, and the prosperity of the colonies was so reduced that ordinarily they must constantly deny themselves a sound currency that they might employ the fugitive stores of coin which came to them to pay for the English goods which under that system they were forced to buy."

The spirit in which Shirley settled this problem shows one great source of his success in Massachusetts. He was willing to admit defects in the British policy. The governor owed his appointment to the Duke of Newcastle. He came to America to mend his fortunes and to provide for his dependents but he did not necessarily adopt the economic or political views of his patron. Shirley doubted the wisdom of British trade regulations and worked as would Franklin to promote the welfare of Massachusetts and create good-will between crown and colony. Fortunately his wife, of whom little is said, was a good provider and Shirley was free to encourage friendliness between Britain and New England, to further co-operation between council and representatives in Massachusetts, and to unite that colony with others against the French, an important step in American development.

The second half of Professor Wood's volume shows some growth in American harmony with the conquest of Louisbourg and the later plans against Canada. A united Massachusetts enabled Shirley to meet

French movements in an energetic and watchful manner even when the British were "guilty of the criminal negligence which all pacifistic governments display in the face of a war crisis". When the French controlled the seas off Acadia in 1744 "the ministry gave no sign of understanding what was required and, besides being incapable by temperament of aggressive action, was busy with computations of patronage and war cost rather than of troops and ships." In this crisis governor and colony took control of the situation. No few words can do the picture justice. Shirley was one of the best American governors. He grew with his duties despite lack of co-operation from the crown and other colonies, and deserved success. Professor Wood makes this clear, and points out the reasons why full success was not obtained.

An adequate bibliography gives the sources upon which the author has leaned. Most of these were known but all have never been used in one account of the period. As the history continues through the difficult and contentious years to follow, the author will enhance the value of his work by emphasizing its biographical side without neglecting the story of American colonial development as it was influenced by its imperial setting. Interest will increase as Professor Wood traces in his second volume the relative merits of Britain, Shirley, and the colonies throughout the struggle against France in the later years of rivalry in America to 1756, and the closing years of Shirley's life.

C. H. LINCOLN.

A Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865. Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 298; 281. \$10.00.)

THE chief interest in these letters, and it is very great, is the same for the historian as for the general reader, that of personality. The three writers are all reasonably human, they are all strongly Adamses, and they are sharply distinguished from each other. The father has quite passed the stage where he has to make up his mind on any subject, he is obviously the least able except in the high quality of judgment, and he is dull. A certain blind spot in his mental outlook is indicated by his conjunction of statements: "I think I see in my father the only picture of a full grown statesman that the history of the United States has yet produced" (I. 67), and, that his father had failed "so much as a party-man" (I. 69). One might, in the same way, say of himself that he had all the high qualifications of a diplomat, except that of getting on well with men. Henry is distinctly boyish, pessimistic, exuberant, rash, and repentant. During these years, however, his pose of indifference became hardened, and he found the "experimento-philosophico-historico-progressiveness" (II. 90) which became the basis of his life-philosophy. By far the best letters, however, are those of Charles Francis Junior, who indeed wrote, on entering the

army, "My future must be business and literature, and I do not see why the army should not educate me for both, for its routine is that of business and it will go hard if my pen is idle while history is to be written or events are to be described" (I. 73). The letters, however, give no impression that he is writing for practice. His descriptions of army life are in many ways the best we have, while his discussions of the cotton situation, the race problem, national finance, and similar questions, reveal a wealth of information and a convincing maturity of judgment distinctly superior to what his grandfather John Quincy Adams was doing at the same age.

The special interest of the letters for the historian is not in their revelation of new fact, but in the unique opportunity of seeing the progress of the war through the eyes of three such interesting witnesses, all near, but not quite of, the centre of affairs. All were Seward men, all were anti-British, anti-Southern, and anti-slavery, but curiously enough none were enthusiastic Union men, they had a feeling that they ought to like the West but would not quite stand it, they were ardent supporters of democracy, like all Adamses, their judgments were singularly erroneous with regard to the next moment, but subtle and sound in their long-distance prophecies, they were a little slow in the uptake, slow in entering the war, slow in recognizing Lincoln, but pleasingly candid in admitting error. The reviewer frankly does not believe Charles Francis Junior when he writes, "These men don't care for me personally", for he has always found something lovable in their intense enthusiasms and animosities; no wonder his men thought him "cold, reserved, and formal"—one does not fondle a bull-dog; but any reader will credit him when he says "they do believe in me, they have faith in my power of accomplishing results and in my integrity" (II. 119).

One of the most interesting series of letters is that dealing with the *Trent* affair, when the intensity of feeling on the two sides of the Atlantic was so great as momentarily to carry in different directions the members of the sundered family. Of interest also are the glimpses of negotiations for peace in the spring of 1864, through the two Charles Francises. The embassy seems entirely in the dark during the autumn of 1862, when English policy so nearly turned to recognition, but was remarkably alert in the summer of 1863. Many references are made to John Quincy Adams's suggestion of emancipation by the president's war power, but the proclamation of September 22 is not mentioned, and that of January 1, 1863, is taken rather lightly—unless indeed the letter of August 24, 1863 (II. 76-77) is incorrectly dated—though the effect on English opinion of the change in the basis of the war from union to abolition is recognized.

Perhaps the best illustration of the hard, practical, and often disagreeable wisdom which has always characterized the Adamses, is to be found in their realization of the race problem as distinct from that of slavery. Nothing is more amazing in the recorded thought of the period than the absence of such discussion; in these letters, chiefly in

those of Charles Francis the son, it is one of the leading themes. A letter of April 6, 1862 (I. 124-133), is a careful survey of the problem, and thoughtful references are scattered throughout. He did not love or believe in the negro, he was not an abolitionist such as his father and grandfather; but he hated slavery because of its effect on the white man, and he felt that "The blacks must be cared for or they will perish" (I. 132). He came to have a great belief in the army as a training school for freedom, and when he took command of a negro regiment he thought he saw "immeasurable capacity for improvement" (II. 195).

With regard to the editing, the first point to notice is that these two volumes are "selected from what would fill many volumes" (I. vii). The selection is obviously honest, and, except that one would like the letter of the father in which he speaks of the possibility of demanding his passports (I. 9), it is effective, with plenty of interchange of argument and reply, but very little repetition. The text exhibits the excellent staff work which one expects from the environment of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The reviewer, however, still adheres to the position that he took in a series of reviews of the *Writings of John Quincy Adams* in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, that Mr. Ford under-edits. There are indeed two schools of editing, and these volumes fall in the class where abundant annotation is least necessary. Certain duties, however, the editor owes to the writers and to the users of the letters. The pen slips in the best of hands, and on page 190, line 8 from the bottom, Charles Francis Adams is recorded as writing "imaginable", when he undoubtedly intended to write "unimaginable", and there is no bracket of warning to the reader. On page 194, line 2 from bottom, Charles Francis Junior's omission of a "not" is left unmentioned. Suspicion, once aroused, finds in less certain cases doubt instead of conviction. It is not sufficient to present a perfect text; a clear text should be the editor's contribution. The standard of perfection, moreover, is unattainable. A serious error is the dating and placing of the letter on pages 73-75, as of November 29, 1861, whereas the correct date is probably September 29. It refers to the removal of Frémont as improbable, although it took place on November 6; it refers to a "Fast-day the other day", which was observed on September 26; and there is a long reply to the letter, dated October 15 (pp. 56-60), and a rejoinder to the reply, dated November 5 (pp. 63-64).

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

The Industrial State, 1870-1893. By ERNEST L. BOGART and CHARLES M. THOMPSON. [Centennial History of Illinois, vol. IV.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission,¹ 1920. Pp. vii, 553. \$2.00.)

IN this production Illinois receives another volume of great value

¹ A second edition of the whole *Centennial History of Illinois*, to be issued by Messrs. A. C. McClurg and Company, of Chicago, is in the press. ED.

in her Centennial series. The period covered (1870-1893) is, as the authors maintain, one of "far reaching importance" and of "solid and enduring progress", in its economic changes. Illinois ceased in that period to be chiefly an agricultural state, and became one of varied industries—mining, transportation, manufacturing, and great urban business enterprises. These activities all came into prominence in the period under review. The political and social influence of these changes are brought out in the volume.

The volume is divided by the two authors into two parts, the chapters on economic development being prepared by Professor Bogart, and the political chapters by Professor Thompson. The authors generously acknowledge valuable help received from their research fellows and assistants in the university, special recognition being given to Mrs. Agnes Wright Dennis, who put in final form the political chapters and was the author of chapter VIII., on New Forces Astir, dealing with the case of the Chicago anarchists and the politics of that time (1886-1892), a chapter which the reviewer feels impelled to say is one of the best in the book. On the Haymarket Riots Mrs. Dennis says that the conviction of Spies, Fischer, Engel, and the others resulted from popular outcry, that the "mob demanded a victim", and that the prosecution was "unable to establish any evidence of even remote personal participation of any of the accused". In this chapter Mrs. Dennis makes suitable, intelligent, and fair recognition of the work and influence of the political radicals of thirty years ago, of men like Alson J. Streeter and Gov. John P. Altgeld. Streeter was unsuccessful as against the routineers of his time, but the Illinois Labor Party platform of 1888, for which Streeter was largely responsible, is shown as a forcible piece of political pioneering, with its demands for government transportation, arbitration instead of strikes, a graduated income tax, woman suffrage, and popular election of United States senators. Since the reviewer well remembers the time when he was roundly reproached for venturing to speak well of Governor Altgeld when the politically orthodox of the day were denouncing him as a "red anarchist" or a "dangerous friend of anarchists", he finds some satisfaction in seeing that this *Centennial History of Illinois* recognizes Governor Altgeld for what he was—one of the greatest and most beneficent governors that Illinois ever had. Mrs. Dennis calls our attention to the fact that Governor Altgeld was among the "first to sow the seed of scientific criminology by his notable work on *Our Criminal Code*"; that he was a man of liberal views on social and economic subjects, appealing to the humanitarian and the laboring man; that he stood for universal education and free religion, and that he was a dreaded foe of extravagance and oppressive trusts and monopolies. Altgeld brought into office Florence Kelley as factory inspector; he established the parole system and the indeterminate sentence; he built great public hospitals; he was a friend of higher education, establishing normal schools, and befriending

ing and promoting the state university, which dates its modern life and growth from Altgeld's time if not directly from his influence. "His uncompromising love of justice and sympathy for humanity were part of the man", yet it was his fate to bring down upon his head "an avalanche of vituperation such as few public men have ever received", by his pardon of the "anarchists" of the Haymarket riot. Altgeld not only freed the imprisoned men, which he might have done without much obloquy, but in his judicial review of the case he accused the state of the judicial murder of those that had been hanged, and in doing this he knew well that he was sacrificing his political life. All of these things are most creditably brought out in this *Centennial History*.

In the chapter on Greenbackism, it is not clear that the author fully understands the merit of the issue involved in that movement. The words "bad money", "sound money", "fiat money", "cheap money" are still employed like meaningless phrases, as if dear money is always "sound" and cheap money always "bad", as if the inflationists were always for "bad money", the contractionists always for "sound money". However, the chapter, like the others, contains a good recital of facts and events in the period when Governors Beveridge, Oglesby, and Cullom, and E. B. Washburne, John A. Logan, and Joseph Medill were guiding the forces of Republican politics in Illinois. Professor Thompson has also contributed valuable and enlightening chapters on the Constitutional Convention of 1869-1870, Some Aspects of Social Life in Illinois, Liberal Republicanism, and the Development of Art and Letters.

Professor Bogart deals with the economic aspects of the state's history—corn production, animal products, business expansion, railroad transportation, waterways and highways, trade and commerce, manufacturing and mining, and the struggles of organized labor. In this part of the book we find illustrations and tables of statistics and figures of lasting value, showing the distribution of the corn crop, the receipts, expenditures, and taxes of the state, the value and the increase of manufactured products, bank expansion, coal production, railway track mileage, and the opening of waterways. In all these matters the relation of Illinois to the rest of the country is duly considered; no subject is treated as if Illinois were in isolation. Therefore, the problems of finance, of production, transportation, and distribution are given careful and scientific consideration. The closing chapter, on Organized Labor's Protest, following a chapter on the growth of labor organizations, connects the labor movement with its political activities, and thus rounds out the volume as a political, social, and economic history of Illinois for the period under review. This volume, like the others of the series, will be of permanent value to all students of American history. Would that other states were doing as well in preserving and presenting the record of their growth!

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

American Political Ideas: Studies in the Development of American Political Thought, 1865-1917. By CHARLES EDWARD MERRIAM, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. iii, 481. \$2.50.)

IN 1903 Professor Merriam published his *History of American Political Theories*, which has recently been reissued without alteration. That work received a cordial welcome as a scholarly production supplying a clearly felt want. From the same pen we now have a companion volume which by its subtitle is described as "Studies in the Development of American Political Thought, 1865-1917".

All historians have found the writing of recent history beset by the difficulty of presenting all the diverse facts which seem to demand mention and at the same time tracing within reasonable compass the clear and logical lines along which development has proceeded. Professor Merriam has not surmounted this difficulty. In his first chapter, entitled the Background of American Thought, he has given us an admirable, but very brief, survey of the forces out of which sprang the political formulas of the period since the Civil War—the reactions of democracy to modern industrial conditions, and the struggles of defenders of the old doctrine of *laissez faire* against the growing demands for public control of railways, trusts, and labor organizations. In his second chapter, entitled Typical Interpretations of Democracy, he has furnished us with an excellent analysis of the movement for the regulation of corporations and of the philosophy of the so-called labor movement with its later developments in the programmes of syndicalism and the Industrial Workers of the World. But, as the book advances, the mode of treatment becomes less and less one of broad interpretation and generalization, and more and more a series of very brief comments upon hundreds of separate books, pamphlets, and magazine articles. This material is, however, classified, and dealt with in separate chapters, which bear the following titles: the Consent of the Governed (in which writings dealing with the suffrage are considered); the Legislative and Executive Powers of Government (in which discussions of legislative processes, proportional representation, direct legislation, and problems of administrative efficiency are commented upon); the Courts and Justice (in which the literature dealing with the attitude of courts to social and "police power" legislation is surveyed); the Responsibility of Judges to Democracy; the Unit of Democratic Organization (in which writings dealing with the development of a stronger nationalism in the United States are summarized); Internationalism, Pacifism, and Militarism; the Political Party and Unofficial Government; Government and Liberty; Systematic Studies of Politics. In conclusion there is an all-too-brief chapter dealing with political ideas as found in American literature—essays, poetry, fiction—and finally, abandoning comments upon particular writings, a summary

of some twenty pages is given in which an attempt is made to indicate what, in fact, have been the outstanding features of political development in the United States since 1865. The most significant features of this development are declared to be a tendency towards concentration of political and economic institutions and a socialization of the state. So well is this summary done, one cannot but regret that Professor Merriam should not have more nearly followed this method throughout the book. Had this been done, we should not have been furnished with so many bibliographical references, but we should have been supplied with a more satisfying survey of the development of political ideas during the period covered.

No uniform style of foot-note references has been followed, and errors in names of the authors cited are not infrequent.

Theodore Roosevelt and his Time: Shown in his own Letters. By JOSEPH B. BISHOP. In two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. xii, 505; vi, 517. \$10.00.)

THESE two fine volumes will be indispensable to the historian of the past half-century, and the documents with which they are replete have no parallel among the writings of American presidents; but they exhibit the art of the official biographer at much less than its best. Mr. Bishop qualified for the task of writing the Roosevelt biography by many years of admiring friendship, during which he enjoyed both the frequent hospitality and the political patronage of his subject. He does not throw himself modestly into the background, content to be the transparent medium of revelation, as Mr. Paine has done in his monumental *Mark Twain*, but he ventures to add his comment upon events, and occasionally his testimony as to character or fact. In his handling of events, other than those fully covered by his source in the Roosevelt archive, he does not reveal the depth of knowledge or breadth of understanding needed by one who would show Theodore Roosevelt against the background of his environment. He may however plead that his editorial policy is that of Roosevelt himself, for the Colonel chose him as biographer, worked with him until death called him, and on at least one occasion advised him: "Let it stand. . . . I am willing to have what I said go into the record unchanged . . ." (I. 19). What the advice might have been if Roosevelt had ceased to approve himself may be inferred. But that contingency never arrived.

The conspicuous gaps in the biography have to do with the actual working papers of Roosevelt's career. Rarely has Mr. Bishop printed, perhaps he did not find, the letters that were themselves part of the transaction, and which do not reveal certainty as to the outcome of events. The wonderful letter to Sir George Otto Trevelyan, upon the African trip, and the long letter to Taft, then secretary of war, upon the Algeiras conference, are monographs by Roosevelt rather than

real letters. A large proportion of the material takes the form of letters explaining to one or another of the correspondents what had been done, and why. They constitute a sort of serial autobiography, and take the place of such a journal as the Adamses wrote, to keep their record safe for posterity. Indeed, it is possible that they testify to the difficulties of the future historian due to the changes in the methods of communication. When Governor Roosevelt wanted to do business with Senator Platt, he breakfasted with him in New York and spoiled little white paper in recording it. Often the Roosevelt version of a talk was written to someone else, but the kind of source-material that enriches our understanding of events is scarce. In Olcott's *McKinley* we have facts saved by the stenographer who listened at some of the White House telephonic conversations; but these are missing here.

The new material contained in these volumes does not change the outlines of the Roosevelt figure. In the *Autobiography*, in innumerable other writings, speeches, and letters, in a wide acquaintance, and continuous controversy, Roosevelt drew his own picture. He was a more engaging personality when acting hot from the new incentive than when explaining the complete correctness of his course. Men who knew him know that he accepted contradiction and correction every day. In his writings there is slight evidence of this; judgments are sweeping and inclusive, and only scoundrels can disagree. The "Ananias" club, from a study of which much can be learned as to the psychology and methods of Roosevelt as a public man, does not even figure in the index of these volumes; but it is known that he himself derived occasional pleasure from the myth, as he did from the cartoons that swirled around his personality.

The Roosevelt character was not one of delicate shadings, but revealed sharp contrasts which did not change with time and remained at his death as they were in his earliest years. The brief sketch allowed to the period before his election as governor of New York (108 pages) is long enough to establish the fundamentals of his disposition. It is consciously brief because Roosevelt has himself so well covered the years in the *Autobiography*. As legislator, and as historian, he had already learned the technique of shouting commonplace virtues with heroic emphasis, and sweeping the other side of argument into the limbo of corruption, denouncing "a timid effort to secure peace", the weakness or folly "which is nationally as bad as a vice, or worse", "the most incalculable wrong" done by "the infernal thieves and conscienceless swindlers". He had learned also that for him the commission of political suicide was the safest of his sports. Those of Roosevelt's critics who believe that he changed his attitude fundamentally in his later years are well refuted in Washburn's biography; the letters given by Mr. Bishop show that Roosevelt did not change his virtues or his inconsistencies.

About one-fourth of the space has been allotted to the period since Roosevelt left the White House, and this constitutes the most difficult phase of his life to appreciate. He was outside the responsibilities of office, and generally on the losing side, though often the right one. It is easy to leap to the conclusion of his enemies that self-seeking and ambition controlled his fight on Taft, his struggle to make something out of the Progressive movement, and his contemptuous opposition to the administration of Woodrow Wilson. The difficulty with this explanation of his course is that his enemies of 1911-1912, who called him anarchist, were among his supporters in 1915-1917, and saw him as the party hope for 1920. The progressive radicals, on the other hand, for many of whom he was a new Moses in 1912, believed themselves disillusioned when he became the spokesman of national morale during the World War. It was the same Roosevelt, but conditions had altered. He was not always consistent in the application of his views, but the views were permanent, and he remained the most American leader of his generation.

Trust in himself was a Roosevelt trait that hardened with the years. When he failed to secure military preferment or to impress with the soundness of his advice an administration that he had fought continuously, he might have pondered with appropriateness the letter that he wrote a dozen years earlier: "When I uphold the hands of the General Staff by taking their recommendations for promotion as against those of any outsider, no matter how influential, no matter how powerful, I am doing my best to prevent our little army from being reduced to a condition which would be only one degree above that to which it would be reduced if I tolerated actual corruption" (I. 444). He might have been more generous than to write to a foreign acquaintance that the reasons for refusing him permission to raise a division "were not connected with patriotism, or with military efficiency" (II. 429). But that was the sort of man he was. The centre of the stage was his by right; at the beginning of his career he had denied Governor Cleveland a share in the credit for the passage of reform laws through the New York legislature. He was too human not to resent being crowded from the stage on which he had played a gallant part. The last epoch of his life was one of disappointment, and through his griefs he saw less truly than was his custom the drift of national events.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The United States in the World War (1918-1920). By JOHN BACH McMASTER, Professor of American History in the University of Pennsylvania. Volume II. (London and New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1920. Pp. 510. \$3.00.)

IN the second and last volume of his history Professor McMaster begins with a chapter on the activities of the German submarines off our

coast and ends with a full account of the rejection of the treaty. Fifty pages cover war work at home and about the same space is given to the part played by America on the fighting front. The remaining six chapters are devoted to the period from the first peace moves or "offensives" to March 19, 1920, when the Senate rejected the treaty and "having no further use for the treaty it was ordered returned to the President". The historical austerity of this concluding sentence is, one may suppose, to be read in the light of the election return.

The method of presentation and the sources used are the same as in the first volume, reviewed in the last April issue. The American press reports are here necessarily supplemented by occasional comments quoted from the foreign press. The *Congressional Record* is also more heavily drawn upon to trace the wearisome senatorial manoeuvres and the countless reservations as they were voted up or down or proposed and rephrased and forgotten. In the long chronicle of the Paris negotiation little use seems to have been made of the material that has come in book form from those who stood somewhat nearer to the negotiators than the rather helpless and unprepared reporters and propagandists.

In thus following the day-to-day reports of the military operations, the peace manoeuvres, and the armistice negotiations the author carries us back to the days of harrowing uncertainties and rumors and sometimes leaves us there as though he himself had been working his material awaiting and summarizing each successive "extra". "According to" this or that paper such and such things were occurring or had occurred. "It was said" in Amsterdam or Switzerland or the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* or the *Tageblatt* that Germany would accept or President Wilson would insist. A rumored German armistice delegation headed by General von Gruenell is given on p. 208 and seven pages and two days later Erzberger, wholly unheralded, is face to face with Foch. Page 204 has two paragraphs based on four "it was said" or "reported", and the reader is as uncertain to-day as to what actually occurred as he was when "Every day brought astonishing news." Two texts of the armistice are given as the press carried them on successive dates from summaries by Wilson and by Foch. Perhaps the method explains the misprints in foreign names (but why Vierick?), and errors such as the American troops crossing the Rhine to Coblenz.

All this day-to-day chronicling, with its rumors, errors, uncertainties, lack of discrimination, will be justified perhaps if it conveys to future readers how a strained and anxious world seized each new rumor or waited the next reply from the temporary head of a great democracy three thousand miles from the battle line.

One thing is reproduced rather well and that is the war psychology in which the approach to peace was made in October and November, 1918. If Mr. McMaster had supplemented newspaper utterances in the United States by definite illustrations of how the opposition leaders

immediately demanded that America should let France and England dictate the terms of peace, how President Wilson appealed for support in terms of a Democratic election, and how the response in the Republican victory seemingly endorsed the utterances of Mr. Roosevelt and Chairman Hays, he would have furnished the proper approach to the treaty controversy. This approach must be through the results of the November election of 1918. One of the queries a historian might well suggest is whether the German losses from all standpoints would not have been less, whether an unconciliated world was not made more certain by the German peace note in October instead of one month later. That note surprised President Wilson as much as the rest of the world. It brought peace in sight at once and enabled the reactionary and imperialistic elements in every land to interpret our domestic election as a repudiation of President Wilson and of all he had said or might do in behalf of a peace of reconstruction and reconciliation. And yet Mr. McMaster does not mention the election of 1918.

The bitter partizan element in the discussion of a treaty about which rational differences of opinion were certain was made determinative by that election. In the ensuing chapters on the treaty controversy this harsh and strident note dominates. This is correct and natural if one recalls the sources from which the chapters are drawn—the press and the Senate debates. The sole mention of the personal tragedy which made it impossible for Mr. Wilson to lead the fight for the treaty is covered by the statement: "This was his last speech; for the next morning, September 26th, at Wichita, the President was forced to abandon his trip."

It is in his summary of current discussion, petty and partizan and uninformed by larger views as it was on either side in the Senate and press, that the author has done his chief and real service. For the future historian and reader it will furnish a picture of the confused mind of America on the eve of a national election and the morrow of a world war. Such readers will seek to explain, as the author does not, why its results are such a curious gloss on Mr. Wilson's words at Paris: "If we return to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this programme [reconstruction and a League of Nations] we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow-citizens." Or perhaps the future explanation will dwell on the strangeness of Mr. Wilson's words in the midst of a world which was making peace under the obsessions of a war psychology.

Histoire du Canada. By FRANÇOIS-XAVIER GARNEAU. Cinquième édition, revue, annotée, et publiée avec une Introduction et des Appendices, par son petit-fils HECTOR GARNEAU. Préface de M. GABRIEL HANOTAUX, de l'Académie Française. Tome II. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1920. Pp. xii, 748. 30 fr.)

No one who has advanced in knowledge of Canadian history beyond

the frontier fringe of manuals, can fail to be familiar with Garneau. It is now nearly two generations since his *Histoire du Canada* was published, and the same qualities that commanded notice then are still a title to respectful attention. In point of preparation Garneau was a true scholar, who sought to collect sound materials, to sift them, and to make them his own. He had an instinct for proportion and a strong sense of fairness. As a writer he gave thought to the problem of modelling, and merits such praise as is due to those who are clear without being bald and dignified without being dull. In brief, his work has won a permanent and honored place in Canadian historiography. It goes without saying that some new sources and much important literature have been made available since the first edition of this work was printed. But no mistake will be made by those who study Garneau before plunging into the monographs—even the best monographs—which begin where he leaves off.

Shortly before the war, Garneau's scholarly and able grandson, M. Hector Garneau, published the first volume of a fifth edition—making his task a labor of love and lavishing upon it all the effort which a just pride could inspire. This volume was reviewed by us on its appearance, and now, after a lapse of some seven years, we are able to comment once more upon the collaboration, so to speak, of grandfather and grandson. There is less exaggeration in the foregoing phrase than at first there might seem to be, for the notes and appendixes to this fifth edition supplement the text most usefully, and henceforth no scholar will ever think of reading Garneau in any earlier edition.

Mr. Hector Garneau's preface gives us an echo of the war in the statement that 256 pages of the present volume were printed as early as July 15, 1914. "Peu après, l'agression allemande se déchainait sur le monde." Thus interrupted, the printer desisted from his task until the war was over—which is quite excusable in view of the fact that the press-work was done in Paris, where other cares were urgent.

As was made plain by the first volume, M. Hector Garneau has taken it for his purpose to furnish an apparatus of notes which will show how and to what extent more recent studies can be co-ordinated with his grandfather's text. But he has by no means limited his field to an intensive study of monographs. Since the days of F.-X. Garneau the publication, editing, and re-editing of materials has gone on apace, with the result that a thorough and scholarly editor can draw many illustrations from new sources or supplement many passages by adding data that were not available during the period which separates the Union of the Two Canadas from Confederation. It is much to the credit of M. Hector Garneau that he has not scamped his work either in respect to the factor which is represented by sources or to that which is represented by the special studies of recent scholars. This edition draws its copious notes from many quarters, yet without giving them an air of aggressive pedantry.

The editor, no less than the author, has need to remember the dictum that art is selection, and in annotating a work which deals broadly with large questions it is not easy to hit the golden mean between parsimony and profusion. To us it seems that M. Hector Garneau has shown great tact in steering his course through this difficult channel, and that he has succeeded in furnishing an apparatus of comment, which, while often minute, is not pedantic, and which in all essential respects is very helpful. As examples of notes which are long enough to disclose something of the editor's personality, and which illustrate the breadth of his reading, we would call attention to that which will be found at the bottom of pages 716-717, as well as to Appendixes I. and XIV. The debate which has long been waged regarding the authorship of Lord Durham's Report could have been made to furnish a further subject for an appendix, but we should be quite unfair if we urged it as an omission that M. Hector Garneau has not supplied brief essays on the striking subjects which are connected with Canadian history from 1712 to 1840.

For F.-X. Garneau himself, the most difficult and delicate period to cover in the *Histoire du Canada* must have been that between 1791 and 1840, marked as it was by the acrimonious strife of races which led up to the disturbances of 1837. Having in full remembrance the rancors of the time when Louis Joseph Papineau was at the height of his influence, and belonging to the race on whose behalf Papineau urged his remonstrance, it could not have been easy for him to depict clearly and to judge impartially the events and characters of that embittered struggle. That he was animated by a spirit of fairness and succeeded in maintaining a tone of *sang-froid* is an outstanding feature of his work. Nowadays the world is filled with clamorous, hard-bitted, highly organized, and relentless minorities, who shriek out ultimatums and declare there shall be no peace on earth until their demands have been met in full, plus compound interest. Having been deafened by these outcries, one turns with relief to the closing words of Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*—the words of a man who loved his race, but who also had a sense of proportion and recognized that progress does not have its root in hatred.

Que les Canadiens soient fidèles à eux-mêmes; qu'ils soient sages et persévérants, qu'ils ne se laissent point séduire par le brillant des nouveautés sociales et politiques! Ils ne sont pas assez forts pour se donner carrière sur ce point. C'est aux grands peuples à faire l'épreuve des nouvelles théories; ils peuvent se donner toute liberté dans leurs orbites spacieuses. Pour nous, une partie de notre force vient de nos traditions; ne nous en éloignons ou ne les changeons que graduellement. Nous trouverons dans l'histoire de notre métropole, dans l'histoire de l'Angleterre elle-même, de bons exemples à suivre. Si l'Angleterre est grande aujourd'hui, elle a eu de terribles tempêtes à essuyer, la conquête étrangère à maîtriser, des guerres religieuses à éteindre et bien d'autres traverses. Sans vouloir prétendre à si haute destinée, notre sagesse et

notre ferme union adoucironr beaucoup nos difficult s, et, en excitant leur int r t, rendront notre cause plus sainte aux yeux des nations.

Pan-Americanism: its Beginnings. By JOSEPH BYRNE LOCKEY.
(New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. iii, 503. \$5.00.)

IN his preface Lockey states that this volume was prepared as an academic task at Columbia University under the direction of Professor John Bassett Moore. The volume bears some earmarks of a treatise prepared by a candidate for the doctorate. Equipped with foot-notes throughout, it contains in addition a serviceable bibliography.

The first chapter is introductory in character and presents the view that from the common struggle for independence by American nations certain principles have been evolved which embody the concept of Pan-Americanism. To support that view excerpts and opinions are presented from the writings of American authors and statesmen chiefly since the age of James G. Blaine. Upon the basis of this survey Lockey expresses the opinion that the principles which lie at the basis of Pan-Americanism are as follows: independence, community of political ideals, territorial integrity, law instead of force, non-intervention, equality, and co-operation. After having thus formulated his definition, in a manner that the reviewer can scarcely designate as historical, Lockey proceeds to consider what he evidently believes to be the beginnings of Pan-Americanism in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century.

In a chapter about the formation of the Hispanic-American states Lockey gives an account of the revolutionary movements from 1810 to 1824 that culminated in the emancipation of Spanish America from European domination. Some fifty pages are devoted to a consideration of various "plots" which were formed for the establishment of "monarchical governments" in the basin of the La Plata River and in northern South America. Almost as much space is given to a study of the policy which was pursued by the United States government toward Spanish-American independence. Similar emphasis is accorded to certain international complications which arose partly out of the fact that the sympathies of some citizens of the United States were enlisted in the Spanish-American struggles for independence. Among the topics here investigated are the following: the mission of Manuel H. de Aguirre from the United Provinces of La Plata and Chile to the United States in 1817; the seizure of Amelia Island by Gregor McGregor; the adventures of the United States frigate *Essex* in South American waters; the menace to Hispanic America of the Holy Alliance; and the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine. A chapter devoted to the reception of the original Monroe Doctrine in Hispanic America does not really add much important information to that which was conveyed by the reviewer in an article in the *Political Science Quarterly* some years ago. While giving due credit for the diligence with which

Lockey has investigated these topics, and recognizing that at many points his researches will be useful to other students, the reviewer is nevertheless unable to detect many significant relationships between these chapters and Pan-Americanism, as that term is ordinarily understood. In truth they compose a series of studies that deal with the emergence of the Hispanic-American nations. Of varying value, they will furnish a wide orientation to readers who are not acquainted with that great movement: they do not contribute much to our knowledge of Pan-Americanism.

Whatever definition of the term Pan-Americanism one is inclined to adopt, the most pertinent portion of this volume is chapter VII. That chapter describes in some detail certain projects which were formed for continental union in the Three Americas from the end of the eighteenth century to 1825. Among other plans that are described is the project formed about 1797 by that knight-errant of Spanish-American independence, Francisco de Miranda, for the emancipation of his native land. The somewhat provincial ideas of Thomas Jefferson and James Wilkinson about Pan-Americanism are given attention. An odd design of William Thornton for the division of the Three Americas into thirteen commonwealths fashioned to an extent after the Republic of the North is described at some length. The "system" which that champion of the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence, Henry Clay, wished to promote is indicated. Descriptions are given of the ideas of certain South-American leaders about the relations between the Hispanic-American states. The plan of a Chilean called Martínez de Rosas for the international organization of the Americas is interestingly described, as well as the notion of his compatriot, Juan Egaña, about a Spanish-American confederation. Here also are presented the views of a talented native of Buenos Aires named Mariano Moreno about a federation of the Spanish-American peoples. Special attention is appropriately paid to the opinions of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, concerning the international relations of the Hispanic-American nations. A description is furnished of significant treaties which an agent of Great Colombia negotiated with the governments of Peru and Chile.

The chapters which follow are concerned with a related topic—the Panama Congress. That congress was composed of the delegates of certain nations of Spanish America who gathered in June and July, 1826, upon the Isthmus of Panama. The actions of an informal agent who was sent by Canning to observe that congress are described with details that are new to English readers. Considerable attention is next devoted to the attitude of the United States government to the Panama Congress, an episode of our international relations which is comparatively well known. The postures assumed in regard to the congress by the governments of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are investigated. In so far as these chapters deal with an international assembly to which,

after a long debate, the United States Congress finally declined to send delegates, they may be said to treat of what is often designated Pan-Americanism.

To students of early Pan-Americanism the last part of Lockey's volume has a special interest. Notice should be taken, however, that when viewed in the light of a definition of Pan-Americanism which describes it as a tendency upon the part of the American nations to associate themselves together, a considerable portion of the material here presented is concerned not with Pan-Americanism, but with what may be strictly termed Hispanic-Americanism; namely, a tendency displayed by American nations of Spanish and of Portuguese origin to group themselves together. References which Lockey makes to Spanish-American writers indeed suggest the conjecture that possibly he suspected that he was sometimes dealing with what might be called Spanish-Americanism.

Investigators in the field of the international relations of the Hispanic-American states will welcome this volume which explores some of its obscure corners; but the student of Pan-Americanism, as that term is ordinarily understood, will not encounter much of vital interest until he has persued about one-half of Lockey's book.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

MINOR NOTICES

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1917. (Washington, 1920, pp. 464). The annual meeting reported upon in this volume is that which was held in December, 1917, at Philadelphia, the thirty-third annual meeting of the Association. The report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which occupies some seventy pages of the volume, consists of a body of letters of General Santa Anna relating to the war between the United States and Mexico. These letters, which are of much interest and importance, are contributed by the chairman of the commission, Dr. Justin H. Smith, who found them in the Archivo General de Guerra y Marina in Mexico. Nearly all are addressed to the minister of war. They extend from Santa Anna's return to Mexico from Cuba in August, 1846, until his arrival at the capital in May, 1847, to make his final stand against the American troops, after which there was no further occasion for correspondence with the minister of war. The report of the Public Archives Commission comprises, besides the usual proceedings of the annual conference of archivists, a full report on the archives of Idaho, by Professor Thomas M. Marshall. Of other formal reports, the most extensive is that of the conference of teachers of history, which centred around a paper on the school course in history by Professor Henry Johnson of Teachers College, Columbia University. Besides these formal records and Mr. Worthington C. Ford's presidential address on the Editorial

Function in United States History, the volume contains three papers on medieval English financial history (one on Early Assessments for Papal Taxation for English Clerical Incomes, by Professor William E. Lunt, one on the Assessment of Lay Subsidies, 1290-1332, by Professor James F. Willard, and one on English Customs Revenue up to 1275, by Professor Norman S. D. Gras); a paper on the Association (meaning the signed agreement to pursue a given course of public action), by Dr. J. F. Jameson; an investigation of the question, To What Extent was George Rogers Clark in Military Control of the Northwest at the Close of the American Revolution, by Professor J. A. James, an account of Separatism in Utah, 1847-1870, read before the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association, by Professor Franklin D. Daines, and a brilliant survey by Professor William A. Dunning, A Generation of American Historiography, reviewing developments in our science and art since the foundation of the Association in 1884.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fourth Series, vol. II. (London, the Society, 1919, pp. ii, 247.) Eight papers constitute this volume. Professor Oman's presidential address considers, in a comparative manner and with much wisdom, the difficult question of National Boundaries and Treaties of Peace. The next article is a composite of contributions intended to present a conspectus of the fate of British and Allied Archives during the War, though in some cases the papers say little of this, but go over the whole story of the respective national archives. Communications are included respecting the archives of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, United States, Italy (chiefly relating to Italia Irredenta), and the Vatican archives. Miss Rose Graham presents an excellent account of the Metropolitcal Visitation of the Diocese of Worcester by Archbishop Winchelsey in 1301, and of the ensuing struggle with Bishop Godfrey Giffard and his clergy. Mr. Walter W. Seton studies the later Relations of Henry, Cardinal York, with the British Government, chiefly with the aid of recently discovered papers of Sir John Coxe Hippisley, chief agent in the securing of the cardinal's pension. Mr. Godfrey Davies studies the conduct of the Whigs in respect to the Peninsular War. Sir R. A. Gregory presents a paper on Science in the Interest of Civilization. Mr. G. W. T. Omond gives an excellent account of the Question of the Netherlands in 1829-1830. Sir Harry L. Stephen studies from a legal point of view the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, in a paper read at the society's tercentenary commemoration of Raleigh.

The History of the Chalcidic League. By Allen Brown West. [Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, no. 969.] (Madison, 1918, pp. 176, \$0.40.) We have here a detailed study of the Chalcidians in Thrace. At the time of the Persian War they were a cluster of little walled towns; but even so their family sense, as children of Chalcis,

was so strongly marked that "they issued a common coinage and acted together in time of crisis". That they were really colonies of Chalcis in Euboea, and not an *ethnos* like their neighbors the Bottiaeans, West upholds against Harrison, *Classical Quarterly*, VI., emphasizing the point that their coins have the Chalcidic form of gamma. In 432 B.C., on revolting from Athens, they removed from their towns on the coast, to Olynthus, a site taken from the Bottiaeans in 479 B.C. Thereafter their city was Olynthus, their name Chalcidians; how explain this oddity? West makes Olynthus the head of a Chalcidic League, to which he refers all the activities ascribed by Thucydides to "the Chalcidians"; what occurred in 432-416 B.C. was accordingly a *synoecismus* in a narrower area and the formation of a confederacy in a larger. It was this same League (*κοινόν*) whose expansion at the expense of Macedon and its Greek neighbors during the Corinthian War caused Sparta to intervene in 382-379 B.C., and whose attempt, after being restored in 377 B.C., to play an independent rôle between Athens and Macedon led to the extirpation of the "Chalcidic stock" by Philip II. in 348 B.C.

The Chalcidic League, according to West, was probably a conscious or unconscious imitation of the Boeotian League, and the question is raised by him whether it did not also have a sovereign representative council. Swoboda, on the other hand, whose excellent treatment of this theme, *Griechische Staatsaltertümer*, pp. 212 ff., West does not mention, brings the Chalcidic League into the same category as the Achaean, and, arguing from the mention of "the *demos* of the Olynthians" by Xenophon (V. 2, 17), concludes that the Chalcidians were a democracy and had a general federal primary assembly. Here is a point which needs discussion.

It is a characteristic of West's book, which displays industry and acumen, and contains good promise for future investigations, that he takes no account of the Grote, Thirlwall, Freeman *History of Federal Government*, pp. 149 ff., controversy as to the policy and government of the Chalcidians, and that he does not include in his meagre bibliography works like Francotte's *Formation des Villes, des États, des Confédérations, et des Liges dans la Grèce Ancienne*, and Bruno Keil's *Griechische Staatsaltertümer*, § 10.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Schools of Gaul: a Study of Pagan and Christian Education in the Last Century of the Western Empire. By Theodore Haarhoff, Lecturer in Latin at the University of Cape Town. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. xii, 272, \$5.65.) The author of this interesting essay limits his period to the interval between the defeat of the Franks by Julian in 358 and their rise under Chlodowig in 486: an age—like our own—of transition; a country facing the problem of complex nationality and menaced by "Bolshevism". After an introductory

consideration of Gallic culture before the fourth century—(pp. 1–38)—the Greek influence emanating from Massilia, the Druids, the wandering sophist, the power of the Christian religion, and Autun, “the Latin university of Gaul”—he proceeds to discuss separately and in great detail Pagan Education with its centres at Bordeaux and Trier (pp. 39–150), and Christian Education (pp. 151–197), concluding with a chapter on certain general educational ideas and influences (pp. 198–239), and another on the Decline of Education (pp. 240–261).

Professor Haarhoff states that the ultimate attitude of the Church in saving pagan culture “is the determining factor of Christian education, and it forms the background without which that education cannot be rightly studied”. On the other hand, “in its development of elementary education, in its *rusticitas*, in its greater concentration on thought, and in its emphasis on practical work, Christian education in fifth-century Gaul was in reaction against the brilliant but superficial schools of the previous century.”

The book is a scholarly piece of work, based mainly on the original sources but also taking full account of the secondary literature of the subject. It contains a “select bibliography” of three pages, and an excellent index.

The reviewer is of the opinion that the author assumes a knowledge of Greek and Latin on the part of his readers that many who are interested in the subject so ably treated in his book may not possess; for the benefit of this wider public it might have been well to translate the frequent quotations, relegating the original languages to the foot-notes.

Schools of Gaul is a valuable contribution to the literature of an interesting period of the world's history.

CHARLES C. MIEROW.

Les Traditions Techniques de la Peinture Médiévale. Par G. Loumyer. (Brussels and Paris, G. Van Oest et Cie., 1914 [1920], pp. 230.) M. Loumyer's book is a model of painstaking scholarship. The work is divided into three parts. The first discusses the treatises on technique in the classic and medieval periods. The second describes the evolution of technical processes from the Egyptian period to the Renaissance. The third deals with the colors used in the Middle Ages, their chemical composition, manufacture, and geographical origin.

Every part proves wide reading and painstaking correlation of authorities on the part of the author, yet the whole does not impress one as original. No manuscript seems to have missed M. Loumyer's eye, no treatise on the technique of medieval painting is unread or unmentioned, yet the work is one of synthesis rather than research. For instance, in discussing such questions as the date of the manual of Heraclitus or the book of Theophilus, the writer gives us the opinions of various authorities, carefully referring to each in the admirably full

foot-notes, and then follows the opinion of Ilg almost without comment. He never argues for himself, but is content to state the facts and the beliefs of others, and then select the opinion that seems to him most convincing.

In general the author shows more familiarity with Northern art than with Italian, and at times he gives the impression of having regarded books and manuscripts far more closely than the paintings that they describe. For example, after discussing the technique of *buon fresco*, he speaks of it as the method employed by "les Buonarrotti, les Jules Romain, les Corrège". It is unfortunate to associate Giulio Romano with Michelangelo and Correggio even though he did follow the later sixteenth-century method of avoiding as far as possible any retouching of a fresco *a secco*, after the plaster had dried. Indeed the whole treatment of this important question is unsatisfactory. M. Loumyer records Cennino's description of the technique of *fresco a secco*, and Vasari's condemnation of it, but he does not give us any searching discussion as to what painters practised the technique, nor how nor when it came to be abandoned.

The book, however, is a valuable one. It is a really up-to-date synthesis, and this is often more valuable than attempted originality. The descriptions of the colors are terse and clear. Though the author apologizes for it, the short chapter on oil painting in the Middle Ages is admirable, and needed when so many critics still persist in the statement that oil painting was in large measure an invention of the Van Eycks. The book contains an exhaustive bibliography and an unusually complete index. It is a pity, however, that all references to page-numbers should have been omitted from the table of contents.

G. H. EDGELL.

A Short History of the Italian People, from the Barbarian Invasions to the Attainment of Unity. By Janet Penrose Trevelyan. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920, pp. xiii, 580, \$5.00.) Mrs. Trevelyan has written an interesting book for the lay reader, but it is a short history of the Italian peninsula and not what the title purports. The writer has given us a well connected series of sketches of emperors, popes, tyrants, and patriots, of the leading cities, duchies, and monarchies, of their actions and reactions from the time of Diocletian through the *Risorgimento*; and the epilogue supplies the reader with the bare facts of the course of internal development and of the foreign relations of the monarchy to the entry into the war in 1915. There is a bibliography for each of the eight chapter-groups into which the period from 285 to 1870 is traditionally divided—an ill-arranged but fairly comprehensive bibliography of secondary authorities "recommended to the student".

The book is admirably written and will always be of considerable value to the traveller eager to know the Italian political background.

There is nothing of the social and economic life of the people in it. Indeed, the writer's economic point of view is perhaps illustrated by the citation of Gibbon's reckoning of the value of the pound of gold in 408 A.D. at £40 sterling (p. 19). The poorest part of the book is that dealing with events to 1250, although even there the work is singularly free from even minor errors on intricate problems; still we might have been spared a repetition of the fable of the year 1000. The best chapters in the book are the last three, dealing with the *Risorgimento*. They are excellent. Throughout the book there are brilliant little touches culled occasionally from unusual sources: one learns that in Napoleon's time a Calabrian magnate was wont to speak of Cassiodorus with fond familiarity as *quel gran signorone*.

For the scholar the book will have no interest, nor was it meant to have any, but for the casual reader of history it will be far more interesting than any other work of its scope and kind.

E. H. B.

Origines de la Normandie et du Duché d'Alençon de l'An 580 à l'An 1085. Par le Vicomte du Motey. (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1920, pp. ix, 327, 25 fr.) The southern border of Normandy, where the country lay open toward Maine and Anjou, was a constant source of difficulty to the Norman dukes, who faced here for generations the powerful and semi-independent dynasty of the counts of Bellême. The early history of this region has been attempted in detail by Vicomte du Motey, an active member of that Société Historique et Archéologique de l'Orne which is one of the most vigorous of departmental societies. Armed with enthusiasm and much local knowledge, he dissects the chroniclers and certain of the charters with the general aim of putting the border territory into its right relations to the history of Normandy, and with the more special purpose of rescuing the house of Bellême from what he considers the misrepresentations of its principal historian, Ordericus Vitalis. Ordericus is not a contemporary authority for the early history of this family, any more than is William of Jumièges whom he interpolates, and one may well admit the existence in his pages of a considerable amount of doubtful tradition colored by the interests of his monastery; but a sound conclusion is possible only when his narrative has been tested throughout, point by point, after the excellent example set by Prentout in the case of Dudo of St. Quentin. Any one familiar with Ordericus would expect the result of such an examination to be much more favorable to him than to his predecessor. Such a study requires a more intensive use of charters, which become less rare under Duke Richard II. These would disprove at once the assertion (p. 85) that the title of duke, which is found in unquestioned originals of the Conqueror's father and grandfather, was not borne till after the conquest of England.

C. H. H.

The Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by James Tait, M.A. Part I. [Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, vol. LXXIX., new series.] (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1920, pp. 1, 256, ix.) The chartulary of the abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, is not strictly speaking a chartulary but rather a list of the documents preserved by the abbey, with an unusually full abstract of the contents of each document. Professor Tait with great industry has gone a good way toward making it a chartulary by recovering the texts of many of the documents from various sources, both printed and manuscript, and inserting them in place of the original abstracts. The book bears evidence on every page of the great editorial labor and pains which have been bestowed upon it. The present reviewer does not possess the local knowledge necessary to criticize the accuracy of the larger part of the editor's work, but those things of which he can judge seem admirably done. It may be added that the editor has not given results merely. He has revealed his method of work so fully, has discussed in such detail the means he has used to overcome all sorts of difficulties, palaeographical, chronological, topographical, and biographical, as to make the book almost a text-book for instruction in the methods proper for this kind of historical investigation.

Text and notes are well filled with the local and genealogical information for which English scholars naturally esteem so highly books of this kind. In the way of general historical information, especially concerning institutional matters, for which chartularies are usually among our most valuable sources, there is very little to be found. The "*Carta communis Cestrisirie*", the Magna Carta of Cheshire, granted by Earl Ranulf in 1215 or 1216, is well worth study and comparison with John's Magna Carta. It gives information in regard to the private courts and local "liberties" of the palatinate, something as to procedure, feudal rights, military service, forests, and the earl's sergeants. On these same subjects further information is given in other documents and one is led to the conclusion that, as the earl enjoyed more extensive rights than the normal English earl, so the barons of the palatinate in a number of particulars enjoyed greater liberties and somewhat wider rights than the ordinary rear-vassals of England in respect to their lords.

There is in this collection a rather larger proportion than usual of documents coming from ecclesiastical sources. On two ecclesiastical subjects a good deal of information is given: on the appropriation of a church made to the monastery, the establishment of a vicarage, and the division of the revenues of the church between the vicar and the convent; and on the assignment of specific revenues, revenues from specific properties, to different activities of the monastery and to different charities.

An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England. By Edward P. Cheyney, Professor of European History in the University of Pennsylvania. Revised edition. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. xiii, 386, \$2.60.) In the second edition of this favorite handbook, practically no change has been made in the description of what happened before 1820. The results of recent investigation thus fail to appear. Usually, perhaps, these are not of sufficient importance to warrant incorporation in a general survey. Yet the writings of Savine and Tawney, to take one instance, are fundamental enough, in so far as they shift the *onus* of the sixteenth-century agrarian revolution from enclosures to certain forms of tenure. At least they deserve note in the bibliography, which has been otherwise enlarged.

The account of developments since 1820 has been rearranged and expanded. Sometimes, when the paragraphs of the first edition have been incorporated, a subject has not been brought up to date. So it is with small holdings; but this is exceptional. In the rearrangement, however, it is not certain that the topics, admirably treated as they are in themselves, follow in the happiest sequence. The years 1833-1835, for example, mean for us the definitive awakening of the English government to a responsibility for factory inspection and for the reform of the poor law, while, at the same time, self-help finds expression in ephemeral trade-unions, inspired by Owenite ideals. Following these years in explicable succession came the depression of the late thirties, the hopes of Chartism, the movement toward free trade, and the beginnings of cautious unionism. Whatever logic there is in this sequence we miss in Professor Cheyney's treatment. For he introduces us to the free-trade movement, reverts to the poor law, advances to Chartism, retreats to the factory laws and Robert Owen, while in a later chapter, after we have been carried beyond 1850, he returns to the progress of trade-unionism, without differentiating very clearly the two periods of early growth. In part, the arrangement may result from the conception, indicated by the chapter headings, that the years from 1820 to 1848 were dominated by the "Individualist Ideal" and the years from 1848 to 1878 by the "Spirit of Combined Action". While without doubt these phrases do, in a general way, contrast the respective periods, it is no less true that there was a collectivist spirit in certain strata of society during the first of them (witness Owen, the early unions, and Chartism) and no lack of individualist ideal persisting during the second. For it was then, as the Webbs think, that the unions themselves were more or less won to the industrial individualism of the middle classes, abandoning their earlier communist aspirations. Nor would any trade-unionist admit that profit-sharing, described by Professor Cheyney under the second caption, is a manifestation of the spirit of combined action. All of which suggests that the generalizations in question do not readily adapt themselves to a temporal sequence. The caption of the next chapter, too, Liberal Influence on Industrial Life, 1878-1896,

is not altogether convincing. During eleven of these years a Conservative ministry was in control and for a considerable time the world of labor was reactionary.

These captious criticisms, however, can in no way apply to the sound and satisfying presentation of all topics in and of themselves. And they can but throw into relief the entirely happy chapter with which the book closes. This record of the activities of the Liberal government of 1905-1914 gives what is not readily accessible in compact form elsewhere and gives it with the lucidity and good judgment which characterize the book throughout.

H. L. GRAY.

England under the Yorkists, 1460-1485. By Isobel D. Thornley, M.A., Assistant in the Department of History, University College, London. With a preface by A. F. Pollard. [University of London Intermediate Source-Books of History, no. II.] (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1920, pp, xx, 280.) "The immediate object of this volume, and of the series which it inaugurates, is of a practical character. It is to remove some of the difficulties which beset students, teachers, and examiners in connection with the original texts prescribed as part of the Intermediate course and examination in history in the University of London." The second object "is to provide a different if not a wider public with a sort of introductory library of English historical sources, particularly with a view to illustrating those periods which are commonly but erroneously supposed to be poor in original records. The two objects are not incompatible". The first of these quotations is from Professor Pollard's preface to *Illustrations of Chaucer's England*, edited by Dorothy Hughes (London and New York, 1918), and the second is from his preface to the book under review. Pace Professor Pollard, the two objects are not quite compatible. Thus the space allotted to political history—largely intrigue—in Miss Thornley's book (pp. 1-135) is excessive for the enlightened general reader, but probably quite defensible for the students in the course—presumably mainly political—for whom the book is primarily prepared. Constitutional matters get pages 136 to 179. The section covering ecclesiastical affairs (pp. 180-197) is devoted, as is the corresponding section in Miss Hughes's volume, to the growth of heresy or to church abuses. This may be in harmony with the necessary limitations of the course which the book accompanies, but it is a pity from the viewpoint of the general reader, curious about the normal, healthy, religious life of men and women in the Middle Ages. One might as well try to understand the religious life of the members of the Church of England in the later nineteenth century by confining one's self to the conflicts among High, Broad, and Low. The section on economics and social affairs (pp. 198-252) will be the most satisfying to the general reader. Here for the first time he is released—at least in large part—from the sordid,

truculent, sycophantic atmosphere of Yorkist politics, and breathes the purer air of healthy, workaday life. All the material in the book is in English. Much of it is necessarily translated from foreign tongues, but much of it is in the original fifteenth-century English—an English which might well sharpen the shears of the reforming spellers, now happily quiescent. The “brief account of sources” (pp. xi–xix) is a capital exhibition of bibliographical guidance, especially to printed sources, and students of English medieval history should not pass it by. Miss Thornley has executed her task skilfully—even unto the index.

G. C. S.

Catalogue or Bibliography of the Library of the Huguenot Society of America. Compiled by Julia P. M. Morand. (New York, privately printed by Mrs. James M. Lawton, 1920, pp. xi, 351.) Printed sources dealing with the Huguenots in France or America are so difficult to obtain in this country, and even sometimes in Paris, that the investigator will welcome this somewhat carefully analyzed bibliography with its dictionary and fifteen class-catalogues. Genealogy naturally predominates, with about twice the number of pages allotted to any other subject.

Of manuscripts of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, twenty-three appear, most of them originals; and nine printed proclamations of Louis XIV. or his council against the Huguenots. There are reprints of the *Registers* (lists of baptisms, admissions, marriages, deaths) of Caen, 1560–1562, of Loudun (misspelled “Loudin”, p. 309), 1566–1582, and of French churches in the Hague, Dublin, New Paltz, Sleepy Hollow, and New York, and of at least nine Dutch Reformed churches in America. Less adequate is the representation of Huguenot literature on church government and politics written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of fifty or sixty titles of books of this sort, less than half are here catalogued, and of these almost all are already available in either the Prince, Athenaeum, Harvard, Congregational House (Boston), Cornell, McAlpine Collection (Union Seminary), or Library of Congress. In these, or the libraries in London or Paris, especially the remarkable collection of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, must be painfully and sometimes vainly sought such notable authors as Bayle, Cordier, de Vrigny, Hotman, Jurieu, Languet, Mornay, Louis du Moulin, and a score of less known but widely read Huguenot writers, who developed and spread political theories of representative government and resistance to tyranny. The painstaking catalogue makes one first expectant, then somewhat disappointed, and finally wishful that what ought to be the best Huguenot library in America should more adequately supply the rare Huguenot books so needful for understanding the contribution of that element in American life.

H. D. FOSTER.

Extracts from the Newcastle upon Tyne Council Minute Book, 1639-1656. [Publications of the Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee, vol. I.] (Published by the Committee, 1920, pp. xxiii, 243.) This little volume of extracts from the Newcastle Council Minute Book, 1639-1656, is the first of a contemplated annual series of records relating to Durham, Northumberland, and Newcastle upon Tyne, to be published under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne. Miss Madeleine Hope Dodds, one of the joint authors of the excellent *Pilgrimage of Grace* (1915), has made the transcripts, written the introduction, and prepared the index. The editing is well done, though, while most of the items speak for themselves, an exploratory note here and there would have been helpful. Miss Dodds informs us that "The Corporation naturally practised discretion as to what they wrote down in black and white. There are no entries during the years of the Civil War, and no reference to the execution of Charles I. The interest of the record lies in the minute local detail, showing how the life of the town struggled on through dangerous and unprofitable times." In the opinion of the reviewer the first part of this statement is a bit misleading, since, August 19, 1642, the Council lent the King £700, accompanied by a softly circumspect but, nevertheless, loyal petition; on September 7 they made the royalist Earl of Newcastle a free burgess of the town; and one year later they disfranchised a number of burgesses for being "incendiaries" and "treating with several men of another nation to invade the kingdom". After 1644 they had experienced a change of heart, or were taking a safer tack, for we find them disfranchising "delinquents", reversing their action in the case of the Earl of Newcastle, and recalling a clergyman whom they had once expelled for non-conformity. Within a few years they had evidently made a clean sweep of Episcopacy; there were "fflower ministers of the Presbiterian and two of the Congregationall judgement settled to the generall liking and satisfaction of the whole Towne".

However, the main interest of the records is local. We learn somewhat of local prices and salaries, including the usual exiguous provision for schoolmasters, and incidentally in this connection, the corporation showed a curious tenderness about calling from Berwick a teacher whom that municipality was desirous to retain. Need of more widespread education is manifest from the fact that among the signatures of the councillors occasional marks appear. The town treasury seemed to be usually "in a very low condicion", yet it is interesting to note that, so late as 1654, they voted 5 shillings a day to a representative in Parliament at a time when payment of members had all but fallen into disuse. The primitive character of municipal sanitation is indicated by the fact that it was left to each householder to have a weekly clean-up about his premises. Perhaps the most curious item is the petition of a modest alderman who desired to resign, because "the holding of this said place was a Burthen to his Conscience in regard he could not execute the

same". While there is no material of startling moment in these *Minutes* it all helps, in some degree at least, to illuminate our knowledge of the history and life of the period.

A. L. C.

Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham. By Harold J. Laski. [Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, no. 103.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company; London, Williams and Norgate, 1920, pp. 323, 90 cents.) As a volume in the *Home University Library* Mr. Laski's book naturally calls for consideration first from the point of view of the person for whom the volumes of the library are primarily designed, the lay reader. For him one fears that Mr. Laski in his first chapter—an advance summary of his volume—has laid down a *pons asinorum*. In this chapter, strung on a loose paragraph structure, are some seventeen pages of allusive epigram that make difficult reading even for one who knows something of the subject. In these first pages the way of the novice will be hard.

This danger-zone once passed the reading is easy. There is an excellent summary of Locke, though one might question the statement on page 58 that "Sidney apart, the resistance they [Locke's predecessors] had justified was always resistance to a religious tyrant"; there is an admirable study of the nonjurors and of the Bangorian controversy. Bolingbroke is set down at what one feels to be nearly his true political value. The influence of Montesquieu on Blackstone, of Rousseau on Priestley and Price, of DeLolme are all considered. There is a long study of Burke, portrayed by Mr. Laski as the champion of India, America, and Ireland against political oppression and abuse of power and the defender against innovation of the aristocratic system of government responsible for those very excesses. Last of all there is a well-weighed and judicial estimate of Adam Smith. As to interpretations of theory there is, of course, endless opportunity to differ with these; but they are always stimulating and in no case obviously unsound.

There remains the unpleasant duty of noting the most serious fault of the book, its genius for petty inaccuracies. These are of various sorts—inaccuracies of details, such as, on page 56, saying that Glaucon debated with Socrates in the market-place of Athens, a blunder that grates on a lover of the *Republic*. It was not "Mr. Martin of North Carolina" (p. 71) who was to find Locke quotable in the debates of the Philadelphia Convention. There are inaccuracies as well deriving from overhasty statements. The first sentence, "The eighteenth century may be said to begin with the revolution of 1688, for with its completion the Dogma of Divine Right disappeared from English politics", appears inexact to Mr. Laski himself when he is not generalizing, as reference to pages 84 and 156 will show. The phrase on page 97, "most of them [pamphlets on the religious controversy] deserve the complete obliquity into which they have fallen", is distressing. It is

unpleasant to have to indicate this besetting vice of inaccuracy in what is otherwise a stimulating book.

THEODORE C. PEASE.

La Noblesse de France et l'Opinion Publique au XVIII^e Siècle. Par Henri Carré, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Poitiers. (Paris, Édouard Champion, 1920, pp. 650, 20 fr.) There is a strange fascination about the story of the downfall of a great social class like the French nobility, especially when it becomes in part the artificer of its own fate. Some aspects of the story have long been familiar, but M. Carré has given it more comprehensively than his predecessors, describing in detail the course of public opinion. About half the volume is devoted to the situation in the Old Régime, and the remainder to the Revolution, with a brief treatment of the partial restoration of the nobility during the Consulate and the Empire. For his material the author has drawn upon correspondence, memoirs, and the literature of the period, especially plays. An unusually full bibliography shows how extensive his inquiry has been.

Even in those parts of the volume which delineate the nobility as a social class and which explain how it changed as the century drew towards a close, the emphasis seems to be upon its privileges, defects, and vices, rather than upon the positive contribution which certain of its members, at least, made to the progress of French national life. This is doubtless inevitable, if the principal aim is to account for the tendencies of public opinion, which had become so violent by the time of the Revolution that M. Carré calls that section of his volume "*Guerre à la Noblesse*".

It is not astonishing that the revolutionaries found it easier to recall the exploits of a Lauzun than the beneficences of a Liancourt. M. Carré shows how public opinion in Paris in 1790 boiled over upon the publication of the *Livre Rouge*, with its long lists of pensions, gratuities, and favors. Apropos of the millions given to the Count of Provence and his brother, Artois, to pay their debts, he quotes Loustalot, who wrote in the *Révolutions de Paris*, "Français, lisez le *Livre Rouge*, ce répertoire de forfaits. Il est heureux que le Roi n'ait que deux frères: le peuple va désirer qu'il n'en ait jamais eu . . ." Then there was the case of Marie Antoinette's friend, the Comtesse de Polignac, who in 1779 received 800,000 livres for her daughter's dowry, 400,000 for her own debts, and a promise of an estate with 35,000 income. The evil was almost as great under Louis XVI., when the country was drifting towards bankruptcy, as in the time of his unedifying grandfather.

Public opinion at first distinguished between the court and the provincial nobility, praising the provincials because they lived on their estates. The Paris radicals did not realize how tenaciously these provincials clung to feudal titles and distinctions. When the true situation be-

came apparent, after the legislation against feudalism, the provincial nobility was included in the general condemnation which befell the rest of the order.

M. Carré takes issue with Taine's often accepted estimate that the nobility numbered 130,000. He finds that the basis of this calculation, namely the number of those who voted directly or by proxy in seven provinces in the elections to the States General, was defective. It omits two or three minor categories of nobles as well as those who abstained from voting. M. Carré himself inclines to the estimate made by the Marquis de Gouy d'Arisy in 1790, which was 400,000.

If this estimate be accepted, M. Carré points out that in spite of the ferocity with which the nobles were pursued during the Revolution only three per thousand were executed, or about a tenth of the total number of victims from 1789 to 1799. At Paris a quarter of those executed were noble, in Bordeaux a sixth.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Storm van 's Gravesande, zijn Werk en zijn Leven; uit zijne Brieven opgebouwd. Door J. A. J. de Villiers, Secretaris van de Hakluyt Society. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1920, pp. viii, 416, maps and facsimiles, 15 gld.) This handsome volume is yet another fruit of the Anglo-American controversy over the Venezuela-Guiana boundary. Its author, a South African by birth but long a member of the British Museum's staff of scholars, is the investigator and translator to whose able pen the English government mainly entrusted the Dutch documents so important to that controversy. Among these, and not least in importance, were the detailed letters received by the Dutch West India Company from Governor Storm van 's Gravesande, whose long service in Dutch Guiana (1738-1772) made him the best-informed and most efficient spokesman of the Dutch claims since inherited by Great Britain.

It would have been a pity if this correspondence of the fine old Dutch governor, engineer, and explorer as well as administrator, had remained accessible only in the extracts and the publications of an international lawsuit; and already in 1911 the Hakluyt Society, of which Mr. de Villiers is the secretary, published in English, under his editorship and that of Mr. C. A. Harris, his colleague in the work for the British boundary-case, two volumes of these despatches of Storm (see vol. XVI., p. 838, of this review). But no translation into English was adequate to satisfy the governor's Dutch countrymen and those who read their speech. On March 4 of that same year 1911 Mr. de Villiers delivered at the Hague before Queen Wilhelmina and her mother an address which rendered into Dutch the outline of the story; and now this volume, dedicated "to Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands", puts into that tongue the whole work and something more. For Mr. de Villiers has searched once more and fruitfully the bulky correspondence for aught that throws more light upon Storm's life and work—his

generous fellow-editor (now Sir Charles Alexander Harris, governor of Newfoundland) relinquishing all share in this new publication.

To the loss of this colleague is perhaps due the silent disappearance of the more polemic paragraphs of the English volumes. From the historical introduction is dropped the contested story of the Essequibo colony from its foundation in the earlier seventeenth century to the eve of Storm's arrival; and in the account of his own dealings with the outposts and with the Spanish neighbors little is left that could give ground for protest. Still, indeed, a foot-note (p. 152) interprets in a way more creditable to later British claims than to Storm's information or insight his report as to the advancing Capuchin missions, and with no mention of the evidence adduced against this view. Still, too, the appended map, a somewhat simplified translation of that prepared for the English work, perpetuates myths unknown to the volume's letter-press. But such survivals of the old dispute are few. For the most part Mr. de Villiers is content to let Storm tell his own story, adding only the notes required for intelligent study. His book is a monument to his own scholarly sincerity and self-restraint as well as to the manly old statesman whose words it preserves for us.

GEORGE L. BURR.

The Relations of French and English Society, 1763-1793. By C. H. Lockitt, M.A., Head Master of Bungay School, East Suffolk. (New York and London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1920, pp. x, 136, \$2.50.) Mr. Lockitt has ransacked certain contemporary sources (mainly letters, memoirs, diaries) with commendable industry for information about English and French society during the quarter-century before the Revolution. The "society" which emerges from these sources is of course mainly upper-class society; and the "relation" which is here described is mainly a relation effected through the actual intercourse of the upper classes in the two countries. Mr. Lockitt compares and contrasts the manners, tastes, and ideas of these classes in the two countries, endeavors to indicate the changes, what he calls the "revolution", that occurred in these matters during the period in question, and closes with a consideration of the effect of the Revolution on the attitude of Englishmen towards France. The appendix contains a useful compilation of the names of Englishmen who visited France, and of the Frenchmen who visited England, between 1763 and 1787, giving the date in each case. The book is a useful one because it is packed with factual information, clearly and concretely presented, very often in the form of quotation, and carefully documented. But the comment by which the author endeavors to interpret this information is naïve and superficial in the extreme—much the kind of comment one might expect from an English clergyman writing about the year 1818. The following examples will give the quality of Mr. Lockitt's reflections:

When the Revolution broke out, there was found a moderate party

... who inclined to a constitution analogous to the English; but their views were not shared by the great mass of the deputies ... who, partly from a feeling that the English constitution was essentially aristocratic, and partly—misled by the American example—from ignorance of the real advantages of a limited monarchy and a two-chamber system, were disposed to believe in their capacity to evolve a brand-new constitution that should excel all others. . . .

It was, indeed, the very frankness of their atheism that finally destroyed the religion of France, just as it was the obvious bigotry of the *dévots* that prepared the way. Logical conclusion though it was of the writings of the English Deists, their doctrines had not been pushed to this extreme in the land of their birth. The English intellect has always—perhaps from its greater practice in affairs—refrained from enforcing the theoretical speculations of its philosophers in their entirety, and irreligion gained no ground, except among a few advanced thinkers.

Mr. Lockitt should remember that England is a very small island; from which it necessarily follows that the great majority of mankind suffer the disadvantage of having been born, and of having to live, in foreign countries; their failure to conform to English ideas, although reprehensible, is probably not due in all cases to mere perversity.

CARL BECKER.

England in Transition, 1789-1832: a Study of Movements. By William Law Mathieson, LL.D. (New York and London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1920, pp. xiv, 285, \$6.00.) In all fairness to Dr. Mathieson it should be stated at the beginning of this review that his own modest preface as to the scope of this book describes its contents far more justly than the advertisement of the publisher on the paper wrapper. *England in Transition* is not, in any real sense of the word, a history of the period, nor did its author ever intend it to be such. His aim, as he states, is to "distinguish and illustrate the forces, the economic, but especially the spiritual and intellectual forces", which made the England of 1832 different from the England of 1789.

This aim has been, to some slight degree, accomplished. The book describes in fair measure, even if it does not analyze, the spiritual and religious tendencies of the period; it tells us something of the intellectual fermentation of these forty-odd years; and it contains also a few pages on the politics and economics of Great Britain from the Younger Pitt to the Reform Bill. But it focusses on nothing, and in consequence is not only inartistic but confusing. In two hundred and eighty pages no one either could or should write of such variant yet significant historical facts as the Industrial Revolution, the Reform Bill of 1832, the English game laws, the slave trade, Luddite riots, while at the same time appraising the public work of men differing from one another in the various fields of activity as greatly as did Paley, John Wilkes, Francis Place, Cobbett, Canning, Bentham, Paine, Jonas Hanway, and Lord John Russell. One is reminded of the chapters in the

Cambridge Modern History devoted to *Kulturgeschichte*. One finds *materia historica* in abundance; for sequence of thought, for unity of form, for logical deduction and philosophical content one looks in vain. The facts contained herein are well arranged, but there are too many of them and too variant to be in such close juxtaposition. The result is a rather pleasant volume of informal chatty essays.

As one might expect from a knowledge of Dr. Mathieson's earlier writings, the best part of this book is that portion which is especially devoted to the social and religious movements of the period of transition, and the bias of the author's mind in this direction is seen in the emphasis laid by him on Paine's *Age of Reason*. This book never had a vogue or influence at the end of the eighteenth century comparable to that of *The Rights of Man*. But to the latter book there is scant reference in this volume. Wilberforce, the evangelical movement, Sunday schools, and Sabbatarianism are treated fully; of William Godwin there is no mention, and the name of Malthus occurs but incidentally. The book has a rather good treatment of the abolition of the slave-trade, and of the educational ideas and practices of the period; but certainly, as far as the nineteenth century is concerned, one might far better read the earlier volumes of Sir Spencer Walpole's *History of England*, which although written before *Kulturgeschichte* appeared on the horizon, is still the ablest presentation of social England at the opening of the century which has yet appeared in print.

WALTER PHELPS HALL.

The Private Letters of Sir Robert Peel. Edited by George Peel. With illustrations. (London, John Murray, 1920, pp. xi, 296, 18 sh.) The motive of influencing present-day statesmanship by reviving the memory of Peel, would seem to be served only feebly by the printing of this correspondence. An analysis of his undoubted genius, or a re-statement of his achievement, would have been more to the point; Peel's private letters, it must be confessed, are of doubtful use in helping an admirer to appraise his claim to greatness. The reason is simple. In political life Peel suffered from an illusion of monumental dignity and rectitude; these letters show that even within his own family also, he was, with Lady Peel's assistance, the victim of the same belief. A more colorless repetition of stilted phrase, monotonous endearment, stereotyped commonplace, all put together with dreary impressiveness, has seldom been brought out of a family chest to enhance the reputation of a public man.

The real value of the letters is less for the political critic, who will be inclined most likely to use them adversely, than for the student of prevailing traditions and modes of thought, who will find in them the reflection of a type of mind of which Peel's as a specimen is perfect. When, in the later Georgian era, the choice for the middle class lay between the clear-mindedness of the Utilitarian and the high-mindedness

of the Romantic Transcendentalist, Peel—as became the second generation of a puritan, mill-owning baronetcy, of great wealth—adopted the fashionable affectation of feudal quality with a solemn and earnest fastidiousness that made him a model of exalted propriety and frigid decorum:—a Georgian bourgeois overcome with an acquired sense of mail-clad distinction. But the warmth and color tinging the medievalism of the average middle-class Tory, Peel's personality and manner could never sustain; his letters show him pursuing superiority, coldly, for its own sake. Nevertheless, the attractive background that the middle-class Tory mind, even in Peel's case, brought to the thought and manners of the early Victorian era, is to be felt vividly in this correspondence; and it makes its perusal, for this special purpose, quite worth while.

C. E. FRYER.

The Employment of the Plebiscite in the Determination of Sovereignty. By Johannes Mattern, Assistant Librarian in the Johns Hopkins University. [Johns Hopkins University Studies, series XXXVIII., no. 3.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1920, pp. ix, 214, \$1.60.) As a general survey of the evolution and application of the doctrine of the plebiscite in its broadest sense, this book is a valuable complement to Miss Wambaugh's *Monograph on Plebiscites*. Not as intensive in its treatment of specific cases, it is much more comprehensive in scope and more legalistic in manner. A scholarly definition of plebiscite is followed by a somewhat scrappy account of plebiscites in ancient and feudal times. The description of those of the French Revolutionary period and the unification of Italy was written without the benefit of Miss Wambaugh's work, which appeared while Mattern's book was in press. Chapters IV. and V. deal with the plebiscites from 1815 to 1914 and those provided for by the peace treaties ending the World War. The last three chapters discuss the practical and theoretical aspects of plebiscites and their position in international and constitutional law.

The particular importance of the book appears to lie in the fact that it is almost unique in summarizing in English the European investigations in this field. Perhaps the author attempts too much, for his presentation is often sketchy and not always well proportioned. It is not easy to determine the broad outlines, for example, of the evolution of thought or theory relating to the plebiscite. Technical points rather obscure the historical background. With reference to the most recent plebiscites the author's view is detached and judicious but not entirely adequate. His exposition of the plebiscite in international law and its possible future in this sphere is admirably clear and concise. A number of errors occur in the text: Louis XIV. for Louis XVI. (p. 24), Minicio for Mincio (p. 84), East for West (p. 120), conclave for enclaves (p. 142), mersion for mergence (p. 152).

L. B. P.

Portraits of the Eighties. By Horace G. Hutchinson. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, pp. xv, 301, \$4.00.) Mr. Hutchinson is known to the world chiefly for his excellent articles on golf and golfers and for many columns of literary opinion and chitchat in London weeklies. In his essay on Lord Hartington he speaks of the "gradual infiltration into the bulk of the people of a tolerably definite estimate of the characters of their leading men" and suggests that this estimate is usually correct. Mr. Hutchinson's estimates represent, in the main, the result of such infiltration. Few of the men he discusses he seems to have known at all intimately. Rather he has struck a balance between much club-room and newspaper-office opinion and in most cases probably has come off pretty well. His stories are of the kind that pass current in London and yet they are always pat for his purpose.

Many of his sketches add nothing at all to the general body of opinion. About George Meredith—where he believes himself heretical—about W. S. Gilbert, about Burne-Jones, Millais, and the Preraphaelites, about Labouchere and Bradlaugh, about Huxley and about Andrew Lang, he says undisputed things, in a light and pleasing way. His estimate of Joseph Chamberlain seems to me the careless judgment of contemporaries impressed by Chamberlain's personality. Sir Harry Johnston in the *Gay-Dombey's* has more nearly hit off Chamberlain than dozens of biographies and essays. As Chamberlain's career and connections are more closely studied, as the backgrounds of the new English imperialism are examined—H. G. Wells has at least pointed the way—we shall revise current notions of Chamberlain. Mr. Hutchinson's portrait of Gladstone is carefully done and adds incidents that are fresh if they but emphasize characteristics already recognized. His suggestion that Morley had much more influence upon Gladstone's policy than Gladstone ever realized has much to be said for it. His study of Parnell is based largely upon an attentive reading of Barry O'Brien's great biography, but is wholly to the point. Equally good are his judgments of Harcourt and Lord Avebury. His first-hand knowledge of Spencer Walpole, of Lord Brassey, and of Lord Wemyss make the sketches of those men valuable. About the "Souls" he tells us more indeed than does Mrs. Asquith, who knew more about them. When he deals with George Grossmith, with W. G. Grace, and with Nellie Farren, he is thoroughly at home.

Mr. Hutchinson writes easily and without pretension to more knowledge than he has. His book is a good three hours of pleasant reading.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

Guillaume II., le Vaincu. By G. Lacour-Gayet. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1920, pp. 343, 12.50 fr.) Never, perhaps, before has Nemesis offered so striking a confirmation of the truth that "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall", as in the contrast between the War Lord in shining armor and the axman of Amerongen.

M. Lacour-Gayet's clever analysis makes the most of this dramatic contrast by frequently placing in juxtaposition the past and the present. The Kaiser's dominant influence on German foreign and domestic policy and his extraordinary versatility and complexity of character make him an interesting subject for the historian or psychologist, but M. Lacour-Gayet's treatment is neither exactly historical nor psychological. He does not aim to give a history of William II.'s influence upon his times while Kaiser, nor does he attempt a pathological study of the origin and development of the Kaiser's megalomania. Instead, he gives a series of somewhat disconnected chapters dealing with the Kaiser's attitude toward Bismarck, religion, the army, the navy, pacifism, colonial policy, and the questions of Poland, Schleswig, and Alsace-Lorraine. In the middle of the book, there are a couple of good chapters on William II.'s character and, at the end, a brief chapter on the origin of the war and William II. during the war. This topical treatment does not give a convincing account of the Kaiser's own psychological development such as is given so excellently, for instance, in the brief biography by S. C. Hammer. A considerable part of the book is made up of quotations from the Kaiser's speeches, and especially from the recently published "Letters from the Kaiser to the Czar"; they illustrate excellently the instability, hypocrisy, and self-contradictory character of the Kaiser's kaleidoscopic performances and his love of theatrical display.

In the chapter on the origin of the war, the author assigns to William II. the sole and complete criminal responsibility. He mentions the four-volume Kautsky publication of diplomatic documents of 1919, but apparently has not actually used them, for he entitles them (p. 311) *Comment fût déclarée la Guerre*. This is the French equivalent of the German title of the little pamphlet which Kautsky published many months later; it contains many of the Kaiser's famous marginal notes (some of which are quoted by Lacour-Gayet) and is largely directed against the Kaiser. Had M. Lacour-Gayet used the documents themselves, he would scarcely have made several of the statements which appear. Among other things, he broadens the legend of the Potsdam Council of July 5, so that it includes, among those present, even Counts Berchtold and Tisza.

M. Lacour-Gayet has preserved innumerable anecdotes and facts which illustrate all the Kaiser's foolish love of display, his adoration of his ancestors, his medieval notions about politics and religion, his familiarity with Jehovah, his undesired visits to foreign sovereigns, and his maladroitness to be all-things to all men.

S. B. F.

La Guerre de 1914: Recueil de Documents intéressant le Droit International. Avec un Avant-propos de M. Paul Fauchille. Tome III. (Paris, A. Pedone, [1920], pp. 90, 40 fr.) M. Fauchille's third volume is of the same character as the two which we have reviewed in a previ-

ous issue (XXIII. 397-398), and what is there said remains true of the present volume. It contains 191 documents (nos. 671-861) presented in French, and in rather fine print. The selection is intelligent, but it remains a selection. Many important documents are here conveniently brought together, ranging from declarations of neutrality at the beginning of the war to the treaties of Brest-Litovsk. The arrangement is neither chronological nor systematic, but there is an index.

The Literary Digest History of the World War. By Francis Whitling Halsey. Volume X. (New York and London, Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1920, pp. xii, 505, \$25.00 for the set of ten volumes.) Shortly before the tenth and concluding volume in this series was finished the author died. In the introduction, however, we are assured that the task of bringing the last volume "down to date has involved very little additional labor" (p. ix). This statement seems too optimistic, inasmuch as it is obvious that neither the organization nor the quality of the book approaches the standard set in the preceding volumes. Chapters on the four years of sea warfare (except submarine activities, treated in a former volume), personal sketches of war leaders, the Peace Conference, the Victory Loan, Bismarck and Thiers at Versailles in 1871, and the prolonged treaty controversy in the American Senate, are all thrown together in confusion. One feels that all the fragments have been gathered together in order "that nothing be lost".

The personal sketches of sixty-three war leaders, including six Americans, President Wilson, Generals Pershing, March, and Bliss, Admiral Sims and Colonel House, vary according to the content and quality of the magazine articles from which they have been selected. They are largely character-sketches abounding in anecdotes. The former German crown prince comes in for the usual ridicule, while the Kaiser gets decidedly better treatment. The sketches are incomplete; each one ends without summary or logical stopping-place.

The most serious defect of the book, however, is the almost complete omission of discussion concerning the vexing questions with which the delegates at Paris wrestled for months, and the colorless evolution of President Wilson's work, the Senate controversy, and the war's world-significance. The few paragraphs devoted to conclusions are most inadequate when compared to the comprehensive review of pre-war conditions found in the first volumes. Laymen in international affairs, among whom the book will have a wide reading, will gain little as a guide for the formation of intelligent opinions on the present international situation. It is a pity that there could not have been a little less description of treaty ceremonies and a little more treatment of things of present and fundamental significance to the American people.

The book contains good maps, summaries of the various treaties, a war chronology, and an index to the entire series.

GEORGE F. ZOOK.

Little History of the Great War. By H. Vast, Honorary Examiner for Admission at l'École de St. Cyr. Translated by Raymond Weeks, Ph.D., Professor of French in Columbia University. With numerous maps from the French and other sources. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1920, pp. xi, 262, \$1.60.) This little book is an effort to present in clear but brief outline the events of the war and the causes which produced it. In this effort the author has scored a very real success. The course of the military events from August, 1914, to November, 1918, is set forth graphically, simply, and clearly: the facts are allowed to speak for themselves and there is no unnecessary eloquence. M. Vast has confined himself predominantly to the military history of the war; the blockade of Germany and the measures of internal war organization on the part of the warring governments are given scant treatment, the diplomatic phases of the war receive practically no attention. The book gains in unity and clearness as a result of this policy, but also loses in scope. It is primarily a book for the reader who wishes, in a brief time, to understand and follow the military events of the war.

Far weaker than the chapters on the war itself are those which deal with the causes leading to it. Germany is the villain, perpetually and entirely in the wrong, and very little attempt has apparently been made to understand the position of France's foe. Perhaps historic detachment is too much to expect at this time from the citizen of devastated France. Over-condensation, also, is responsible for some errors, of which perhaps the most noticeable is the statement that "in the war against the Boers (1899-1902) the Kaiser took sides noisily against the English, by his telegram to President Kruger" (p. 26). The chapter dealing with the immediate causes of the war is the best in this group and makes a serious and not unsuccessful effort to refute the German arguments for their policy in 1914.

The author modestly makes no claim to finality of judgment. The book merely aims to give a clear and careful answer to that large group of persons who wish to know something of the battle of the Marne or the reasons for the collapse of Germany in 1918 and lack either the inclination or the time to read the longer and more exhaustive works. To them, at least, this little volume deserves commendation.

Professor Weeks, as might be expected, has given us a very good translation. All the lucidity of the original has been retained in its English dress. The format of the book leaves little to be desired. In a work of this type an index is relatively less necessary, but a brief register might, possibly, have added slightly to the value of the book.

MASON W. TYLER.

Handbook prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, nos. 76-88, 115-121, 131-138. (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1920, pp. from 21 to 97 each, price 1 sh. to 2 s. 6 d. each.) Almost all of these last of Dr. Prothero's *Handbooks* deal with

the colonial possessions of one power or another. As before, they are of varying value, not so much owing to the difference in the mode of treatment of the respective subjects as to the amount of space allotted to them. For instance, the *Handbook* on Dutch Guiana is longer than the one on French Indo-China, and the one on the Falkland Islands longer than the one on Dutch New Guinea and the Molucca Islands. To sum up our conclusions of the whole series, we may say that the *Handbooks* are good compendiums, furnishing in convenient form information some of which is not quickly procurable elsewhere. The smaller the subject of which each one treats, the greater is apt to be its relative value.

Vermittlung und Gute Dienste in Vergangenheit und Zukunft. By Edgar de Melville. (Gotha, F. A. Perthes, 1920, pp. ix, 159, M. 14.) The Dutch pacifist Van der Mandère, who was the secretary of the Netherlands Commission on a Minimum Programme for Peace, now writing under the pseudonym of Edgar de Melville, offers this essay upon mediation and good offices for the purpose of reaching a conclusion as to whether these instrumentalities of international conciliation and settlement are likely to have a place under the scheme of the present League of Nations. In the past they have been of importance for the settlement of non-justiciable disputes, of controversies essentially political. They have been essentially facultative in character, for in the author's opinion there is something essentially antagonistic between intervention and mediation. Good offices and mediation bring the contending states together upon the plane of equality, without derogating from their rights of independence and sovereignty—so, indeed, in theory, but certainly not in practice. The Council of the League of Nations is the agency which, proceeding upon the theory of a solidarity of spirit as expressed in unity of organization, will have jurisdiction over political disputes, those of a legal nature going to arbitration, or to the international court of justice. The traditional character of mediation and good offices will thereby be changed, but notwithstanding the collegiate organization of the Council there will still be need for a method and procedure which will retain the essential features of mediation and good offices.

Such being the main thesis of the essay the historical aspects of the subject are made secondary. The various instances of the use of mediation and good offices are briefly described, and greater space is devoted to the consideration which the Hague Conferences gave to these subjects. The discussion of them by the Commission for a Minimum Programme naturally receives detailed consideration. In the appendix will be found extracts from the various treaties as well as proposals made to the Interparliamentary Union and elsewhere. An adequate bibliography is added. The essay fulfils its purpose, in showing the need in the future for some such machinery for the settlement of

political controversies. It is painstaking, and in the statement of fact apparently accurate. It is, however, written with a quality of heaviness which is reminiscent of similar matter of ante-bellum date, when very ponderous statements, if set forth in expanded type, carried much weight and imported ultimate authority.

J. S. R.

The History of Imperialism. By Irwin St. John Tucker. (New York, Rand School of Social Science, 1920, pp. 404, \$2.25.) We must expect, and it is desirable, that history should be written anew from the point of view of socialism, and that among works of this sort one variety should be the small book that undertakes to give an outline of the whole course of human history, considered from the point of view of the Marxist faith. But that book, if it is to perform a useful service, must not be like this, a book swarming with erroneous statements, filled with turgid and declamatory rhetoric, lacking perception of values and proportions, and eager at every turn to twist the facts into support of assumed doctrines.

Harper's Atlas of American History. Selected from the *American Nation* Series, with Map Studies. By Dixon Ryan Fox, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1920, pp. v, 181, \$2.50.) This volume contains 128 maps selected from the *American Nation* series; the character and value of these maps are well known; placed together in chronological order they form a cartographical history of the United States. The lapses, such as omission of maps showing the important presidential elections of 1828 and 1832 (when maps of so many elections of lesser moment are given), and some errors, such as George Rogers Clark's route to Kaskaskia being made to follow the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, are well known to the users of the series mentioned.

The book ought to be of extraordinary service to teachers of our history in preparatory schools. No such set of maps in handy form, and made by scholars, exists. To these teachers Dr. Fox's contribution to the volume (occupying 81 of the 181 pages) will make a strong appeal. Following a brilliant little essay of nine pages entitled "American History and the Map", come twenty-seven map studies of as many phases of our history, arranged in chronological order. These should materially assist teachers who have their classes draw colored maps illustrative of events or periods to standardize such efforts in a critical way. Here anyone interested in such work will find scientific direction and references to the best authorities. No preparatory-school library should be without this volume.

Critics of the influence-of-geography school will relish Dr. Fox's balance of attitude; in his suggestions he emphasizes political interests as fully as economic or topographical. His introductory essay may

well be read with profit by every student of our history; he suggests the analogy which ought to be drawn usefully between ecology and human migration and in several instances he is at the threshold of bringing out the enormous importance of soil series as one factor in influencing American migration. The book has no index.

ARCHER B. HULBERT.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume LIII., October 1919–June, 1920. (Boston, the Society, 1920, pp. xvi, 358.) This volume, like its predecessors, consists of documents and of papers read in the meetings of the society. Of the documents the most important is a log of the *Columbia*, kept on its famous voyage of 1790–1793, by John Boit, which fills sixty pages, and a group of letters from Thomas Thornely, M.P., written in 1840–1847 to Henry Lee of Boston, the free-trader, with one letter of 1840 from the latter. Thornely's letters are important for what they say of the adoption of free trade by Great Britain and the adoption of the Bank Restriction Act of 1844. Among the personal memoirs the most interesting is that of the late Col. Henry L. Higginson by John T. Morse, jr.

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volumes XX. and XXI. *Transactions*, 1917–1919, 1919. (Boston, the Society, pp. xv, 502; xiii, 491.) Like all the preceding volumes published by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, these volumes are exceptionally handsome in appearance, and have been annotated, indexed, and otherwise edited, with elaborate care. Of the contents of volume XX., much the largest component (175 pages) is Professor E. B. Delabarré's account of the recent history of Dighton Rock, supplementary to his previous contributions on the subject. He now pursues the attempted interpretations, from Rafn's time to the present, enumerates and discusses the photographic reproductions, hazards a fresh conjecture as to the name Cortereal among the inscribed characters, and ends with a psychologist's reflections on the whole story of endeavors to interpret. In brief, no such endeavors have succeeded, but the inscriptions are mostly Indian, and in no case Norse. Other contributions of interest are Mr. John H. Edmonds's group of documents on Captain Thomas Pound, pirate and cartographer; the late Horace E. Ware's discussions of the history of the seventeen-year cicadas in New England, from Bradford's time down; Judge Sewall and Rev. Nicholas Noyes on Wigs, contributed by Mr. W. C. Ford; Edward Goddard's Journal of the Peace Commission to the Eastern Indians in 1726; and the Origin of the Words Butternut and Copperhead, studied by Mr. Albert Matthews after his thorough manner. But the most important piece in the volume is Mr. R. V. Harlow's excellent and illuminating paper on Economic Conditions in Massachusetts during the American Revolution.

In volume XXI. the longest paper, and on the whole the most interesting, is one by Professor George L. Kittredge, on Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant, in which with his customary learning he brings together all the needful materials for the life of Child and makes a rational defense of the colonial authorities. Mr. Matthews contributes a paper on Early Sunday Schools in Boston; Mr. J. H. Tuttle a body of 118 land-warrants issued under Andros, 1687-1688; and Professor Kenneth Colegrove a useful dissertation on the instructions given by New England towns to their deputies in colonial legislatures. Three contributions relate to the history of Harvard College: Mr. Matthews investigates the relations of Comenius to the college, the presidency of which is said to have been offered to him, and the conflicting statements respecting the college charter of 1692, while Mr. A. C. Potter, of the university library, presents a catalogue of John Harvard's library.

Plymouth and the Pilgrims. By Arthur Lord. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. 178, \$1.50.) In 1920 Mr. Arthur Lord, president of the Pilgrim Society, delivered three lectures on the Colver foundation at Brown University, which have now been published under the title, *Plymouth and the Pilgrims*. The first chapter treats of Plymouth before the Pilgrims, the second of the Pilgrims before Plymouth, and the third of Plymouth and the Pilgrims, titles which sufficiently indicate the character of the subject-matter and the distribution of the material. The point of view taken is, in the main, a familiar one, for Mr. Lord has departed in no important particular from the conventional treatment of Pilgrim history and has made no concession to recent historical views or to interpretations based on the idea that there must be a difference in mental longitude between the man of 1620 and the man of to-day. He has told his story well, perhaps at times in greater detail than would seem advisable in lectures to popular audiences, and he does not fail to draw the usual lessons from Pilgrim example, most of which are rather pietistic and emotional than historical. The Mayflower Compact is still "the first state paper in the New World to express and typify and symbolize the high conception, the inspiring idea, of civil liberty, of self-government, of a true democracy", a statement that is, perhaps, a wider departure from the truth than is commonly attempted, except at Pilgrim Society banquets. Should this and other remarks about "corner stones" and "the future of the New World" fall under the eye of Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, who with equal obliquity of vision sees in the Virginia House of Burgesses of 1619 the "first popularly elected body", "the first expression of democracy", in America, they would probably lead to his writing another chapter on "Propaganda in History". More serious even than these extravagant utterances are the errors of understanding which occasionally appear. The "liberties, franchises, and immunities" of our early charters were not the universal human rights that Mr. Lord thinks they were, and the

connection which he finds between the tenure of the manor of East Greenwich, gavelkind, and the New England land system is mostly fiction. To call the common-stock and half-profit business arrangement, made in half a dozen of the earliest plantations, "Communism", is to misunderstand its character as a temporary device in promoting colonization; and to accept the views of Motley and Campbell on Dutch influence in America is to ignore the saner opinions of Dr. Colenbrander and Miss Putnam. Excellent as is much of what Mr. Lord has written, his treatment as a whole is reminiscent of the ideas and historical tastes of an older generation.

Cape Cod and the Old Colony. By Albert Perry Brigham, Sc.D., Professor of Geology in Colgate University. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920, pp. xi, 284, \$3.50.) The Pilgrim tercentenary, like others of the sort, has brought forth a small flood of historical and semi-historical literature, most of it of little value. To this statement Professor Brigham's book is an exception. It is the best book on Cape Cod since Thoreau's.

The poet-naturalist had the advantage of seeing Cape Cod at the height of its amphibious civilization, when population had reached its peak, before summer visitors or alien proletariat had obtained a foothold. Professor Brigham came half a century later, with the "rusticators". But he brought the mind of a scientific geographer, a keen power of observation, and a sympathetic attitude toward Pilgrim and "Portygee" alike. He is the first to describe, in popular form, the geologic origin of the Cape; to explain its curious combination of ponds, valleys, tidal inlets, and outlying shoals. He has found in the Cape's history a perfect illustration of the influence of geography on population. He has honestly described the Cape as it is, not as the readers of *Cap'n Eri* expect it to be.

The subtitle is slightly misleading, for the author attempts only to describe the Plymouth and Cape shores of the Old Colony. There is good reason for this, however. Plymouth Bay belongs geologically to Cape Cod. Its isolation from the land and sea routes of colonial commerce, and its unproductive back country, explain the poverty and slow development of the Pilgrim Colony, in contrast to Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut.

The history of the Cape is given briefly, but with sufficient detail to emphasize the individuality of each town and village. A most valuable chapter definitely explodes the legend of the Cape's agricultural barrenness. Cranberries, tea-rooms, and fake "Cap'ns" are not the only Cape Cod crops. It is gratifying to find a resident of central New York impressed with the orchards of Pamet, the nurseries of Barnstable, and the fourteen-thousand-acre Coonomessett Ranch at Hatchville, where modern agriculture is profitably exploiting land that the Pilgrim seed passed by. Several pages are properly devoted to the Cape Cod Canal.

Another chapter describes the population changes of the last half-century, and the new problems created by the juxtaposition of a Portuguese proletariat, a Yankee bourgeoisie, and a summer-visitor plutocracy. Evidently the sacred town-meeting is becoming a bit warped and strained.

There are few slips in fact, or errors in judgment. Stones brought up from the Georges Bank seem to indicate a non-glacial origin.

The Cape villages are not good illustrations for Lionel W. Lyde's pretty theory that democracy is a product of fishing. There were distinct social classes in old Barnstable and Brewster, as elsewhere on the New England coast; shipmasters and shipowners ran the town-meetings much as they did their vessels. The old-time Cape Codder, in fact, illustrates Horace's *coelum non animus* better than the "broadening influence of the sea".

Popular monographs such as this, sound yet readable, teach historians much, and suggest that the profession might profit by more personal field-work in a region whose history it attempts to relate. Professor Brigham's book is also an example of what should be done for every physiographic region in America. But few such regions have the distinctiveness and the rare flavor of Cape Cod.

Old Cape Cod: the Land, the Men, the Sea. By Mary Rogers Bangs. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. 298, \$3.50.) Miss Bangs's book is of a different stamp from Professor Brigham's. In form and subject-matter, it is a history. The publisher's announcement is correct in describing it as "vivid and highly colored", and in ascribing to the authoress a "keen historical imagination". Even the casual tourist will find Professor Brigham's book the more readable; and for the historical student Miss Bangs offers only a rehash of old Freeman, the town histories, and the standard works on the fisheries, with a bit of seasoning from Sears's and Sprague's books on old shipmasters of Brewster and Barnstable; the whole sauced with sentiment and color. Inaccuracies are innumerable, and seem due rather to straining for effect than to carelessness. Captain Cobb did not "see Robespierre's head falling into the basket" (p. 224); he expressly states in his diary that he left Paris before the 9 Thermidor. Robert Gray, not John Kenrick (*sic*) was the "first American master to circle the globe"; but Robert Gray was not a Cape Codder. A good history of Cape Cod and its maritime activities is much needed, but it must be based on patient research in family archives, town records, accounts and records of fishing voyages, and the custom-house archives of the Barnstable district (now removed to New Bedford). There is also a wealth of information on fishing, seafaring, and salt-making, stored in the minds of old inhabitants, which should be rescued before it is too late.

Both this book and Mr. Brigham's are beautifully and generously illustrated with photographs.

In Old Pennsylvania Towns. By Anne Hollingsworth Wharton. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1920, pp. 352, \$5.00.) This book is both attractive to the eye and entertaining and informing in its content. The history and tradition of the small town and of pioneer days of cities have always possessed a charm that has inspired many a volume. Outside of the many books on Philadelphia, the colorless accounts given in the commercial type of county histories, and a few excellent monographs of local historians, the historic associations of Pennsylvania towns have not received the same attention as have, for example, those of the New England towns and some of the South. "To gather together some record of these associations, while those still living are able to recall stories, handed down from father to son, of the days when many of these towns were frontier forts", as well as "to record the recollections of later and eventful days just before and soon after the Civil War", has been the object of the writer of this book.

Much history has been made in Pennsylvania; its villages and towns have atmosphere and physical setting unsurpassed, and its diversity of nationality and religious sects with their quaint and picturesque customs prevents monotony. This state, therefore, with such widely individual characteristics, offers an attractive field for a book of this sort. Materials drawn from tradition, local historians, and publications of the state and county historical societies, have all been woven into a gossipy, readable story of a connected tour covering the greater part of the state. Naturally, Revolutionary scenes and events, Molly Pitcher of Carlisle, Robert Fulton and his early life, President Buchanan at Wheatland, Gettysburg (the college at this town, however, is not Pennsylvania State College which is located near Bellefonte), President Lincoln's visits to Lancaster and Harrisburg in February, 1861, Thaddeus Stevens, and other nationally known personages and places are given prominent mention in the story. The reader will perhaps find greater fascination in the Indian tales that are told, the local legends, the description given of the Moravian settlements, the story of the Friends, of the French settlement at Asylum, intended as a place of refuge for the nobility of France, and of Queen Esther of Wyoming. He will certainly admire the beautiful illustrations, thirty-nine of them, mostly of old houses, churches, estates, and doorways. The book ends too abruptly; the last page is unnumbered, and leaves the reader in Chester with no warning that his pleasant journey is at an end.

L. F. S.

Sea Power in American History: the Influence of the Navy and the Merchant Marine upon American Development. By Herman F. Krafft and Walter B. Norris, Associate Professors, United States Naval Academy. (New York, Century Company, 1920, pp. xxii, 372, \$4.00.) Although the authors of this volume have preferred to call it by its

present title, it is nevertheless practically a somewhat condensed history of the American navy. But, while the stirring incidents of our naval annals are duly recorded and adequate portraits of our maritime heroes drawn, the book is especially designed to bring home to its readers the vital part which ships and sailors have played in our country's development, as well as the mutual dependence upon one another of the two branches of shipping, naval and commercial. It is therefore less a dramatic chronicle of brilliant deeds than a clear exposition of the manner in which events were shaped by maritime influences.

It is inevitable that a single volume which treats of the entire period of our national history, from colonial times up to and including the year 1920, must be popular in character, which is the case in this instance. For this very reason the book is an excellent one to place in the hands of the layman desirous of acquiring a clear knowledge, imparted in a spirited and pleasing manner, of the decisive rôle which our navy and our commercial fleets have ever played and must always play in our national life. But it is fair to add that, though the scope of the work prevents the meticulous treatment of any one phase of maritime history that might be demanded of a General Staff historian, nevertheless the historical references are correct and the presentation of policies and situations sound, while nothing is omitted that serves to preserve the continuity of record.

Keeping in mind the very justifiable chief object of our authors, the presentation of the supreme importance of sea power to this country, it seems questionable whether the rather extended and detailed biographies of our great naval commanders contained in the book would not better have been either considerably condensed or incorporated in a separate book. It is difficult to see, for example, how the volume's main thesis is furthered by a detailed recital of Farragut's personal relations with crowned heads and European diplomats. It is quite possible, however, that the inclusion of these chapters, which in themselves are extremely interesting, may make the book more acceptable to the average lay reader, the one most likely to be benefited by it. In any case it cannot fail to be of signal service in reminding Americans once more that sea power was the decisive factor in the making of these United States, by the activities of our privateers and the intervention of the French squadron; and repeatedly in preserving their independence, as in the second war against Great Britain by our inland victories on Erie and Champlain and those of our frigates, in the Civil War by strangling the Confederacy, and finally in the World War by our aid in combating the submarine menace and in transporting the American army to France. The book drives home the facts that the navy is our first line of defense, that a navy is never aggressive but always defensive, and finally that it must be a powerful preventive of war.

The chapters on the maritime activities of the Spanish-American War and the building of the Panama Canal are instructive, while the

summing up of the American naval and industrial contributions to the Allied cause in the late war, while short, is graphic and sound.

EDWARD BRECK.

The Senate and Treaties, 1789-1817: the Development of the Treaty-Making Functions of the United States Senate during their Formative Period. By Ralston Hayden, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. xvi, 237, \$1.50.) Recent differences of opinion existing between President Wilson and the Senate have aroused renewed interest in the study of the treaty-making powers under the Constitution. Although contributing little new information on the subject, Professor Hayden has performed a useful service by tracing from 1789 to 1817 the gradual development of treaty-making procedure in the Senate. The importance of precedents is emphasized by the author in his assertion that "At no subsequent period was more done to fix the relative powers of the President and the Senate in treaty-making, and to determine when and how the Senate should exercise its functions in the field, than during the administrations of President Washington" (p. 2). Almost half the book is devoted to this period. The author shows how the attempt to maintain personal contact between the Executive and the Senate, whereby the Senate should be in reality a "council of advice" to the President, broke down, with the result that the President gained a greater freedom in negotiation of treaties and the Senate was placed in a position to accept, amend, or reject such treaties without feeling itself bound by previous consent. In place of the abandoned practice of personal contact between President and Senate there grew up the committee system. In chapter VIII., previously printed in the *American Journal of International Law*, the author traces the early development of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The book ends rather abruptly with the ratification of the treaty of 1816 with Sweden and Norway.

In his bibliography Professor Hayden discusses critically the materials used in writing the book. His note (p. 220) on the condition of the executive files of the Senate is additional testimony to the need of an archive building in Washington. The bibliography obviously is selective rather than inclusive but, even so, one wonders why such authorities as the *Journal of William Maclay* and Brown's *Life of Oliver Ellsworth*, both quoted in the text, are not listed in the bibliography. The same is true of the *Writings* of statesmen. In the latter case it would have been helpful if particular editions of *Writings* employed in the text had been noted in the bibliography.

EVERETT S. BROWN.

A Short History of the American Labor Movement. By Mary Beard. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1920, pp. 174, \$1.50.)

This is a timely summary of the researches in American labor history by Professor John R. Commons and his associates, and by other students in the field. The pioneer work was *The Labor Movement in America*, by Professor Richard T. Ely, published in 1886. Twenty years later Professor Ely, in pursuance of a never flagging ambition to bring the work down to date, associated with himself Professor Commons and others, and raised a considerable fund for a systematic search for source-material throughout the country. The material was sifted and classified, and important portions of it published as a *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* in ten volumes. The final work was a *History of Labour in the United States* by Commons and associates, in two volumes, published in 1918.

As one of Professor Commons's associates in the last-named work, the reviewer can only express his satisfaction that the results of the laborious work of the group have now become more accessible to the general public through Mrs. Beard's little volume. Her treatment of the basic facts leaves nothing to be desired. The text is conveniently divided into short paragraphs under telling headings; and the material is so arranged that no unnecessary details clog the story of the development of the main issue of to-day. Also the story is brought down to the present time.

The reviewer may be pardoned, however, if in all frankness he states that he misses in Mrs. Beard's exposition much of the realistic interpretation of the course of the labor movement in America given by Professor Commons. It is clear that Mrs. Beard belongs to those students of the labor question who consider the American Federation of Labor of to-day as a case of arrested growth, particularly because of its negative attitude toward a political labor party. This is not the place to enter into a lengthy discussion of the question, except perhaps to state the reviewer's conviction that the persistent "economism" of the Federation is much less the result of a dogged conservatism of old leaders than the consequence of the recognized unwieldiness for economic reform of a system of government which operates by means of forty-nine different sovereign entities, and in which the last voice belongs to a court removed from popular control. Unfortunately in some quarters there has been too much reasoning by analogy from the experience of Great Britain and not enough recognition of the peculiarities of the American situation.

S. PERLMAN.

The Diary of a Forty-Niner. Edited by Chauncey L. Canfield. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. xviii, 253, \$3.50.) * This is the second edition of a story (first published in 1907) of a Connecticut Yankee, Alfred T. Jackson, who mined in the diggings on Rock Creek, Nevada County, California, in the early fifties. Coming with his mind set on winning a competency, he was driven by loneliness

to become cabinmate with "Pard", an educated, mysterious Easterner, who weaned him away from narrow New England mental and moral horizons, prepared him for a break with his home-town Hetty, and developed him into the wider-visioned Westerner ready for marriage with a vivacious French widow, attractive personally, but especially desirable because of her "pile" made dealing twenty-one in gambling houses. Pard and Jackson also acquired wealth by engaging successively in the varied processes of placer-mining and by speculating in San Francisco sand-lots. The old folks at home were "set up" with a new farm, a black silk dress, and a new horse and buggy.

The editor, who in an epilogue calls himself the compiler, avers that the document printed came into his hands "bearing every evidence of genuineness" as a "truthful, unadorned, veracious chronicle of the placer-mining days of the foothills, a narrative of events as they occurred, told in simple . . . sentences, yet vivid and truth-compelling in the absence of conscious literary endeavor" (pp. ix, x).

No historical student familiar with authentic diaries of the early California fifties can accept this statement as meaning that a real diary is here faithfully reproduced. There is too much orthographical and rhetorical excellence, let alone dramatic unity. Pard, if a real Californian, would never, in an authentic document, have been buried under the anonymity here affected; nor would Jackson's entire family have disappeared in a generation. However, the story is readable and entertaining; it presents the gold period in an atmosphere of verisimilitude more convincing, indeed, than does the Bret Harte legend which the editor so warmly disparages. And yet the claim of historical authenticity as a personal diary for a compilation of reminiscences, genuine and entertaining as these may be, is unwarranted. It is a pseudo-diary.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

The Fourth Division, its Services and Achievements in the World War. Gathered from the Records of the Division. By Christian A. Bach, Colonel, General Staff, Chief of Staff Fourth Division, and Henry Noble Hall, War Correspondent London *Times*, accredited to the American Army. (Issued by the Division, 1920, pp. xvi, 368.) This official history of the Fourth Division is a sincere tribute to the *esprit de corps* which training and service combined to create in all ranks of the "Ivy" Division. It is also a successful attempt to give in clear and readable form an account of the operations on the Western Front during the last eleven months of the war, from the standpoint of an American division. The authors have been particularly happy in selecting the right amount of detail to illustrate the actual conditions under which men fought, without obscuring the relation between the tasks of the smaller units and those of the division as a whole, or between the work of the division and that of the larger group to which it was attached. For the general reader the interest of the work lies chiefly in the light

which it throws upon the difficulties which confronted the American Expeditionary Force in the various stages of its development, the attitude of officers and men towards these problems, and the manner in which they were overcome.

The point of view represented is that of the Regular Army, for the Fourth was a "regular" division. Authorized December 3, 1917, it was organized at Camp Greene, N. C., from a nucleus of regular troops supplemented by volunteers and selective service men. To this core of regulars the authors attribute the rapidity with which the division became an effective fighting force, and the high standards of efficiency and discipline which it attained. The division was transported overseas in April and May, 1919, to undergo further training, first with the British and then with the French. In battalion units under French command it shared in the Aisne-Marne offensive of July; some of its elements were engaged with the 42nd Division at Sergy; on the Vesle in August it first fought as a complete unit; at St. Mihiel it formed part of the First American Army; and as part of the III. Army Corps saw twenty-four days' continuous fighting on the Meuse. Throughout the winter 1918-1919 it was stationed on the Rhine. The story of the division is, in epitome, that of the A. E. F. itself.

It is worth noting that the authors vigorously defend the American plan of hastening victory at the cost of heavy initial sacrifices, and heartily support General Pershing's insistence upon creating an independent American army. Five useful maps accompany the book; official documents are appropriately cited; there are numerous illustrations; and appendixes contain lists of commanding officers, divisional citations, official awards, and the roll of honor.

A. E. R. BOAK.

New England in France, 1917-1919: a History of the Twenty-sixth Division, U. S. A. By Emerson Gifford Taylor, Major, Infantry, 26th Division, U. S. A., Acting Assistant Chief of Staff. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. 324, \$5.00.) The Twenty-sixth or "Yankee" Division was organized in July, 1917, by a consolidation of the New England National Guard. In November of that year its last unit had arrived overseas, making it the first complete American division at the front. The Twenty-sixth saw service along the Chemin des Dames, and in the La Reine sector; took part in the Champagne-Marne defensive, and was actively engaged in the Aisne-Marne, St. Mihiel, and Meuse-Argonne offensives. The narrative of the division's operations in these campaigns is given in great detail, fortified by the quotation of important orders and illustrated by appropriate maps.

However, Major Taylor's work has the additional value of being a study of National Guardsmen in the war. He admits the inherent defects of the Guard system, as well as the particular weakness of the Guard in 1917, owing to the recent numerous withdrawals resulting

from the experiences on the Mexican border and the attractions of the Reserve Officers Corps. But he believes that these disadvantages were more than counterbalanced by the volunteer spirit of both old members and new recruits, the stimulus of local patriotism, and the sympathy existing between officers and men. It is not denied that the guardsmen were slow in acquiring discipline and efficiency, but it is maintained that they had some legitimate cause for complaint at their treatment by the War Department, the higher authorities of the American Expeditionary Force, and many individual officers of the regular army, to whose conduct that of the division's first commander, Maj.-Gen. Edwards, afforded a pleasing contrast. In America official coolness towards the Guard caused a temporary suspension of recruitment, and an effort seems to have been made to replace militia regimental commanders by regulars. In France this coolness still continued and tended occasionally to discourage men from loyal performance of duty, although with the majority it served as a spur to prove themselves as good or better than regular troops.

In two respects the division suffered considerable inconvenience from the policy of General Headquarters. Firstly, the neglect to return hospital cases to their units, coupled with the tardiness and insufficiency of replacements for them and for others detached to special duties, resulted in destroying the solidarity and weakening the strength of the fighting units. Secondly, the practice of limiting promotions to one-third of the vacancies caused by battle casualties, and the filling of all others by replacements, caused many men who had proved their worth to be deprived of well-earned rewards and brought into the division some utterly incompetent officers.

A. E. R. BOAK.

Memoirs of the Harvard Dead in the War against Germany. Volume I. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1920, pp. iv, 200, \$3.00.) This is the first of a series of volumes containing memoirs of the nearly four hundred men of Harvard University who had given their lives in service, or as a direct consequence of service, with the American and Allied forces, combatant or auxiliary, during the Great War. The present volume is fittingly devoted to "the Vanguard"—to the thirty who made the supreme sacrifice before the entry of the United States into the war. It is a curious coincidence, illustrating in a striking way the cosmopolitan character of our oldest university, that of these thirty the first five represent, according to place of birth, and with one exception according to nationality, England, the United States, France, Italy, and Canada respectively. If we classify the first thirty by nationality we find that eighteen were American, ten were British, including five Canadians, and two were French. Fourteen served in the British and Canadian forces, seven in those of France, including the Lafayette Squadron, and nine in auxiliary organizations,

chiefly in the American ambulance service. The three best known to contemporary fame who are here commemorated are Victor Chapman and Norman Prince of the Lafayette Squadron, and Alan Seeger of the Foreign Legion. The memoirs vary in length and in the nature of their details according to the material gathered by the Harvard War Records Office and the Harvard Memorial Society, and by the editor through correspondence. Frequently they contain extracts from letters or diaries which we are inclined to wish might have been more numerous and longer, but the selections are made and the narrative presented with that perfect taste and art which we have learned to expect from the accomplished biographer who is the editor of the series.

W. G. L.

An Explorer in the Air Service. By Hiram Bingham, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel, Air Service, U. S. A. (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. xiv, 260, \$10.00.) Colonel Bingham's volume, as the title indicates, is a record of personal experience and is in no sense intended as a formal history of the Air Service or of any particular phase of military aviation. It is natural, however, in view of the author's activities during the war, that the narrative should deal mainly with the selection and training of the personnel of the Air Service in the United States and abroad. Colonel Bingham describes his own training as a pilot during the spring of 1917 and his work as director of the schools of military aeronautics in the United States during the early weeks of the war. He was for a time chief of "Air Personnel" in Washington and vividly portrays the confusion which prevailed in the capital throughout this period. In April, 1918, he went overseas, where he became Chief of Personnel for the Air Service, A. E. F., and finally, in August, was made commandant of the Third Aviation Instruction Centre at Issoudun. The most valuable chapters of the volume, and those which will probably be of most interest to the average reader, are the ones which describe the work at this great school. They contain an absorbing account of the highly technical process of aviation training in its various branches and the almost insuperable difficulties involved in turning out pilots for service at the front. Colonel Bingham speaks with authority on this subject in view of his own training as a pilot and his experience as commandant of the greatest aviation school in the American Expeditionary Forces. His criticism and comments with regard to matters of general policy are less satisfying. In the case of a single combat arm, like the Air Service, it must always be remembered that it was necessary to co-ordinate its activities with the general military programme, and a careful study of the requirements of the entire situation will sometimes explain apparent mistakes and inconsistencies of policy. Few, however, will be inclined to dispute Colonel Bingham's main thesis, that the difficulties of the Air Service were due largely to

unpreparedness. One cannot help feeling that the author's occasional insinuations relative to the personal courage of some of the non-flying officers serve no useful purpose while there is always the possibility that they may be unjust. The volume is, on the whole, an important and authoritative contribution to the literature of the war in a field where there has been endless controversy and in which very little of value has been written heretofore.

WAYNE E. STEVENS.

Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915. Selected and edited by W. P. M. Kennedy, Department of Modern History, University of Toronto. (London, New York, and Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. xxxii, 707, \$4.00.) Professor Kennedy has incorporated in one volume a mass of documents which had hitherto been accessible only in several, more than one of which was out of print. He has not attempted to draw from sources hitherto unpublished, such as the Bagot or the Elgin papers in the Canadian Archives.

He has divided the history of Canada under British rule into six periods: 1759-1763, 1763-1774, 1774-1791, 1791-1840, 1840-1867, 1867-1915. The documents dealing with the first four periods are ample and on the whole well chosen, though even here there are odd *lacunae*. The omission of the "Presentation" by the grand jury of Quebec on October 16, 1764, in which the jurors state their grievances, and demand constitutional changes and elucidations, cannot be defended. It is given in Shortt and Doughty, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791*, published by the Canadian Archives. Professor Kennedy gives long extracts from the debates in the House of Commons on the Quebec Act of 1774, but omits the brief but striking speech of Chatham in the Lords, for which we are referred to the *Chatham Correspondence*. The fifth and sixth periods are not dealt with proportionately. In the fifth there is not sufficient reference to the interconnection of commercial and constitutional freedom, an omission made to some extent in the fourth period also. There is hardly a mention of the wearing away of the old colonial system, or of the very important declaration in favor of annexation to the United States put forth in 1849, in consequence of the adoption by Great Britain of free trade, by the merchants of Montreal, who under a régime of preference had been in the main High Tory imperialists; or of the repeal of the Navigation Acts; or of the objection of the Colonial Secretary in 1859 to the Canadian protective tariff, and the crushing reply of the Canadian finance minister with the celebrated sentence that "self-government would be utterly annihilated if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada," Rudyard Kipling says somewhere that historians deal with people as though they had no stomachs, and certainly Professor Kennedy shows a somewhat Olympian neglect of this essential factor.

The sixth section is little more than a skeleton, containing four or five acts of Parliament, but making no reference to such important matters as the despatches of Edward Blake, the Canadian minister of justice in 1876, and frankly shirking any citation of causes pled before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Professor Kennedy should either have published his work in two volumes, or have made room for these and other important documents by cutting out some of the verbiage of his fourth period, which at present comprises about half his volume.

The notes are so inadequate that the book would hardly have suffered from their complete deletion. No bibliography is given, and such references as occur in the text are usually inadequate, e.g., "*Cartwright's Cases*" is surely not a sufficient identification of *Cases decided on the British North America Act, 1867*, collected and edited by John R. Cartwright, five vols. (Toronto, 1882-1897). There is no index, though an attempt is made to supply the deficiency by an elaborate table of contents.

W. L. GRANT.

Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D. By William McCulloch, D.D. Edited and published by Isabella Walker McCulloch and Jean Wallace McCulloch. (Truro, Nova Scotia, 1920, pp. 218, \$2.50.) This biography deals with one who was engaged in the bitter struggle for liberty of education in the province of Nova Scotia during the first half of the nineteenth century. It therefore reveals much that is not flattering to some of the outstanding figures in church and state of the time. Because of this fact, and the author's express wish, it has been withheld from the press for a quarter of a century. The occasion of its publication was the centennial of Dalhousie University and the Presbyterian College, Halifax, with whose early history Dr. Thomas McCulloch was intimately connected.

A minister of the Secession Church of Scotland, the Rev. Thomas McCulloch moved to Nova Scotia in the early years of the nineteenth century, and settling at Pictou became one of the great educational pioneers of the colony. He saw at once two great needs of the country: a means of education for Dissenters and the training of a native ministry for his church. In meeting these needs lies the great significance of his life and work. For Dissenters scarcely the rudiments of an education were obtainable. The one institution of learning, King's College at Windsor, though supported by the state, debarred four-fifths of the population from its advantages by the clause in its charter which required subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. In spite of much opposition from the Established Churches of England and Scotland, which had carried their hostility to Dissent and Secession to the New World, Dr. McCulloch opened Pictou Academy in 1817, and there laid the foundation of higher learning for Dissenters and the training of a native ministry for the Presbyterian Church. Dr. McCulloch was a man

of broad sympathies and wide interests, a writer of no mean ability and an indefatigable worker. He was keenly interested in natural science and did much to promote its development. That he was one who foresaw the educational needs of the New World is shown by this sentence written in 1838: "If Dalhousie College acquire usefulness and eminence, it will be not by an imitation of Oxford, but as an institution of science and practical intelligence."

Written by his son and edited by his granddaughters, this life of Dr. Thomas McCulloch naturally contains many personal reminiscences; but it is based largely upon Dr. McCulloch's correspondence and upon official documents. While dealing with much that is of the nature of sectarian strife, the author has been singularly just and has indulged in no muck-raking. On the whole this work is doubtless one of the most important books that has appeared in the history of the province of Nova Scotia.

ROSS W. COLLINS.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Volume II. of the *Annual Report* for 1918, containing the autobiography of Martin Van Buren, perhaps the most valuable and interesting volume the Association has ever published, is in process of distribution to members. The *Handbook* of the Association is nearly ready for distribution.

Miss Grace G. Griffin's annual bibliography, *Writings on American History, 1918*, published at about the same time as the present number of this journal, is made up as a separate volume of the *Annual Report* for 1918. It is a volume of 192 pages, containing 2379 titles of books, pamphlets, and articles, and can be separately purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, for \$1.50.

The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of \$200 is to be awarded during the present year for the best monograph on any subject in European history received by the chairman of the committee, Dr. Conyers Read, 1218 Snyder Avenue, Philadelphia, before July 1, 1921. Published monographs which have appeared since July 1, 1919, as well as unpublished monographs, are eligible, but only monographs which are formally submitted will be considered. Copies of the rules may be obtained from the chairman.

The American Council of Learned Societies held its annual meeting at New York on January 29. The Association was represented by its two delegates, Professor Haskins and Mr. Jameson. In the absence of sufficient funds for effective co-operation with the other constituent members of the Union Académique Internationale, the Council was obliged in the main to content itself with consideration and approval of several projects which have been laid before the Union and by it transmitted to the constituent members for discussion and action. Special approval was manifested toward the project of a revised edition of, or modern substitute for, Du Cange's *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*. A committee will give further consideration to the problems of American participation in this enterprise; another committee, to the possibility of an American *Dictionary of National Biography*.

PERSONAL

Professor Allen C. Thomas of Haverford College, one of the twelve surviving original members of the American Historical Association, died on December 15 at the age of nearly seventy-four. He had been pro-

fessor of history in Haverford College from 1878 to 1912, a minister of the Society of Friends, and presiding clerk of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting since 1897. He was the author of school histories of the United States and, jointly with his brother, of a *History of the Society of Friends in America*, which passed through four editions. He was a man of the highest character, greatly esteemed and beloved.

William J. Trimble, professor of American history in the University of Idaho, died on December 31, at the age of forty-eight. He was a man of unusual originality and insight and, though he had published little, had won high regard as a student of the economic and social history of the United States.

Ernest Denis, professor of modern history in the Sorbonne, died on January 5, at the age of seventy-two. During an earlier professorship at Bordeaux, he had published works in Bohemian history, especially *La Chute de l'Indépendance Bohême* (1888-1889), and later *La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanche* (1903). His later years were however chiefly marked by publications in modern German history: *L'Allemagne de 1789 à 1810* (1896); *L'Allemagne de 1810 à 1852* (1898); and *La Fondation de l'Empire Allemand* (1906).

Heinrich Friedjung, the eminent Austrian historian, died on July 14, at the age of sixty-nine. His high reputation as a scholar and as a gifted writer was established by his *Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland* (1897) in which the struggle ending in 1866 was for the first time adequately presented from the Austrian standpoint, yet with entire breadth of view. Later works of Friedjung are his *Geschichte Oesterreichs, 1848-1860* (1907-1912), and *Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus, 1884-1914* (1919-1920).

Professor Theodor Schiemann of the University of Berlin died on January 26, at the age of seventy-three. A native of Courland, he was distinguished chiefly by publications of high merit on Russian history, of which the principal were his *Geschichte Russlands, Polens, und Livlands* (1885), and his *Geschichte Russlands unter Nikolaus I.* (1904, 1908).

Georg Busolt, professor of ancient history and historian of Greece, died in Göttingen on September 2, in his seventieth year.

Dr. Arthur H. Basye, assistant professor of history in Dartmouth College, sailed for London in February, having leave of absence during the second semester of the present academic year.

Mr. R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, has been teaching history in Columbia University throughout the present year.

Professor Evarts B. Greene of the University of Illinois has leave of absence during the present semester, and is spending it at Cambridge.

Professor Charles E. Chapman returned in January to his work at the University of California, from a year's absence as exchange professor in the University of Santiago de Chile.

In February and March Professor W. A. Morris of the University of California gave a course of six public lectures at King's College, University of London, on Curia Regis and Kingship in the Norman and Angevin Periods.

GENERAL

The House Committee on Appropriations having refused the Treasury's request that an appropriation for purchasing the square in Washington designated by the Public Buildings Commission for the National Archive Building be included in the recent Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, an amendment providing for the purchase was introduced in the Senate by Senator Poindexter, and favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Appropriations. Certain senators objected, however, to the closing of a short street, involved in the plan, and proposed instead the use of another square, already owned by the government. With this substitution, the amendment passed the Senate. When, however, it was discovered that the square thus designated was occupied by a two-story concrete building, 520 by 370 feet, which cost the government more than \$200,000, and which houses 3615 clerks, the amendment was, not unnaturally, dropped in conference. Accordingly, we are still without substantial provision for the proper housing of the national archives.

The *Historical Outlook* for January, February, and March has three interesting accounts of European conditions in recent months, as seen by Miss Lucy E. Textor, of Vassar College, Dr. Justin H. Smith, and Professor Lynn Thorndike. The January number reprints Mr. S. C. GilFillan's article on the Coldward Course of Progress, from the *Political Science Quarterly*. In the February number appears a long and vehement article by Professor H. E. Barnes, of Clark University, on the Past and the Future of History. The author describes forcibly and intelligently the shifting of emphasis which has been going on for fifty years in historical writing, under the influence of ideas of social evolution, and pleads for further progress in the same direction; but it is unnecessary to assume that the "prevalent type of historian", and especially the typical historical professor, remains ignorant of these "new" views or is unwilling to support them. The March number presents a summary of Russian conditions by Professor C. C. Eckhardt, a Lesson on the Position of the Greek Slave in Ancient Attica, by Miss Chloe M. Hardy, and two portions of a Report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship, namely, an introductory statement by its chairman, Dr. Joseph Schafer, and Professor Henry Johnson's address at the Washington meeting, on History in the Grades.

Mainly by the munificence of an anonymous donor, the University

of London has been provided with a building for its School of Historical Research. It is being erected in Malet Street, not far from the British Museum, and is intended to be the centre for that advanced work in history which the university has of late so rapidly developed. It is hoped by many that before long the university may be provided with an endowed chair of American history. In connection with the opening of the School, the University of London proposes to hold a conference of British, American, and Canadian professors of history in London during the week beginning July 11 next. The main object will be to make known the facilities available in London for historical students seeking the Ph.D. degree or pursuing more advanced researches.

In the series of volumes of original material entitled *Records of Civilization*, projected and edited by Professor J. T. Shotwell and published by the Columbia University Press, two are now in press: *An Introduction to the History of Historiography*, by Professor Shotwell, extending to Eusebius, inclusive, and a volume on *The Literature of the Old Testament*, edited by Professor Julius Beyer of Union Theological Seminary. Professor Shotwell and Miss Louise R. Loomis have also in preparation a volume of *Sources for the History of the Papacy*, to Gregory I., inclusive, other than the *Liber Pontificalis*, which has already been presented by Miss Loomis in the same series.

The syndics of the Cambridge University Press have undertaken to publish, in three volumes, the *Collected Papers* of Sir Adolphus W. Ward, Master of Peterhouse. The first two volumes, containing the historical papers, are already published (pp. xii, 408; viii, 398) and contain nearly forty essays by this veteran historian, beginning with the notable essay on the Peace of Europe which he contributed to the *Owens College Essays* in 1874, and relating mainly to diplomatic and German history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Messrs. Heinemann of London will shortly publish, under the title, *Theory and History of Historiography*, part IV. of the English translation of Dr. Benedetto Croce's *Philosophy of the Spirit*.

An article on the Use of the Word "History", by Professor Jacob N. Bowman of the University of Washington, comes to us as a reprint from the "Festschrift" *Forschungen und Versuche*, dedicated to Professor Dietrich Schäfer on his seventieth birthday.

Dr. R. L. Marshall's pamphlet on *The Historical Criticism of Documents* (Macmillan, pp. 62), no. 28 in the series of *Helps for Students of History*, is a useful essay, allied to that of Mr. Crump on *The Logic of History*, and containing many interesting examples.

The first regular volume in the hundred-volume series edited by Henri Berr under the title of *L'Évolution de l'Humanité* is *La Terre avant l'Histoire, les Origines de la Vie et de l'Homme* (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1921, pp. 415) by E. Perrier.

Professor Ernst Troeltsch has published an essay on *Die Dynamik der Geschichte nach der Geschichtsphilosophie des Positivismus* (Berlin, Reuthner and Reichard, 1919, pp. 100). Attention may also be called to Proesler's *Das Problem einer Entwicklungsgeschichte des Historischen Sinnes* (Berlin, Ebering, 1920).

Europe and the Faith (London, Constable, 1920) by Hilaire Belloc is a sketch of the history of Christianity in Europe prefaced by a chapter on the Catholic Conscience of History. The work is bound to attract wide attention and radically different criticisms. As an illustration attention may be called to the article, *Catholicism and Civilisation*, by G. G. Coulton in the *Hibbert Journal* for January.

A Syllabus in Modern European History from Charlemagne to the Present, by Professor William T. Morgan and Mr. Prescott W. Townsend of Indiana University, is a pamphlet of 154 pages, carefully worked out, and may be commended to teachers.

The January, February, and March numbers of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contain a useful list of references on Japanese-American relations. The February number contains also a description of the Kennan Collection, an important mass of manuscript, pictorial, and printed material on Siberia, the old prison system, and Russia, lately presented to the library by Mr. George Kennan.

Half of the January number of the *Catholic Historical Review* is occupied with a treatise on the Problem of Saint Brendan, by Professor Joseph Dunn. Professor Guilday, the editor, gives an account of the materials for the history of the Congregation of the Propaganda, apropos of the three-hundredth anniversary of its foundation in 1622, and an interesting survey of the history of the Catholic Church in the United States since 1870. Rev. F. G. Holweck presents an American Martyrology. The chief original document in the number is a "Ragguaglio dello Stato della Religione Cattolica nelle Colonie Inglesi d'America", of date of about 1775, from the archives of the Propaganda. With this number, the *Review* completes six years of admirable service under Dr. Guilday's editorship to the history of the Catholic Church in America. It is announced that, beginning with the April number, and the seventh volume, the scope of the *Review* will be enlarged to include the whole field of Catholic church history. The board of editors will consist of the rector and historical teachers of the Catholic University of America; the managing editor will be Rev. Dr. Patrick W. Browne.

The American Jewish Historical Society met in Philadelphia February 21 and 22. There were papers by Professor Gotthard Deutsch on plans for modern Jewish history, by Dr. Harold Korn on plans for future research in American Jewish history, by Max J. Kohler on Jewish Immigration to the United States and the Principle of the Right of Asylum, by the Rev. Dr. Martin A. Meyer on Early American

Jewish Correspondence with Jews of the Far East, and by Dr. Abraham S. W. Rosenbach on Jewish Participation in the Discovery and Settlement of the West in the Eighteenth Century.

The *Journal of Negro History* for January contains a valuable article by the editor, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, entitled Fifty Years of Negro Citizenship as qualified by the United States Supreme Court (pp. 53), and one by Mr. J. F. Rippy of Chicago on a Negro Colonization Project in Mexico in 1895. The section of documents presents President Madison's attitude toward the negro in a series of his letters, already published.

The Macmillan Company has brought out a volume designated *Taft Papers on League of Nations* (pp. 340), edited by Theodore Marburg and Horace E. Flack. The volume includes addresses, articles, and editorials by ex-President Taft from May 12, 1915, to April 30, 1919; accordingly with the exception of the last article, which is an analysis of the amended Covenant, the discussion is upon the plan of the League to Enforce Peace and upon the Covenant of the League of Nations as submitted to the Senate by President Wilson. The volume closes with some correspondence between Mr. Taft and the President or with the President's secretary.

Persons who buy books by title should be warned that *The Origin and Evolution of Freemasonry connected with the Origin and Evolution of the Human Race*, by Albert Churchward (New York, Macmillan), is not to be taken as a historical work of serious value.

A limited number of copies of the annual *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in Progress at the Chief American Universities, December, 1920*, may be obtained from J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. Some of the earlier issues can also be furnished.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. C. Merriam, *The Earth Sciences as the Background of History* (Scientific Monthly, January); F. H. Giddings, *A Theory of History* (Political Science Quarterly, December); E. Troeltsch, *Der Aufbau der Europäischen Kulturgeschichte* (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, XLIV. 3); S. J. Case, *The Historical Study of Religion* (Journal of Religion, January); E. Hurwicz, *Russische Geschichtsphilosophie* (Preussische Jahrbücher, August); H. Delbrück, *Die Marxsche Geschichtsphilosophie* (*ibid.*, November).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The useful index volume for E. Cavaignac's *Histoire de l'Antiquité* (Paris, Boccard, 1921, pp. 120) is now available.

We should have mentioned earlier the new and valuable periodical *Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia*, edited by Professor Aristide Calderini, professor of papyrology at Milan. The

contents are of the usual variety, articles, notes, reviews, etc. The price of the annual subscription, for the United States, is \$3.00, and the address is 25 Via Borgonuovo, Milan.

The French institute at Cairo has recently published the fourth and fifth volumes of H. Gauthier's *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*. In its general character this standard work is based on Lepsius's *Königsbuch* (1858) and gives all the citations of royal names from the monuments and papyri. The greatest wealth of new material is evident in these volumes, which cover the period of the Ptolemies and of the Roman emperors.

J. B. Nies has edited a volume of *Ur Dynasty Tablets chiefly from Tello and Drehem with Translation Lists and Complete Indices* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1919, pp. viii, 224); and O. Schroeder, a volume of *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, verschiedenen Inhalts, Autographien* (*ibid.*, 1920, pp. xxviii, 124). B. Meissner has issued the first volume of an amply illustrated work on *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1920, pp. viii, 466).

Mr. Champlin Burrage, formerly librarian of Manchester College, Oxford, and of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, is completing a study of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Minoan Crete (not including the later linear scripts). He hopes shortly to be able to show that he has deciphered many of the more interesting texts. Mr. Burrage began his Cretan studies twelve years ago at Oxford.

S. Reinach has compiled a volume of *Textes Grecs et Latins relatifs à l'Histoire de la Peinture Ancienne* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1920, pp. xv, 656), with translations and comments.

Dr. Frederick Poulsen's *Delphi*, which presents in admirable fashion a comprehensive and well-illustrated account of the excavations at Delphi since 1892, appeared in Danish in 1919, but now is published in an English translation (Copenhagen, Gyldendal).

P. M. Meyer has prepared a useful volume of *Juristische Papyri, Erklärung von Urkunden zur Einführung in die Juristische Papyruskunde* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920, pp. xx, 380) which contains over ninety basic or typical documents, topically arranged and excellently edited, for the legal and juristic history of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.

The fourth part of G. Beseler's *Beiträge zur Kritik der Römischen Rechtsquellen* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1920, pp. vi, 353) is among the recent publications.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Berosos' Chronologie und die Keilinschriftlichen Neufunde*, III.-IV. (*Klio*, XVI, 1, 3); F. Bilabel, *Die Ionische Kolonisation, Untersuchungen über die Gründungen der Ionier, deren Staatliche und Kultliche Organisation und Beziehungen zu den Mutterstädten* (*Philologus*, Supplementband,

XIV. 1); Percy Gardner, *The Financial History of Ancient Chios* (Journal of Hellenic Studies, XL. 2); E. Kornemann, *Die Letzten Ziele der Politik Alexanders des Grossen* (Klio, XVI. 3); W. E. Westermann, *Land Registers of Western Asia under the Seleucids* (Classical Philology, January); M. Gelzer, *Die Entstehung der Römischen Nobilität* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIII. 1); P. Lejay, *Appius Claudius Caecus* (Revue de Philologie, April, 1920); M. Besnier, *Le Commerce Romain dans la Méditerranée Orientale* (Journal des Savants, November); D. McFayden, *The Princes and the Senatorial Provinces* (Classical Philology, January); A. M. Ashley, *The "Alimenta" of Nerva and his Successors* (English Historical Review, January); R. G. Kent, *The Edict of Diocletian fixing Maximum Prices* (University of Pennsylvania Law Review, November).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The wealth of new materials which have appeared since the publication of Schulze's work (1887-1892) is digested by Professor J. Geffcken in *Der Ausgang des Griechisch-Römischen Heidentums* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1920, pp. viii, 342) which deals with the steady triumph of Christianity in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. The same author's *Aus der Wendezeit des Christentums* has been revised and reissued with the new title, *Das Christentum im Kampf und Ausgleich mit der Griechisch-Römischen Welt* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1920).

V. Schultze's *Grundriss der Christlichen Archäologie* (Munich, Beck, 1919, pp. viii, 159) will prove a useful manual.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Bollandist Society has for sale, at the price of \$1000, a complete set of the *Acta Sanctorum*, of which complete sets are not easily to be procured. The purchase money will of course be a sensible aid to the work of this famous company of scholars, whose resources have been very seriously affected by the war. Any American library which desires to purchase the set may address the president of the society, Father Hippolyte Delehaye, Boulevard Saint-Michel, 22, Brussels, Belgium.

Ernest Perels, who edited the letters of Pope Nicholas I. for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in 1912, has now published *Papst Nikolaus I. und Anastasius Bibliothecarius, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Papsttums im Neunten Jahrhundert* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920, pp. xii, 327). The latest portion of *Les Registres d'Innocent IV.* (Paris, Bocard, 1920), edited by E. Berger, contains an additional section of that pope's letters. G. Daumet has edited *Benoît XII., 1334-1342, Lettres Closes, Patentes, et Curiales se rapportant à la France* (*ibid.*).

The third and fourth volumes of the *Collected Historical Works of Sir Francis Palgrave* (Cambridge University Press) complete the His-

tory of Normandy and England and include also a number of essays in medieval history privately printed in Sir Francis Palgrave's lifetime and now published for the first time.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Lord Bryce's *Modern Democracies*, just published, is described as presenting a general view of the forms which that type of government has taken, the tendencies which each form has developed, the progress achieved in creating institutional machinery, and the degree of success attained by democracy in ministering to the well-being of peoples.

Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw has prepared *Macmillan's Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, a dozen maps with 39 pp. of text, published at 6 sh.

The second volume, dealing with the year 1464, of the *Dépêches des Ambassadeurs Milanais en France sous Louis XI. et François Sforza* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1919, pp. xxxiv, 395) was edited by B. de Mandrot, who died in April, 1920.

Sir Plunket Barton's *Bernadotte and Napoleon, 1799-1810* (Murray), is a continuation of his *Bernadotte: the First Phase, 1763-1799*, published a few years ago.

Captain Castex, chief of the historical section of the French naval General Staff, has written a *Synthèse de la Guerre Sous-marine, de Pontchartrain à Tirpitz* (Paris, Challamel, 1920).

The Cambridge University Press announces a new work by J. H. Clapham on the *Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914*.

G. Egelhaaf's *Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit vom Frankfurter Frieden bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, Krabbe, 1920, 2 vols., pp. x, 470; 537) has appeared in the eighth edition, which runs to the Treaty of Versailles, the second volume being devoted to the period since the Russo-Japanese War.

Especial importance attaches to *Pre-War Diplomacy: the Russo-Japanese Problem*, by J. J. Korostovetz (London, British Periodicals Ltd.), a daily chronicle of the Portsmouth Peace Conference in 1905, from the fact that the writer was Count Witte's private secretary during the conference.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Charles Terlinden, *The Ordey of the Golden Fleece* (Edinburgh Review, October); D. Pasquet, *La Découverte de l'Angleterre par les Français au XVIII^e Siècle*, I. (Revue de Paris, December 15); A. S. Hershey, *Notes on the Recognition of de Facto Governments by European States* (American Journal of International Law, October); J. H. Clapham, *Europe after the Great Wars*,

1816 and 1920 (Economic Journal, December); J. Reinach, *La France et l'Allemagne devant l'Histoire*, I. *Le Nouvel Équilibre* [1815] (Revue Bleue, January 1); Commandant Weil, *Guizot and the Entente Cordiale* (History, January); E. von Wertheimer, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges von 1870 nach Neuen Quellen*, I.-II. (Deutsche Rundschau, October, November); Count Sergius Witte, *Memoirs: My Meetings with the Kaiser; My Dealings with Li Hung Chang; "Bloody Sunday" and the First Soviet; My Visit to America and the Portsmouth Peace Conference* (World's Work, December-March); "Observator", *La Suède et la Politique Allemande* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXIV. 3); XXX, *Fiume, l'Adriatique, et les Rapports Franco-Italiens*, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); H. A. Siepmann, *The International Financial Congress at Brussels* (Economic Journal, December); anon., *The International Financial Conference at Brussels and its Lessons* (Round Table, December); F. Delhorbe, *La Conférence de Bruxelles, ses Résultats, ses Conséquences* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 23).

THE GREAT WAR

Under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace the Oxford University Press will soon issue two volumes of importance: *War Government in the Dominions*, by A. B. Keith, and *Inter-allied Shipping Control: an Experiment in International Administration*, by J. A. Salter, parts of a large series of volumes relating to the economic and social history of the Great War, which the Endowment has in preparation, under the editorial care of Professor J. T. Shotwell.

Count Julius Andrassy, who for several years had been one of the leading public men of Austria-Hungary, and was minister of foreign affairs during the last few days of the monarchy, has published an important review of the events at the beginning of the war and of the diplomacy during its continuance, under the title *Diplomatie und Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Ullstein).

Generals Dubail and Fayolle have undertaken the editing of *La Guerre racontée par nos Généraux commandants de Groupes d'Armée* (Paris, Schwarz) of which parts are to appear monthly for thirty months. A similar work prepared by numerous collaborators devoted to *La Guerre et la Science* (*ibid.*) will appear in 100 parts. The third volume of H. de Rothschild and L. G. Gourraigne's *La Grande Guerre d'après la Presse Parisienne* (Paris, Hachette, 1920) covers events to the end of 1914. In the first volume of *La Guerre de la Délivrance* (Paris, Gigord, 1920, pp. xl, 495), General Cherfils deals with operations during the first year of the war. Maurice Barrès completes the account for the year 1914 in the second volume of his *Chronique de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 360), while the third volume of L. Cornet's *Histoire de la Guerre*

(Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1920, pp. 342) extends to September, 1915, and the ninth volume of A. Gauvain's *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 500) to August, 1916.

The discussion of the conduct of operations by the French General Staff is continued by E. Lenient in *La Faute Capitale du Haut Commandement* (Paris, Éditions de l'Armée Nouvelle, 1920, pp. viii, 207). The discussion turns primarily on questions of general policies and shows that the author has utilized opportunities to obtain inside information. General A. Dubois, the commander of the sixth army, has used a wealth of documents in *Deux Ans de Commandement sur le Front de France* (2 vols., Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1920, pp. 280, 292), which is of special importance for the history of the battle of the Marne. Lt.-Col. de Thomasson's latest work deals with *Les Préliminaires de Verdun, Août 1915-Février 1916, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. x, 298).

General E. von Ludendorff has published a mass of *Urkunden der Obersten Heeresleitung* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920), and Col. G. Becker, *Trois Conférences sur Ludendorff, Chef d'Armée* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. 106). A life of *Generalfeldmarschall Prinz Leopold von Bayern* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1920, pp. xii, 173) is by E. Wolbe. General von François, who was commander of the first army corps at Tannenberg, is the author of *Marneschlacht und Tannenberg* (Berlin, Scherl, 1920, pp. 296). F. G. Iwand has published a supplement for the years 1904-1914 (Biberach am Riss, Hetsch, 1920, pp. 45) to P. Hirsch's *Bibliographie der Deutschen Regiments- und Bataillongeschichte*, while the intelligence section of the General Staff of the A. E. F. compiled *Histories of Two Hundred and Fifty-one Divisions of the German Army which Participated in the War, 1914-1918* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1920, pp. 748).

General von Falkenhayn is continuing the reminiscences which he began in *Die Oberste Heeresleitung* (see above, XXV. 500-502) by an additional volume, of a more personal sort, but also of much importance to the history of the war, *Der Feldzug der 9. Armee gegen die Rumänen und Russen, 1916-1917, I. Der Siegeszug durch Siebenbürgen* (Berlin, Mittler).

In the series *Les Grandes Batailles de la Guerre*, published under the direction of M. Joseph Reinach, a volume of the first excellence is *La Bataille de Verdun* (Paris, Van Oest), by Louis Gillet, a member of the French Second Army; it covers the whole series of battles at Verdun from 1915 to 1918. For the same series, General Berthaut has written an introductory volume, *De la Marne à la Mer du Nord, Vues d'Ensemble sur les Opérations Militaires, 1914-1918*; General Verraux, *La Bataille des Flandres en 1917*; Lt.-Col. Rousset, *La Bataille de l'Aisne*.

Baron A. de Maricourt, who was in positions close to Marshal Foch during the war, has written *Foch, une Lignée, une Tradition, un Caractère* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. xxvi, 237).

The German Marinearchiv has begun the publication of *Der Krieg zur See, 1914-1918*. The first volume of the section devoted to *Der Krieg in der Nordsee* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920, pp. 293) is by Capt. Groos; it furnishes a comparative estimate of the different naval fleets at the outbreak of war and deals with events during the first month of hostilities. The work is abundantly supplied with maps, charts, plans, and other illustrations. Vice-Admiral Bienaimé's *La Guerre Navale, 1914-1915, Fautes et Responsabilités* (Paris, Tallandier, 1920, pp. 308) is a well-documented discussion of affairs in Mediterranean and adjacent waters. Admiral Daveluy has issued the second volume of *L'Action Maritime pendant la Guerre Antigermainique* (Paris, Challamel, 1920). René La Bruyère has discussed a dozen different phases of the history of *Notre Marine Marchande pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 384).

Gun-Running for Casement, by Karl Spindler, late commander in the German navy (London, Collins), is furnished with an introduction by the late director of naval intelligence of the Admiralty, Sir W. R. Hall, M. P., and casts new light on the Irish rebellion of Easter, 1916, from German sources.

General Count Cadorna has published a volume of *Documents Officiels du Grand-Quartier-Général Italien* (Paris, Chiron, 1920), and is preparing his memoirs, which will appear in two volumes, the second of which will be devoted to the refutation of the charges developed by the parliamentary investigating commission headed by Senator General Caneva, whose report has been published in three volumes. Another important critique of the conduct of the Supreme Command has been issued by the retired General Ettore Viganò, under the title *La Nostra Guerra: come fu Preparata e come è stato Condotta sino al Novembre 1917* (Florence, Le Monnier). *Per la Verità* (Milan, Treves, 1920, pp. xvi, 293) is the personal defense of Gen. L. Capello in reply to the Caneva report in so far as it seeks to charge him with serious blame for the disaster of Caporetto. Col. E. Barone's *Storia Militare della Nostra Guerra fino a Caporetto* (Bari, Lateraza, 1919, pp. 222) is an excellent summary of Italy's campaigns in the war.

Messrs. Constable of London are issuing in English Prince Sixte of Bourbon-Parma's full account of *Austria's Peace Offer* (pp. 360), published with a prefatory letter by the prince, who has entrusted the task of setting forth the notes in detail and editing the documents concerned to Mr. G. de Manteyer; French edition, *L'Offre de Paix Séparée de l'Autriche* (Paris, Plon).

Additional discussions of the negotiations, provisions, and effects of the peace treaties will be found in R. Moulin's *L'Année des Diplomates*,

1919 (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 241); L. Marin's *Le Traité de Paix* (Paris, Floury, 1920); R. G. Lévy's *La Juste Paix ou la Vérité sur le Traité de Versailles* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 290); J. Denier's *La Question des Îles Aland, Étude Critique du Rapport de la Commission des Juristes* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. 56); and in the issues of the *Round Table* for July and September, 1920.

Simsadus, London: the American Navy in Europe (New York, Henry Holt) derives its name from the cable address (an abbreviation of "Sims, Admiral, U. S.") of the headquarters of Admiral Sims in London. The author, Mr. John L. Leighton, held a temporary naval rank and served in the intelligence section of Admiral Sims's staff there. The book therefore, though it pretends to no official authority, is of much value.

My Campaign in Mesopotamia (London, Butterworth, 1920, pp. 400), by General Sir Charles V. F. Townshend, is one of the books which is assured of a permanent place in the history of the Great War.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Maj.-Gen. Sir F. Maurice, *The Versailles Supreme War Council* (Army Quarterly, January); Col. Charles Grant, *The Commander-in-Chief of the Forces on the Western Front* (*ibid.*); A. Veymon, *La Méthode de Commandement de Foch* (Revue de Paris, December 1); P. Conard, *Falkenhayn et son Livre sur le Haut Commandement Allemand* (Revue du Mois, September 10); M. Hobohm, *Delbrück, Clausewitz, und die Kritik des Weltkrieges* (Preussische Jahrbücher, August); Captain A. C. Dewar, *Reorganization of the Naval Staff, 1917-1919* (Quarterly Review, January); David Hannay, *The Battle of Jutland* (Edinburgh Review, January); A. Salandra, *La Questione dell' Alto Adige* (Nuova Antologia, October 16); E. Daniels, *Der Kampf um die Dardanellen im Jahre 1915* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); E. Daudet, *Quelques Scènes du Drame Hellénique, Juin-Décembre, 1916* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15, December 1, January 1); W. C. Abbott, *Histories of the World War* (Yale Review, April).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Dr. Reginald Lane Poole has retired from the editorship of the *English Historical Review*, of which he was assistant editor from 1895 to 1901 and had sole charge from that date until the present. The journal which he has conducted with so much scholarship and good judgment during so many years will hereafter be edited by Mr. G. N. Clark, whose editorship begins with the January number. In that number the first article is a very interesting account of the early days of the *Review* by Dr. Poole.

The Royal Historical Society has just issued a *Repertory of British Archives*, part I., England, compiled by Mr. Hubert Hall, with the

assistance of research students of the University of London; also volume XIII. of the *Camden Miscellany*.

In the *English Historical Review* for January, 1917, Professor C. H. Firth traced the history of Modern History in Oxford, 1724-1841. Its subsequent fortunes he now traces in a pamphlet *Modern History in Oxford, 1841-1918* (Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 51) in which every university teacher of history will find a great deal to interest him.

The fifth volume of the British Academy's series in economic history is *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw* (Humphrey Milford, pp. cxliv, 554), brought together from various collections and edited by Professor F. M. Stenton of University College, Reading.

The late Archdeacon Cunningham's wide knowledge of the buildings as well as the history of English towns gives special interest to his posthumous publication in the pamphlet series of *Helps for Students of History*, no. 26, *Monuments of English Municipal Life* (S. P. C. K.). In the same society's pamphlet series *Texts for Students*, no. 23 is a most interesting group of *Select Extracts illustrating Sports and Pastimes in the Middle Ages*, edited by E. L. Guilford.

The Oxford University Press has just published in the series of *Oxford Historical and Literary Studies* a volume (X.) on *The Puritans in Ireland*, by the Rev. St. John D. Seymour. Volume XI. of that series is *The Early Life and Education of John Evelyn*, with a commentary by H. Maynard Smith.

The Inclosure and Redistribution of Our Land, by W. H. R. Curtler (Oxford, Clarendon Press), takes up with especial thoroughness the inclosures of common lands effected by acts of Parliament between 1700 and 1876. It is an important contribution to its subject.

A Life of the late Lord Salisbury, in two volumes, by his daughter Lady Gwendolen Cecil, is announced for publication by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.

The Life of Sir William White, K.C.B., F.R.S. (Murray), by Frederic Manning, is the biography of a great naval architect who designed more than 250 war ships and had an important part in organizing Great Britain's naval resources.

The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments has now added vol. I. of an *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex* (H. M. Stationery Office) to the volumes published before the war on Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire; it deals with eighty-two parishes in northwestern Essex.

Miss Flora Thomas's pamphlet *The Builders of Milford* (Haverfordwest, *Pembrokeshire Telegraph*, pp. 39) has an American interest

from the fact that the foundation of Milford, under the proprietor Charles Francis Greville, was due to Nantucket Starbucks and Folgers, exiled as Loyalists.

In the *Scottish Historical Review* for January the principal articles are one by J. Duncan Mackie on Queen Mary's Jewels and one by Canon Wilson on the Passages of Saint Malachy through Scotland.

Messrs. Methuen and Company have published, as the Rhind Lectures in archaeology for 1919-1920, by Mr. John Warrack, a volume on *Domestic Life in Scotland, 1488-1688: a Sketch of the Development of Furniture and Household Usage* (pp. xvi, 213).

We have just received *A Guide to the Records deposited in the Public Record Office of Ireland* (Dublin, H. M. Stationery Office, pp. xvii, 334), by Herbert Wood, assistant deputy keeper of the public records of Ireland, a remarkably thorough and systematic manual long needed.

Mr. Robert H. Murray's three pamphlets on Ireland, in the series of *Helps for Students of History*, treat in detail of the original and secondary materials for the history of that country from 1494 to 1829 (New York, Macmillan, pp. 32, 48, 47).

The Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire is a new journal published in London, beginning in 1920, which supplies a quarterly digest of the debates and legislation of the parliaments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland.

The November number of the *Victorian Historical Magazine* contains the first installment of a History of the Victorian Ballot, by Professor Ernest Scott, and the concluding installment of Australian Place Names, by Thomas O'Callaghan.

British government publications: *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, second edition, ed. R. H. Brodie, volume I., parts 1, 2, 3; *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde*, n. s., vol. VIII. [to 1713] (Historical Manuscripts Commission).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Strecker, *Zu den Quellen für das Leben des Hl. Ninian* (Neues Archiv, XLIII. 1); M. Deanesly, *Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Modern Language Review, October); P. H. Winfield, *The Early History of Criminal Conspiracy* (Law Quarterly Review, July-October); William Muss-Arnolt, *Puritan Efforts and Struggles, 1550-1603, a Bio-bibliographical Study*, I. (American Journal of Theology, July-October); Godfrey Davies, *The Battle of Edgehill* (English Historical Review, January); Capt. Stephen Gwynn, *Beginnings of Irish History* (Edinburgh Review, January); John Hays Hammond, *South African Memories: Rhodes, Barnato, Burnham* (Scribner's Magazine, March).

FRANCE

The first volume of *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1920, pp. xxxii, 355), edited by J. Viard, includes material to the time of Clotaire II.

The Oxford University Press is about to publish *The Early History of the Monastery of Cluny*, by Miss L. M. Smith of Somerville College, Oxford, based on original sources.

Rois et Serfs, un Chapitre d'Histoire Capétienne (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 224) is a study by Professor Marc Bloch of Strasburg.

H. Furgeot has edited a volume of the *Actes du Parlement de Paris* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. iv, 465) for the years 1328-1342, continuing Boutaric.

Two recent monographs on the history of the Huguenots in France are *L'Invasion Calviniste en Bas-Limousin, Périgord, et Haut-Quercy* (Paris, Picard, 1920), by R. de Boysson, and *Les Guerres de Religion à Nant et le Pays d'Extrême Haute-Marche de Rouergue* (Rodez, Carrère, 1920, pp. 166), by E. Mazel. For a later period may be cited the scholarly work of A. Le Roux on *Les Religionnaires de Bordeaux de 1685 à 1802* (Bordeaux, Féret, 1920, pp. 381), which deals with the Huguenots during the century of suppression and persecution.

Pierre Coste has begun the publication of *Saint Vincent de Paul, Correspondance, Entretiens, Documents* (Paris, Gabalda, 1920); the first volume (pp. xxxix, 624) contains the correspondence for the years 1607-1639.

For the series *Figures du Passé*, Madame Saint-René Taillandier, a niece of Taine, has written *Madame de Maintenon, l'Énigme de sa Vie auprès du Grand Roi* (Paris, Hachette, 1920). For A. de Boislisle's edition of the *Mémoires de Saint-Simon* for the collection of *Grands Écrivains de France*, an index (Paris, Hachette, 1920, 2 vols., pp. viii, 404, 345) has been prepared covering the first twenty-eight volumes which bring the narrative to the death of Louis XIV. The twenty-ninth volume, which deals with the opening months of the reign of Louis XV., has also appeared.

A new life of *Marie-Antoinette* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1920) is by the Marquis de Ségur of the French Academy.

The Société d'Histoire Contemporaine has renewed its activities with the publication of the first volume of *Actes du Gouvernement Révolutionnaire, 22 Août 1793—27 Juillet 1794* (Paris, Picard, 1920, pp. lxxiv, 590), edited by A. Cochin and C. Charpentier. *Les Derniers Corsaires Malouins, La Course sous la République et l'Empire, 1793-1814* (Rennes, Oberthur, 1919, pp. xxiii, 356) is a careful and interesting contribution to French maritime history by Abbé F. Robidou.

The *Discours Civiques de Danton* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1920) have been published under the editorship of H. Fleischmann. *Le Père Duchesne, Hébert, et la Commune de Paris, 1792-1794* (Paris, Ambert, 1920) is by P. d'Estrée. A. Beaunier deals with the period 1786-1790 in the second volume of his *Joubert et la Révolution* (Paris, Perrin, 1919, pp. 353). P. and M. de Pradel de Lamase have published from family papers *Nouvelles Notes Intimes d'un Émigré, le Chevalier de Pradel de Lamase, Officier à l'Armée de Condé* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1920). W. Bauer has translated the souvenirs of F. C. Laukhard under the title *Un Allemand en France sous la Terreur* (Paris, Perrin, 1919, pp. 396; review by A. Mathiez, *Annales Révolutionnaires*, March, 1920, throwing doubts on veracity of the narrative). A. Depréaux has published *L'Odyssée d'un Orléanais pendant la Révolution, Souvenirs de Charles Levé* (Paris, Clavreuil, 1920).

Lt.-Col. Tournès's monograph on *La Garde Nationale dans le Département de la Meurthe pendant la Révolution, 1789-1802* (Angers, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Publicité, 1920, pp. xxiii, 301) is the best work yet done on the National Guard and should be a model for future studies of the sort. Of similar high character is Abbé M. Giraud's *Essai sur l'Histoire Religieuse de la Sarthe de 1789 à l'An IV*. (Paris, Jouve, 1920, pp. 691). *L'Idée Régionaliste sous la Révolution* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 123) is by L. Dubreuil.

Mr. H. N. B. Richardson has published a useful *Dictionary of Napoleon and his Times*, alphabetically arranged, with maps, plans, a chronological table, and a classified bibliography (London, Cassell, pp. 490).

Col. Frignet-Despréaux, grand-nephew of Mortier, who published in 1913 and 1914 the first two volumes of *Le Maréchal Mortier, Duc de Trévise*, has now brought out the third volume (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. 434) which relates to the years 1804-1807. The latest Napoleonic study by F. Masson is *La Vie et les Conspirations du Général Malet, 1754-1812* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1921). Arthur Chuquet has begun a series of volumes on *Les Cents Jours*, with one relating to *Le Départ de l'Île d'Elbe* (Paris, Leroux, 1921, pp. 202).

Le Courrier de M. Thiers (Paris, Payot, pp. 500), edited by Daniel Halévy, is a collection of Thiers's correspondence, selected by Thiers himself from among the documents bequeathed by him to the Bibliothèque Nationale, and revised by his sister-in-law Mlle. Dosne.

Lt.-Col. E. Simond has continued his *Histoire de la Troisième République* with a volume on the *Présidence de MM. Casimir-Périer et Félix Faure* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1921, pp. 356). *Le Cœur de Gambetta* (*ibid.*, pp. 238), by F. Laur, contains accounts not only of Gambetta's relations with women and his fatal accident but also of his relations with Bismarck and Leo XIII. The second volume of L. Delabrousse's *Joseph*

Magnin et son Temps, 1824-1910 (Paris, Alcan, 1920) deals with the events of 1870 and his services as minister of finance and as governor of the Bank of France.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Weise, *Staatliche Baufronden in Fränkischer Zeit* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XV. 3); A. Gérard, *La Tradition Française dans la Politique des Frontières, le "Système Classique" de Notre Diplomatie* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXIV. 3); F. Meinecke, *Die Lehre von den Interessen der Staaten im Frankreich Richelieus* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIII. 1); C. de la Roncière, *Un Grand Navigateur Parisien: Bougainville, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Revue Hebdomadaire, November 20, 27); G. Hardy, *Robespierre et la Question Noire* (Annales Révolutionnaires, September); M. Dommanget, *Les Pratiques Cultuelles, les Miracles, et le Fanatisme Révolutionnaires* (ibid., November); G. Vauthier, *Les Missions Religieuses sous la Restauration* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); E. Faguet, *Thiers* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1, 15); Abbé Félix Klein, *Breaking and Renewing Diplomatic Relations between France and the Holy See* (Catholic World, February).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano, 1815-1920* (Rivista Storica Italiana, October).

The following contributions of interest have recently been made to the history of Rome in the medieval and Renaissance periods: A. de Bovard, *Le Régime Politique et les Institutions de Rome au Moyen Age, 1252-1347* (Paris, Boccard, 1920, pp. xxx, 362); E. Schoenian, *Die Idee der Volkssouveränität im Mittelalterlichen Rom* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1919, pp. 128); L. Pastor, *Die Stadt Rom zu Ende der Renaissance* (Freiburg, Herder, 1920, pp. xviii, 138); and H. Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz* (2 vols., Berlin, Grote, 1920).

Among recent biographical studies connected with Italian history are R. de la Sizeranne's *Béatrice d'Este et sa Cour* (Paris, Hachette, 1920); A. Rampolla Gambino's *Fra Paolo Sarpi* (Palermo, Trimarchi, 1919, pp. viii, 210); and L. Hautecoeur's *L'Italie sous le Ministère Orlando, 1917-1919* (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 276).

Volumes II. and III. of *Mazzini's Letters to an English Family*, edited by E. F. Richards, will be published by John Lane this spring.

From the recent publications in Italian local history the following may be selected for mention: E. Mavaresi, *Gli Atti del Comune de Milano fino all'Anno MCCXVI*. (Milan, Capriolo and Massimino, 1919, pp. ccxx, 730); H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig* (vol. II., Gotha, Perthes, 1920, pp. xix, 701); N. P. Aldobrandini, *Le Monete di Venezia Descritte ed Illustrate* (vol. III., to 1797, Venice, Tip. Emiliana,

1919); and A. Monti, *La Compagnia di Gesù nel Territorio della Provincia Torinese, Memorie Storiche* (vol. V., Chieri, Ghirardi, 1920, pp. 628).

J. M. Burnam has issued the second portion of his *Palaeographia Iberica* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 81-155, 20 plates) which contains facsimiles of Spanish and Portuguese manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries with notes and transcriptions.

The Way of St. James, by Miss Georgiana Goddard King (New York, Putnams, 3 vols., finely illustrated), is an account of the pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, based on extended historical investigation and on careful travels along the pilgrim road from Toulouse to Santiago. The texts of early itineraries and narratives are printed in the third volume. Beside much picturesque detail respecting pilgrimage there is much information on the church architecture of Northern Spain.

Mme. Jane Dieulafoy has written a lively and intelligent account of the life and reign of *Isabelle la Grande, Reine de Castille, 1451-1504* (Paris, Hachette, 1920).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Stein, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Ravenna in Spätromischer und Byzantinischer Zeit* (Klio, XVI. 1); M. Merores, *Die Ältesten Venezianischen Staatsanleihen und ihre Entstehung* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XV. 3); F. Ruffini, *Brofferio e Guerrazzi contro Cavour* (Nuova Antologia, October 1, 16, November 1); M. Albertoni, *Ricordi dell' Impresa di Roma nel 1870* (*ibid.*, September 16); G. Cavallari Cantalamessa, *Nel Cinquantenario dell' Entrata in Roma* (*ibid.*, October 1); L. Pfandl, ed., *Itinerarium Hispanicum Hieronymi Monetarii [Münzer], 1494-1495* (Revue Hispanique, XLVIII.); A. Marvaud, *L'Évolution Économique de l'Espagne au Cours de la Guerre Mondiale* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The historical commission connected with the Bavarian Academy of Sciences is instituting a new series of *Deutsche Geschichtsquellen*, devoted to materials for the history of Germany in the nineteenth century. The first issue was the journals, 1860-1871, of Dalwigk, prime minister of Hesse-Darmstadt, ed. Schüssler (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt). This will be followed by the memoirs of Minister du Thil, ed. H. Ulmann. Dr. Rudolf Hübner will edit for this series, from the papers of his grandfather, J. G. Droysen, the journals of the Committee of Seventeen and the Committee on the Constitution in the National Assembly of 1848, together with Droysen's diary for the same period. Other volumes will present papers of Joseph von Radowitz, ed. Möling, and of Lassalle, ed. G. Mayer.

A historical commission presided over by Dr. Lewald, assistant minister of foreign affairs, and including Professors Hans Delbrück and Hermann Oncken, and General von Freytag-Loringhoven, has been appointed to compile, out of materials in the Staatsarchiv in Berlin, a documentary history of the Great War and the approaches thereto.

The latest issue of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* is the fourth volume of the *Necrologia Germaniae* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920, pp. x, 792) devoted to the diocese of Passau, and edited by the late M. Fastlinger and by J. Sturm.

In the field of German economic history there may be noted such a general work as *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1815 bis 1914* (Jena, Fischer, 1920, pp. x, 598) by A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, and such a detailed special study as *Neue Beiträge zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Württembergischen Bauernstandes* (Tübingen, Laupp, 1919, pp. vii, 210; x, 234) by Theodor Knapp.

The history of a century of the Prussian ministry of religious and educational affairs is told in E. Müsebeck's *Das Preussische Kultus-Ministerium vor 100 Jahren* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1918) and in R. Lüdicke's *Die Preussischen Kultusminister und ihre Beamten im Ersten Jahrhundert des Ministertums, 1817-1917* (*ibid.*).

Freiherr Lucius von Ballhausen has published a volume of *Bismarck-Erinnerungen* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1920, pp. 590).

Dr. Ilse Neumann has published *Die Geschichte der Deutschen Reichsgründung nach den Memoiren von Sir Robert Morier: Darstellung und Kritik* (Berlin, Ebering, 1919, pp. xvi, 256).

Hildegard Katsch has undertaken to trace the development of Treitschke's political views in *Heinrich von Treitschke und die Preussisch-Deutsche Frage von 1860-1866* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1919, pp. xvi, 161). The views of a Württemberg leader are set forth by O. Schnizer in *Gustav Rümelins Politische Ideen* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1919).

A work of considerable significance is M. Erzberger's *Erlebnisse im Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1920; see article by M. Muret, *Revue de Paris*, November 15, 1920). The eminent German pacifist, Alfred Fried, has published *Mein Kriegs-Tagebuch* (vol. I., to July, 1915, Zurich, Rascher, 1918, pp. xxiv, 472). Professor C. Rist has discussed *Les Finances de Guerre de l'Allemagne* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 296).

A life of *Louis II. de Bavière* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1920) by Jacques Bainville, and *La Bavière et l'Empire Allemand: Histoire d'un Particularisme* (*ibid.*, pp. 264) by J. Rovère represent, perhaps, a present tendency to over-emphasize provincial and anti-Prussian sentiments.

G. Blondel has furnished a survey of *La Rhénanie, son Passé, son Présent, son Avenir* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 240), while Joseph Hansen has compiled *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der Politischen Bewegung, 1830-1850* (vol. I., Essen, Baedeker, 1919, pp. 944).

The name of the author, Gustav von Schmoller, is sufficient guarantee of the value of *Zwanzig Jahre Deutscher Politik, 1897-1917* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1920, pp. vi, 208). P. Zorn has discussed the relations between *Deutschland und die Beiden Haager Friedenskonferenzen* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1920). F. von Bernhardt has published *Eine Weltreise, 1911-1912, und der Zusammenbruch Deutschlands, Eindrücke und Betrachtungen aus den Jahren 1911-1914, mit einem Nachwort aus dem Jahre 1919* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1920, pp. iv, 284, 230, 267), which has interest both because of the views of the author and of the class to which he belonged.

Zur Orientandelspolitik Oesterreichs unter Maria Theresia in der Zeit von 1740-1771 (Vienna, Hölder, 1919, pp. 130) is a monographic study by Marianne von Herzfeld.

Dr. Hanns Schlitter has published four volumes entitled *Aus Oesterreichs Vormärz* (Zurich, Amalthea-Verlag, 1920) dealing respectively with the situations in Galicia and Cracow, Bohemia, Hungary, and Lower Austria.

In *Une Démocratie Historique, la Suisse* (Paris, Hemmerlé, 1920, pp. 296) C. G. Picavet has undertaken an appreciation of national and political ideas and forces with special reference to events since the French Revolution and including the situation during and since the Great War.

A useful compilation is being prepared by M. Godet, H. Tubler, and V. Attinger to serve as a *Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse* (Neufchatel, Delachaux and Niestlé), of which the first part has now come from the press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. S. Hanna, *Siegfried-Arminius* (Journal of English and Germanic Philology, October); A. G'sell, *Die Vita des Erzbischofs Arnold von Mainz, 1153-1160, auf ihre Echtheit geprüft*, I. (Neues Archiv, XLIII. 1); A. Frey-Schlesinger, *Die Volkswirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Habsburgischen Post im 16. Jahrhundert* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XV. 3); H. O. Meisner, *Preussens Politische Stellung zwischen Frankreich und Russland bis zum Zwangsbündnis mit Napoleon I.* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); L. Fiesel, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Zollgeleits* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XV. 3); M. Barrière, *La "Kaiserkrise"*, Novembre 1908 (Revue de Paris, November 15); H. Ulmann, *Heinrich von Treitschke und der Krieg* (Preussische Jahrbücher, August); Theodore von Sosnosky, *The Last of the*

Habsburgs [Franz Josef, Franz Ferdinand, Karl] (Quarterly Review, January); J. and J. Tharaud, *Nos Enquêtes Bolchevistes de Hongrie*, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

In our review of Gosses and Japikse, *Handboek tot de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van Nederland* (XXIV. 663-664) it was mentioned that a portion of the narrative by Professor Gosses, the portion just preceding the year 1568, had not yet appeared. A fascicle containing these pages (ccclvii-cccxxv), the table of contents, and the index, has now appeared (the Hague, Nijhoff) completing the volume.

In Professor Brugmans's beautifully illustrated series we now have, in two volumes from the hands of Professor P. J. Blok, an authoritative and masterly biography of their national hero, *Willem de Eerste, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff).

Volume XLV. of the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* contains a long history of Dutch whaling enterprise, from 1650 to 1800, well documented, by the German historian Dr. Hermann Wätjen, who thus occupied a long period of detention in Holland following his imprisonment in England and exchange.

During the time of the war and the German occupation of Belgium, Dr. Joseph Cuvelier, archivist of that kingdom, succeeded in publishing a number of valuable archive-inventories, of which we mention an *Inventaire des Archives Ecclésiastiques du Brabant* and an *Inventaire des Archives de l'Université d'État à Louvain et du Collège Philosophique, 1817-1835*; also vols. II. and III. of the lists of *Chartes et Cartulaires du Luxembourg*, and vols. VI. and VII. of the *Chartes et Cartulaires des Duchés du Brabant et de Limbourg et des Pays d'Outremeuse*.

The Belgian Historical Commission has committed to M. Vannérus the editing of a volume of censuses of the duchy of Luxemburg in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. No. 3 of vol. LXXXIV. of the Commission's *Bulletin* contains a report, by Professor E. Hubert, on the papers, preserved at Siena, of Cardinal Chigi-Zondadari, papal nuncio in Belgium in 1786 and 1787, materials important for the history of the Belgian revolution.

The Belgian Academy of Sciences has resumed work upon the *Biographie Nationale* and expects to complete the printing of volume XXII. (letter S); also Professor Hubert's *Les Préliminaires de la Révolution Brabançonne*, and two prize essays, *Étude sur la Dette Publique en Belgique*, by E. Nicolaï, and *Les Relations Commerciales de la Belgique et de l'Espagne*, by Joseph Lefevre.

A sketch of *La Monarchie en Belgique sous Léopold I^{er} et Léopold II.* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1920) is by Comte Louis de Lichtervelde.

Professor F. Mayence of the University of Louvain has edited *La Correspondance de S. E. le Cardinal Mercier avec le Gouvernement Général Allemand pendant l'Occupation, 1914-1918* (Paris, Gabalda, 1919, pp. xi, 506).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. des Ombiaux, *Le Gouvernement du Havre et sa Politique en Belgique Occupée* (Mercure de France, January 1).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Volume XIII. of *Islandica*, the annual published in this special field by the Cornell University Library, is a bibliography of the Eddas (pp. 95), prepared by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson.

A valuable contribution to Swedish historical bibliography is G. Rudbeek's *Skrifter till Sveriges Historia tryckta före År 1600* (Upsala, Almqvist and Wiksell, 1919, pp. xv, 270).

The *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. XLV., reports at full length upon the work of search and of the making of inventories carried out by the Germans in the archives of the Baltic provinces, Lithuania, Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, during their occupation.

It is announced that Professor Paul Miliukov, the distinguished Russian historian and minister of foreign affairs in the Russian provisional government, has presented to Stanford University his entire private library, rich in books of Russian history. Professor Frank A. Golder, who is now in Europe gathering material for the Hoover war collection at Stanford University, has sent this collection from Finland to California.

Frau Gertrude Kircheisen, the wife of the historian of the Napoleonic period, has published a volume on *Katharina II.* (Munich, Müller, 1919).

Mr. W. Lyon Blaise's *Suvorof* (London, Constable, pp. 350) is an important contribution to military history, based almost entirely upon Russian authorities.

An English translation of Alexander Iswolsky's memoirs has been published by Doubleday, Page, and Company under the title *Recollections of a Foreign Minister.*

The Russian-Bulgarian Publishing Company, of Sofia, has in the press Professor Paul Miliukov's *Istoria Vtoroi Russkoi Revolutzii* (History of the Second Russian Revolution), in four volumes, of which an English translation will doubtless be produced in time.

Vospomenia, 1914-1919 (Berlin, J. Ladyshnikov), is a volume of recollections in Russian by J. B. Stankevich, a civilian who entered the Russian army early in the struggle, who, as commissar of the Northern front under the Kerensky government, was in close touch with both government and army, and who gives a valuable description of movements of opinion, feeling, and action, within the army.

A. Mazon, lecturer at the University of Strasburg, has compiled a convenient *Lexique de la Guerre et de la Révolution en Russie, 1914-1919* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. vi, 69). The views of a Russian observer are set forth by P. Schostakovsky in *Deux Ans et Demi au Pays des Bolcheviks* (Paris, Hemmerlé, 1920, pp. 172). L. Naudeau, who was a war correspondent and later prisoner in Russia, has given his record in *Les Dessous de Chaos Russe* (Paris, Hachette, 1920). *L'Oeuvre Économique des Soviets* (Paris, Povolozky, 1920) is by A. Axelrold, a Russian engineer who was entrusted with tasks of an economic character by the soviets. L. Galin has made a study of *Justice et Système Pénal de la Russie Révolutionnaire de l'Origine au Début de 1920* (Paris, Rousseau, 1920, pp. 117); and W. Mautner, of *Der Bolchevismus: Voraussetzungen, Geschichte, Theorie, zugleich eine Untersuchung seines Verhältnisses zum Marxismus* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1920, pp. xxiv, 368).

F. C. Zitelmann has discussed in full detail *Russland im Friedensvertrag von Versailles* (Berlin, Vahlen and Engelmann, 1920).

Some contributions to the history of the new Poland will be found in S. Szpotanski's *La Pologne Nouvelle et son Premier Chef d'État, Joseph Pilsudski* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1920, pp. 58); and in M. Pernot's *L'Épreuve de la Pologne* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 312) which is by an observer of recent events.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. R. Schröder, *Skandinavien und der Orient in Mittelalter* (Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, July, September); B. Liisberg, *Christian IV. and the Northwest Passage* (American Scandinavian Review, January); M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

One of the later issues in the series of *Texts for Students* (London, S. P. C. K., pp. 47) is the early history of the Slavonic settlements in Dalmatia, Croatia, and Serbia, by the Emperor Constantine VII. Porphyrogenetos, being chapters taken from his treatise *De Administrando Imperio* and edited by Professor J. B. Bury.

A. Danon's *Contribution à l'Histoire des Sultans Osman II. et Moustafa I.* (Paris, Lipschutz, 1920) is a study of the assassination and usurpation effected in 1622 based upon thorough investigation of the

documentary sources in many languages. The event is presented as the beginning of Ottoman decadence.

Paxton Hibben presents a strong indictment of the Anglo-French policy in Greece and of the Venizelist administration in *Constantine I. and the Greek People* (New York, Century, 1920, pp. xvi, 592), which is now published as it was written in 1917. G. M. Melas has written *L'Ex-Roi Constantin, Souvenirs d'un Ancien Secrétaire* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 272). H. Massis and E. Helsey have marshalled a considerable array of documents in their denunciation of *La Trahison de Constantin* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1920, pp. 132). E. Driault has published *La Renaissance de l'Hellénisme* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 243).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Oxford University Press is publishing a volume on *Cyprus under the Turks, 1571-1878*, by H. C. Luke, commissioner of Famagusta, described as "a record based on the archives of the English consulate in Cyprus under the Levant Company and afterward"—obviously new material.

A volume on *Le Protectorat Religieux de la France en Orient, Étude Historique et Politique* (Avignon, Aubanel, 1920, pp. xiii, 222) is by P. Chaleb; and one on *La France en Syrie et en Cilicie* (Paris, Librairie Indépendante, 1920, pp. 215) is by Dr. G. Gautherot, who was chief of the bureau of operations of the French troops in the Levant.

P. G. La Chesnais is the author of *Les Peuples de la Transcaucasie pendant la Guerre et devant la Paix* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 220), and Dr. J. Loris-Mélicof, of *La Révolution Russe et les Nouvelles Républiques Transcausiennes, Bolchevisme et Anti-bolchevisme* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 214). *La Tragédie Sibérienne* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1920, pp. 256) by J. Lasies, who was the head of the French military mission in Siberia, includes discussions of French policy and of the fate of the Tsar and his family and of Kolchak.

Professor Henri Cordier has published a second volume of *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales* (Paris, Maisonneuve, 1920). The first volume appeared in 1914. E. Aymonier is the author of an *Histoire de l'Ancien Cambodge* (Paris, Challamel, 1920).

A new volume in the Clarendon Press series of *Histories of the Nations* is *Modern China, a Political Study* (pp. viii, 380), by Sih-Gung Cheng, relating mainly to the history of the period since 1911.

As judicial councillor to the President of China, Dr. Nagao Ariga has had the privilege of utilizing many official documents in *La Chine et la Grande-Guerre Européenne au Point de Vue du Droit International* (Paris, Pedone, 1920, pp. 344). The chief of the German intelligence service at Tsing Tau, W. Vollerthun, has given an account of *Der*

Kampf um Tsing Tau (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1920, pp. xv, 200) based upon diary records.

Professor Karl Florenz has edited a volume of *Die Historischen Quellen der Shinto-Religion* (Göttingen, Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 1919, pp. xvi, 470) for the series of *Quellen der Religionsgeschichte* published by the Göttingen commission. The volume includes the Kojiki (A. D. 712), the Nihongi (A. D. 720), and the Kogoshui (A. D. 808).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. van Gennep, *La Nationalité Géorgienne: les Causes de sa Formation et de son Maintien* (Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie, I. 3); XXX, *Le Gouvernement Koltchak en Sibérie* (Revue de Paris, November 15).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

After the lapse of eight years, Professor Paul Darmstaedter has published the second volume of his *Geschichte der Aufteilung und Kolonisation Afrikas seit dem Zeitalter der Entdeckungen* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1920), which deals with the epoch from 1870 to 1919.

M. Sabry has sketched events in Egypt since 1914 and given a fuller account of the outbreak in 1919 in *La Révolution Égyptienne, d'après des Documents Authentiques et des Photographies pris au cours de la Révolution* (Paris, Vrin, 1919, pp. 143). The work is anti-British and favors the nationalist movement for independence.

Dr. W. J. Leyds has written *The Transvaal Surrounded: a Continuation of the First Annexation of the Transvaal* (London, Unwin, 1914, pp. xxiv, 603), which was printed before the war but only recently published. The work is, naturally, a vigorous presentation of the Boer side of the question.

E. Guilloteaux has supplied the need for a book which should gather the scattered materials and present in reasonable compass an informing account of *La Réunion et l'Île Maurice, Nossi-Bé et les Comores* (Paris, Perrin, 1920).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington is desirous to give all possible completeness to its collection of material for its proposed edition of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, edited for the Institution by Professor John S. Bassett. Efforts are now being made to supplement the letters from and to Jackson preserved in the Library of Congress, most of which have now been transcribed, by the securing of copies of letters elsewhere preserved. All persons who may possess or know of such collections, or

even of individual letters of Jackson, are earnestly requested to communicate with the director of the department, Dr. J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. Miss Frances G. Davenport of this department sails for England in June, for further work upon the second volume of her collection of *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States*.

Among the recent accessions to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress we note the Skipwith collection of the papers of Gen. Nathanael Greene, 1777-1783, about 200 pieces; papers of Gen. Henry C. Corbin, 1865-1902, of Henry Watterson, 1863-1920, and of Col. Almon F. Rockwell, 1862-1884.

Since the collection of transcripts which the Library of Congress is receiving from European archives increases so rapidly that few investigators are aware of its great extent and value, it may be well to mention that the librarian's report for 1920 contains (pp. 168-174) a detailed list of a year's accessions, exhibiting the contents of eighteen volumes from the Public Record Office, eight bundles from the Cornwallis papers, and six volumes from the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

There are certain pieces of Americana, not mere curiosities of the press but of good historical uses, which exist in a single known copy, or only in European libraries, or where it is difficult to consult them. Dr. Worthington C. Ford and Mr. Wilberforce Eames have undertaken a series of photographic copies of such rarities, to be preserved in the ten leading libraries of Americana, in the United States, namely, the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the John Carter Brown Library, the Newberry Library, and the libraries of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, Yale University, the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Mr. William L. Clements, and Mr. Henry E. Huntington. The reproductions are made by photostat in the Massachusetts Historical Society and are delivered to the libraries bound. The first reproduction, sent out in August, 1919, was the Paris edition of the Columbus letter (Harrisse, no. 5) and to the end of February, 1921, thirty-six volumes have been distributed. Among them were five editions of the letter of Columbus; seven of the letter of Vesputius; the *Carta de Privilegio* (Burgos, 1497) to Columbus; the French edition of Cortés, *Des Marches* (1522); Alfonse, *Les Voyages Avantureux* (Poitiers, 1559); Le Challeux's Ribaut (1566); the anonymous *Provinciae sive Regiones in India* (1520); Nuñez, *Tratado da Sphera* (Lisbon, 1537); Cabot, *Declaratio Chartae Novae* (1544); Cortés, *De Contreyen* (Antwerp, 1523); *Libretto de Tutta la Navigazione* (Venice, 1504); Parmentier et Crignon, *Description des Merveilles* (Paris, 1531); Dati, *La Lettera dellisole* (1495); Frame, *Description of Pennsylvania* (1692); Carré, *Echantillon* (Boston, 1690); the two Heaman tracts on Maryland (1655), and the three broadsides

on Guiana (1626-1627). In nearly every case the works rank among the great rarities; they are derived from a wide variety of European and American libraries. The advantages of having such reproductions have already been shown in identifying doubtful issues, in discovering variations in text and even new editions, and in placing this hitherto inaccessible material where it may be consulted by those interested.

The Century Company announces *The United States*, a three-volume history prepared under the editorship of Professor Max Farrand of Yale University, and designed for the college student, the general reader, and the serious student of American affairs. The volumes will be *Colonial Beginnings*, by Professor W. T. Root of Wisconsin, *The Growth of a Nation*, by Professor Farrand, and *Since the Civil War*, by Professor Charles R. Lingley of Dartmouth College. The third volume is now published.

Professor John S. Bassett has added two new chapters to his *Short History of the United States*, bringing the narrative to the end of the year 1920 (Macmillan).

Messrs. Lippincott have brought out a *History of the United States of America, its People, and its Institutions*, by Charles Morris.

Rand, McNally, and Company have published a volume of *Historical Readings: an Introduction to the Study of American History*, edited, with notes and biographical sketches, by Helen B. Bennett and others, with an introduction by George B. Foster.

Some of the items in the series of *Indian Notes and Monographs* published by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, of New York, are of historical interest; for example, *Medicine Ceremony of the Menomini, Iowa, and Wahpeton Dakota, with Notes on the Ceremony among the Ponca, Bungi, Ojibwa, and Potawatomi* (vol. IV.), by Alanson B. Skinner; *The Earliest Notices concerning the Conquest of Mexico by Cortés in 1519* (vol. IX., no. 1), by Marshall H. Saville; and *New York City in Indian Possession* (vol. XI.), by Reginald P. Bolton.

Missing Pages in American History by Miss L. E. Wilkes, is a compilation of materials relating to the part which negroes have taken in the wars of this country from 1641 to 1816 (the author, 1404 Franklin Street, Washington, D. C.).

The Policy of the United States as regards Intervention, by Charles E. Martin, is a recent number of the *Columbia University Studies*.

The December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains a Sketch of the Work and History of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, 1845-1920, by Sister Maria Alma, C. I. M., and a History of Catholicity in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, from the Earliest Times to the Present, 1737-1920.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

An account of the companion of Columbus, *Vicente Yañez Pinzón, sus Viajes y Descubrimientos* (Madrid, Imp. del Ministerio de Marina, 1920, pp. 72) is by J. Hernández-Pinzon y Gauzinotto.

Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company have issued as souvenirs of the *Mayflower* tercentenary facsimiles of a number of documents pertaining to the Pilgrims. They are: the documents concerning the appraisal of the *Mayflower* (no. 1); the refusal of the Leyden authorities to expel the Pilgrims (no. 2); the marriage certificate of William Bradford and Dorothy May (no. 3); and the Plymouth copy of the first charter of Virginia (no. 4).

The *University of Buffalo Studies*, vol. I., no. 4 (Monographs in History, no. 1), is *A Journal of the Expedition against Cuba, 1762*, by Roswell Park, edited, with a preface, by Professor Julian Park.

The Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth Branch of the Connecticut Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has brought out as *Publication* no. 3, an interesting study, by Francis Parsons, of *The British Attack at Bunker Hill*.

Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Sweden, 1814-1905 (pp. 70), by Brynjolf J. Hovde, appears among the *University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences*.

It is announced that volume V. (The Period of Transition: 1815-1848) of Professor Edward Channing's *History of the United States* will be published in May (Macmillan).

In *Ulysses S. Grant: his Life and Character*, the Macmillan Company has reprinted from the old plates the book of that title, by Hamlin Garland. There is a new preface, of six pages, and the illustrations have been slightly reduced in number. The work was reviewed by the late Professor F. W. Moore when it appeared in 1898 (*Amer. Hist. Rev.*, IV. 377).

Doubleday, Page and Company expect to publish in the autumn a volume of memoirs of Dr. Paul S. Reinsch covering the period of the six years which he spent in China as American ambassador to that republic.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

The Peace Negotiations: a Personal Narrative, by Robert Lansing, late secretary of state, was published late in March by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

Mr. George Creel's *How We Advertised America* (Harpers, 1920, pp. 467) is frankly put forth as an endeavor to do justice, in the eyes of the public, to the work of the Committee on Public Information of which he was the chairman during the war, as over against the injustice

inflicted by the sudden action of Congress in bringing the committee's work and existence to an end; but all who have any real knowledge of the work done by that organization will be glad that this record of its varied, intelligent, and highly important activities is thus vividly presented. All others should read the book.

The Historical Section of the Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, has issued three publications: *German Submarine Activities on the Atlantic Coast of the United States and Canada* (pp. 163); *The Northern Barrage and Other Mining Activities* (pp. 146); and a *Digest Catalogue of Laws and Joint Resolutions* (pp. 64) bearing on the relations of the navy to the Great War.

Building the Emergency Fleet (Cleveland, Pepton Publishing Company), by W. C. Mattox, formerly head of the Publication Section of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, is a historical narrative of the problems and achievements of that organization during the war.

A History of the 313th Field Artillery, U. S. A. (New York, Crowell) is the work of twenty of its officers. There is a preface by Captain John Paul.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The Prince Society issues as its latest volume (180 copies, Boston, C. E. Goodspeed) *The Ledger and the Record Book of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent*, covering the years 1650-1686, with an introduction by George P. Winship.

The October-November serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains an interesting paper on Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1789-1823, by Dr. Samuel E. Morison, with illustrative letters of the years 1820-1823; a paper by Mr. Lawrence S. Mayo on the King's Woods in New England; and a group of a dozen letters and documents, found in Spanish archives by Miss Irene A. Wright, illustrating the imprisonment in Spain, 1612-1616, of John Clark, afterward mate of the *Mayflower*. The December-January number prints important documents from the British Public Record Office respecting the case of Edward Pickering v. Thomas Weston, 1623, relating to the business affairs of the Pilgrims; and a diary kept in England and France in 1778 by William Greene of Boston.

The second volume of the Massachusetts Historical Society's reprint of the *Journals* of the provincial House of Representatives covers eight sessions, extending from May, 1718, to the end of March, 1721. The editor, Mr. Ford, also inserts a brief report of the Council, reprinted

from a unique or rare copy, *The Case of the Muster Rolls of His Majesty's Castle William*, a matter in which there was a disagreement between the House of Representatives and the Council.

Besides the volumes reviewed on another page, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts has issued volume XXII. of its *Publications*, being the first of two volumes of records of the First Church in Plymouth. Volume XXIII. will contain the remainder. Volumes XV. and XVI., containing the early records of Harvard College, are in an advanced stage of preparation.

The January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains an article by Sidney Perley entitled Where the Salem "Witches" were Hanged; also a continuation of Francis B. C. Bradlee's history of the Boston and Maine railroad.

Instructions for Care of Archives in the Connecticut State Library (pp. 16), by Effie M. Prickett, chief of the archives department, has been issued as no. 8 of the Library's *Bulletins*. No. 9 of the *Bulletins* is a *Select List of Manuscripts in the Connecticut State Library* (pp. 35). These *Bulletins* are bound with the *Report of the State Librarian* for the two years ended September 30, 1916. The *Report* for the succeeding two-year period (1916-1918) has also appeared. Of especial interest is an account of the work of the department of historical records in assembling material pertaining to Connecticut's participation in the World War.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Dr. James Sullivan, state historian of New York, has discovered among the town records of Huntington, Long Island, a manuscript copy of the Duke's Laws, of which only three other copies are known. The Huntington copy lacks a few of the earlier pages.

The contents of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* include a paper by Sherman Williams on Jedediah Peck, the Father of the Public School System of the State of New York, and the Minutes of the Presbytery of New York, 1780-1782, edited by Professor Dixon R. Fox.

The December *Bulletin* of the Grosvenor Library (Buffalo) contains some interesting Fillmore letters, and an Indian legend respecting LaSalle, preserved among the Seneca and commented on by Hon. Peter A. Porter.

The January number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* includes an address delivered by Dr. Austin Scott before the society in October, bearing the title *Blazing the Way to Final Victory, 1781*, being a discourse upon Washington's conception and conduct of the campaign which closed at Yorktown. Two other interesting papers are: *Historic "Buccleuch"*, its successive Owners, by William

H. Benedict, and the "Pennamite Wars" and the Trenton Decree of 1782, by Frederick W. Gnichtel.

The *Year Book of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies*, 1919 (pp. 128), containing also the proceedings of the fifteenth annual meeting, held in 1920, presents reports from a multitude of societies and affords a most impressive exhibit of good work done in fields of local history.

The Ohio State University's *Bulletin*, vol. XXIV., no. 23 (pp. 117), is a careful treatise on *The Loyalists of Pennsylvania*, in which their history during and after the Revolution is treated with elaborate scholarship, by Professor W. H. Siebert.

Papers read before the Lancaster County Historical Society, September 3, 1920, includes three papers relating to the Zimmerman-Carpenter families of Lancaster county; in the issue of *Papers* read October 1 is a history of St. Michael's Lutheran Church at Strasburg, by William F. Worner; in the issue of November 5 is an article, Rafting on the Susquehanna, by D. F. Magee; and in the issue of December 3 is a sketch, by H. M. Hoffman, of John Vogan, Founder of Voganville.

The principal articles in the January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* are: one by Charles W. Dahlinger, entitled the Republican Party Originated in Pittsburgh; one by John S. Ritenour, on the Lincolns of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, mainly genealogical in character; and a brief paper by Dr. George P. Donehoo on the American Indian in the Great War.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December are found an historical address by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner on Presbyterian Beginnings in Maryland, some material appertaining to Gérard, first French minister to the United States, contributed by Miss Elizabeth S. Kite, the second of Percy G. Skirven's papers concerning Seven Pioneers of the Colonial Eastern Shore, and other continued articles.

A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland of the United Lutheran Church of America, 1820-1920, together with a brief Sketch of each Congregation of the Synod and Biographies of the Living Sons of the Synod in the Ministry, by Abdel R. Wenz, has been published by the Evangelical Press, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

In the month of February the archives of the state of Virginia, now embracing, we are told, some 1,268,000 historical manuscripts, were moved into the excellent new archive building which the state has provided.

The contents of the April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* are principally continued series. In the series per-

taining to Virginia in the latter part of the seventeenth century are found two letters from Sir Henry Chicheley, lieutenant-governor, and one from Nicholas Spencer, secretary, all dated May 8, 1682, giving accounts of the "plant cutting" disturbances in Virginia. Following the letters are a report upon the matter to the king in council (June 14), and the consequent orders (June 17). The whole story of the revolt against the low price of tobacco and of the efforts to remedy it has an extraordinary similarity to incidents enacted so recently as the year of grace 1920. The story is continued through several documents in the July number, with dates as late as the end of May, 1783. In the July number are also found a biographical sketch and appreciation of the late William Gordon, by Armistead C. Gordon, and a letter from Col. John Banister to Elisha Tupper of Guernsey, July 11, 1775, partly pertaining to business, but also discussing the American situation. The October number contains a body of documents on the boundaries of the Northern Neck.

Beginning with January, William and Mary College has inaugurated the publication of a second series of the *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine*. The magazine was established in 1892 by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, then president of the college, and conducted at his own expense. Upon Dr. Tyler's retirement from the presidency he established (about two years ago) *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, with publication offices at Richmond. The editors of the new William and Mary quarterly are Dr. J. A. C. Chandler, president of the college, and Mr. E. G. Swem, librarian. The principal contents of the January number are: an address by Hon. Alton B. Parker, entitled the Foundations of Virginia, delivered at the college in October, 1920, in celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the beginnings of self-government in this country; letters of Beilby Porteus and John Blair relative to the Brafferton estate (1758); notes relating to some of the students who attended the college, 1753-1770; some letters of John Preston (son of the Revolutionary patriot, Col. William Preston) to his brother, Francis Preston (1786 and 1799); a letter of Thomas Dawson, president of the college, to Lady Gooch (1758); a letter of William Hunter, publisher of the *Virginia Gazette*, to President Dawson, relative to Benjamin Franklin (1756 ?); a letter of T. Povey, March 4, 1660, concerning the natural products of Virginia; and various petitions.

The January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* prints a number of petitions presented to the Virginia legislature, one group coming from Charles City County, another from James City County. Among the former are one against paper money (1780), one from the Quakers against slavery (1831), and one from Benjamin Harrison (1834) bearing upon the Revolutionary services of Robert Morris. Among the latter are one from the lessees of the "gov-

ernour's land" (1785), and a petition of Williamsburg for the capitol building (1785).

The *Eighth Biennial Report* (1918-1920) of the North Carolina Historical Commission chronicles among the accessions of manuscripts in the two-year period a body of Regulator records, presented to the state by Hon. Joseph E. Brown of Georgia; a group of papers of Gen. Joseph Graham, pertaining to the years 1813-1836; the George W. Swepson papers (438 pieces, 1866-1870), containing letters of prominent men of the time; the A. L. Brooks collection of autograph letters, particularly of governors of North Carolina; and important additions to the Walter Clark papers, the William A. Graham papers, etc. Many of the older groups of manuscripts have been arranged for use and some thirty-six volumes of them bound. The commission is repairing and arranging the records of the county of Albemarle, which, since Albemarle was the parent settlement of North Carolina, possess an interest for the whole state. Within the period covered by the report seventeen counties have transferred to the commission their non-current records. Embodied in the *Report* is a detailed statement, by Mr. R. B. House, acting under the North Carolina Historical Commission, of the progress made in the collection of records of the Great War. The commission announces that volumes III. and IV. of the *Ruffin Papers* are in the press, and that the first volume (1752-1771) of *The Records of the North Carolina Moravians*, edited by Miss Adelaide L. Fries, is ready for publication.

The Life, Letters and Speeches of James Louis Petigru, the Union Man of South Carolina (pp. xxi, 497), by his grandson James Petigru Carson, is published in Washington by W. H. Lowdermilk and Company, with an introduction by Dr. Gaillard Hunt.

The Macmillan Company has brought out *Old Creole Families of New Orleans and their Homes* (illustrated), by Miss Grace King.

WESTERN STATES

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December contains a paper by Professor Carl R. Fish on the Pilgrim and the Melting Pot; one by Professor L. B. Shippee on Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm, Agitator, and one by Miss Helen Broshar on the First Push Westward of the Albany Traders. Mr. John C. Parish surveys Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, 1919-1920. The number also contains a report of inspection of the Ninth Military Department, 1819, by Col. Arthur P. Hayne, U. S. A.

The October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is largely occupied with reprints of materials pertaining to the expedition of Céleron to the Ohio in 1749—Céleron's Journal, Father Bonnacamp's account of the voyage, and an article by O. H. Marshall. Mr. C. B. Galbreath contributes an introduction to the whole.

The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803 to 1850, by Edward A. Miller, Ph.D., published by the University of Chicago as vol. III., no. 2, of *Supplementary Educational Monographs*, is the second of a projected series of monographs on the history of educational legislation in the various states, principally in the period 1776-1850, of which the first was *Educational Legislation and Administration in the State of New York from 1777 to 1850*, by Elsie G. Hobson (see XXIV. 486). Professor Marcus W. Jernegan writes a general introduction to the work. The author traces the sources of Ohio's public school system and its development, examines the methods of handling the public school lands, outlines the state's slight participation in secondary and higher education, and in general emphasizes the institutional aspects of his subject, the lack of efficient control, and the non-compulsory character of much of the legislation. Two useful appendixes present a classified collection and abstract of the educational legislation of the period, and an index to it.

The work of calendaring the John Tipton manuscripts in the Indiana State Library, upon which Miss Margaret C. Norton has been engaged, has now been finished. Under the direction of the Indiana Historical Commission more than fifty of the ninety-two counties of the state have compiled a history of the parts which they have had, respectively, in the World War.

The December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains some memoirs of Thomas Jefferson Brooks (1805-1882) pertaining to the pioneer towns of Hindostan, Greenwich, and Mt. Pleasant, edited, with a supplement, by George R. Wilson; a brief paper, by T. J. de la Hunt, on the history of what is called the Pocket of Indiana (the southwest section lying east of Blue River and south of White River and its east fork); and a history of the city of Madison, by the Women's Club of Madison.

Articles in the January number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* are, besides continuations hitherto mentioned, the First Catholics in and about Chicago, by Joseph J. Thompson; the Knights of Columbus in the War and After, by the same writer; and Sébastien Louis Meurin, the Last of the Illinois Jesuit Indian Missionaries, by Rev. Charles H. Metzger, S.J. There is also a long and interesting letter from Father Rondot, apostolic missionary, to Father Cholleton, vicar-general of Lyons, written from St. Louis, May 21, 1831.

The Michigan Historical Commission has in its possession a number of sets of the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 39 volumes, with two index volumes. To any member of the American Historical Association who is willing to pay the charges of transportation a set will be presented on application to the secretary of the commission, Dr. George N. Fuller, Lansing, Michigan.

The *Michigan History Magazine* comes forth as a double number for April and July, 1920, and bulks somewhat more than 300 pages, the section designated Historical News, Notes, and Comment occupying 116 of them. Among the historical papers printed are: an account of Detroit Commercial Organizations, by William Stocking; Reminiscences of Life at Mackinac, 1835-1863, by Constance S. Patton; and the Joys and Sorrows of an Emigrant Family, by Joseph Ruff. The October issue contains a full, illustrated account of the Minnesota Historical Society by its superintendent, Professor Solon J. Buck; an article on Aid to Education by the National Government, by the late Dr. Jonathan L. Snyder; pictures and accounts of recent pageants; and a valuable and impressive account of Michigan War Legislation, by Charles H. Landrum.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently acquired files of the *Dakotian*, the *Weekly Dakotian*, and the *Union and Dakotian*, published by George W. Kingsbury at Yankton between 1861 and 1875; also files of papers of the following period, 1875-1902.

Recent accessions of manuscript material to the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society include a mass of material transferred from the office of the secretary of state, including legislative bills and original journals, 1849-1880; also papers of the Rev. Moses N. Adams, missionary and Indian agent to the Sioux, of Capt. Henry A. Castle, prominent Minnesota politician and newspaper man, of Gov. A. R. McGill, and of Col. Hans Mattson. More important still, the society has been selected as the permanent custodian of the valuable library of the Swedish Historical Society of America, consisting of about 5000 books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and newspaper files relating to the Swedes in America. This makes an important addition to the society's already large collections on the Scandinavians in America. The headquarters of the Swedish Historical Society is now in Minneapolis.

Volume XVII. of the *Minnesota Historical Collections* is a book of more than 700 pages dealing with Minnesota geographical names, their origins, and their historical significance.

A collection of about 2000 pamphlets pertaining to slavery, the Civil War, the impeachment of President Johnson, etc., assembled by James W. Grimes, senator from Iowa 1859-1871, is now in the custody of the State Historical Society of Iowa. The society has also acquired a narrative account, by William Clark, of a trip with ox teams from Fort Leavenworth to Utah in 1857.

Articles in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are: Providing for a State Constitutional Convention, by John F. Sly; History of Taxation in Iowa, 1910-1920, by John E. Brindley; and the Operation of the Primary Election Law in Iowa, by Frank E. Horack.

The October number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains an article by the late Colonel Alonzo Abernethy (1836-1915), entitled Incidents of an

Iowa Soldier's Life, or Four Years in Dixie; one by Judge Milo P. Smith relating his Recollections of Marengo (Iowa); and a paper by Professor F. I. Herriott entitled Memories of the Chicago Convention of 1860, embodying extended notes of a conversation with General Grenville M. Dodge in 1908, and an interview with Hon. Charles C. Nourse in 1907, together with a letter from Nourse to Senator James Harlan, dated June 6, 1860.

Mention was made in the October number of this journal of the inauguration by the Historical Society of Iowa of the *Palimpsest*, a vehicle for the presentation of the materials of Iowa history of a popular sort in a popular form, issued monthly. At that time only the initial (July) number had reached this office. All the issues, to February, inclusive, are now before us. Each number (about thirty pages in extent) contains two or three articles, usually upon subjects of local historical interest, written in a style which will no doubt draw to the *Palimpsest* many readers for whom the more sober historical articles have no appeal. Among the articles which may possess an interest for students of history are Newspaper History, by Bertha M. H. Shambaugh (August); a sketch of General Benjamin S. Roberts, by Ruth A. Galaher (September); Father Mazzuchelli, by John C. Parish (October); Through European Eyes, being observations of the Iowa country by certain travellers, namely, G. C. Beltrami in 1823, Charles Augustus Murray in 1835, Fredrika Bremer in 1850, and R. L. Stevenson in 1879 (November); Crossing the Mississippi, by William S. Johnson (December); and Early Cabins in Iowa, by Mildred J. Sharp (January).

Welfare Campaigns in Iowa (pp. 320), by Marcus L. Hansen, is one of the Iowa State Historical Society's series, *Chronicles of the World War*. The author describes the growth of the welfare idea, and recounts the histories of the campaigns of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, the Jewish Welfare Board, the American Library Association, and of the organization ultimately of a united war-work campaign. A closing chapter discusses some special features of the campaigns.

The "Missouri Centennial Number" (January) of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains these papers: the Missouri Tavern, by Walter B. Stevens; a Century of Missouri Agriculture, by F. B. Mumford; a Century of Education in Missouri, by C. A. Phillips; a Century of Missouri Politics, by C. H. McClure; a Model Centennial Programme for Local Celebrations, by E. M. Violette; and One Hundred Years of Banking in Missouri, by Breckinridge Jones.

The January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains a paper, by Miss Mattie A. Hatcher, on the Louisiana Background of the Colonization of Texas, 1763-1803, a continuation of A. K. Christian's biography of M. B. Lamar, and a Ray of Light on the Gadsden

Treaty, by J. Fred Rippy. Mr. Rippy's contribution to the history of the Gadsden treaty is two statements of Santa Anna.

By the will of Major George W. Littlefield, who died in Austin on November 10, an addition of \$100,000 is made to his earlier gift of \$25,000 to endow a Southern History Fund in the University of Texas.

Volume XIX. of the *Publications* of the Nebraska State Historical Society, edited by Albert Watkins, although bearing the publication date 1919, has but recently been received. Besides supplying much valuable material in annotations the editor has furnished two extensive papers to the volume, namely, a history of Contested Election Cases in Nebraska, and the Beginning of Red Willow County. Among the other papers are: Swedes in Nebraska, by Joseph Alexis; Clan Organization of the Winnebago, by Oliver Lamere; First Settlement of the Scotts Bluff Country, by Grant L. Shumway, with a supplement by the editor; Some Indian Place Names in Nebraska, by Melvin R. Gilmore; Bohemians in Nebraska, by Sarka B. Hrbkova; Nebraska in the Fifties, by David M. Johnston; and the Reminiscences of William A. Gwyer.

The positions of curator and assistant curator of history in the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado are vacant. For the former, a young man who has specialized in Western history is desired, to search in a scientific spirit for the materials for the early history of the state, and to organize the work of collecting them. Applicants are requested to write to Mr. William N. Beggs, president of the society, State Museum, Denver, Colorado, stating their qualifications, references, and requirements as to salary.

The most important contribution to the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* is a New Log of the Columbia, a journal of the Columbia's voyage around the world, kept by John Boit, which came into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1919. The *Quarterly* prints only that part of the journal which pertains to the northwest coast, extending from June, 1791, to October, 1792. It is edited, with an introduction, by Professor Edmond S. Meany. The complete journal may be found in vol. LIII. of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings*. In the same number Judge F. W. Howay discusses the Authorship of the Anonymous Account of Captain Cook's Last Voyage, reaching the conclusion that it was by John Rickman, who sailed as second lieutenant of the *Discovery* and returned as second lieutenant of the *Resolution*.

The September number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* is entirely occupied with a paper by Professor F. G. Young entitled Ewing Young and his Estate: a Chapter in the Economic and Community Development of Oregon, with an appendix of documentary records.

Stanford University has acquired a body of letters and papers of Stephen M. White, senator from California 1893-1899, numbering 112 pieces, and including correspondence on the Hawaiian question and on the question of free silver, in the period indicated.

CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* completes its first volume with its December number. It has vindicated for itself a place of honor among historical journals, and is evidently destined to perform important services to the Canadian nation. The December number contains a valuable historical article by Professor Chester Martin on the First New Province of the Dominion, treating of the acquisition of Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory by the Dominion, and the formation of the province of Manitoba. The editor also prints the journal of an expedition along the shores of Lake Ontario in 1779 kept by Capt. Walter N. Butler, son of Col. John Butler the Loyalist. The March number, which is particularly excellent, contains articles on Nationalism and Self-determination, by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy; on the Duke of Wellington and the Peace Negotiations at Ghent in 1814, by Col. Dudley Mills; on Privy Council Appeals in Early Canada, by Justice Riddell; on Side-lights on the Attempted Union of 1822, by William Smith; and on Confederate Agents in Canada during the American Civil War, by Wilfrid Bovey.

Ursprung der Französischen Bevölkerung Canadas, by Louis Hamilton, docent in the Oriental Seminary of the University of Berlin (Berlin, Neufeld and Henius, 1920, pp. 88), discusses chiefly the question as to the provinces of France from which the original settlers came. Mr. Hamilton's estimates are, in per cents, 14 from Normandy, 9 from Brittany, and about 5 each from Ile-de-France, Picardy, Champagne, Languedoc, Burgundy, Guienne, and Gascony.

A Study in Canadian Immigration, by W. G. Smith (Toronto, Ryerson, pp. 406), is a pioneer performance in its field, to which it makes a useful contribution.

Volume V. of *Canada in the Great World War* (Toronto, United Publishers of Canada, 1920, pp. viii, 410) has as its sub-title *The Triumph of the Allies*, and covers the period of operations from Passchendaele to the evacuation of the Canadian contingent of the army of occupation in February, 1919. It is mostly written by Mr. Walter Willison and Mr. Roland Hill.

No. 19 of the *Transactions* of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto (pp. 48) contains a number of papers relating to Sir Isaac Brock, mostly his general orders from June to October, 1812.

The Nova Scotia Department of Works and Mines has published a useful pamphlet by Major Joseph P. Edwards on *The Public Records of Nova Scotia, their History and Present Condition*.

Volume XIX. of the *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society contains papers on the Post Office in Nova Scotia before Confederation, by Mr. William Smith, on the Life of Sir Samuel Cunard, and on the Inception of the Associated Press, the latter being an account of the "pony express" that in 1849 forwarded European news from Halifax to St. John, whence it was telegraphed to New York.

No. 6 in Professor Archibald MacMechan's *Nova Scotia Chap-Books* is *The Log of a Halifax Privateer* (Halifax, H. H. Marshall, pp. 21) based on the log of the *Lawrence*, 1756-1757.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The *Hispanic American Historical Review* for November opens with an important article on the Royal Philippine Company, by Professor William L. Schurz. This is followed by articles on Indian Legislation in Peru, by Mr. Philip A. Means, and on Morillo's Attempt to Pacify Venezuela in 1815-1820, by Miss Laura F. Ullrick. Mr. C. K. Jones's important list of Hispanic American bibliographies is continued from no. 191 to no. 464.

No. 36-37 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* is occupied with a group of geographical descriptions of Yucatan in the sixteenth century, and with censuses of New Spain about 1560. The series of such documents which Professor German Latorre has thus been publishing have now been gathered by him into a volume, *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias* (pp. 121).

Señor Manuel Calero, formerly Mexican ambassador to the United States, has recently published *Un Decenio de Política Mexicana*, written on the basis of close personal relations with Diaz, Reyes, Madero, and other public men.

A movement is on foot, originating with the minister of foreign affairs in Costa Rica, to combine the forces of the five Central American republics in an effort to collect and print historical documents in the Archives of the Indies relating to the history of the old kingdom of Guatemala from its beginning.

Philippe Bunau-Varilla has retold the story of Panama in *La Grande Aventure de Panama, son Rôle Essentiel dans la Défaite de l'Allemagne* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. xiv, 272).

The *English Historical Review* for January contains a valuable body of materials for the early history of Jamaica, 1511-1536, collected from the archives of the Indies at Seville by Miss Irene A. Wright.

The latest of the Prince Consort Prize essays, by Mr. C. S. S. Higgin, *The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660-1688* (Cambridge University Press, pp. xiv, 266), is a study of the foundation of the old colonial system chiefly through the career of Governor Sir William Stapleton.

The sixteenth volume of the publications of the Linschoten-Vereeniging contains Hendrik Ottsen's *Journael van de Reis naar Zuid-Amerika, 1598-1601* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1920) edited by J. W. Ijzerman.

Dr. J. Humbert has produced a useful outline of the *Histoire de la Colombie et du Vénézuëla des Origines jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 219).

The liberation of Ecuador is recounted in D'Amecourt's *Historia de la Revolución de Octubre y Campaña Libertadora, 1820-1822*, vol. I., Guayaquil (Barcelona, Borrás, 1920, pp. 407). *Bolívar en el Perú, Últimas Campañas de la Independencia del Perú* (vol. I., Madrid, Pueyo, 1919, pp. 373) by G. Bulnes; *Histoire du Pérou Indépendant, 1822-1827* (*ibid.*, vol. II., pp. 334), by M. F. Paz Soldan; and *Memorias de Gervasio Antonio Posadas, Memorias de un Abanderado, Nueva Granada, 1810-1819* (Madrid, Editorial-América, 1920, pp. 409), edited by G. Posadas and J. M. Espinosa, are other recent contributions to the history of the Liberator and his work.

The Portuguese colony in Brazil is planning to celebrate the first centenary of Brazilian independence by publishing in six folio volumes, handsomely illustrated, of which the first will appear in 1922, a general history of the Portuguese colonization of Brazil. The first volume will deal with the period of discovery, explorations, and first settlements, the second with the period from 1521 to 1580, the others with later periods. The Portuguese Academy has taken the organization under its patronage, the main direction being in the hands of Dr. Carlos Malteiro Dias.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. E. Chapman, *The Northern Mystery and the Discovery of Alta California* (Grizzly Bear, February); C. E. Chapman, *Drake and New Albion* (*ibid.*, March); P. L. Phillips, *Washington as Surveyor and Map Maker* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, March); A. P. Rugg, *William Cushing* (Yale Law Journal, December); Quincy Wright, *The Control of Foreign Relations* (American Political Science Review, February); Katharine B. Judson, *The Hudson's Bay Company and the Pacific Northwest* (Century, December); Mary H. Krout, *Perry's Expedition to Japan* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, February); Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt* (Scribner's Magazine, February, March); Leonard D. White, *The New Hampshire Constitutional Convention [1918-1920]* (Michigan Law Review, February); F. B. Simkins, *Race Legislation in South Carolina since 1865*, I. (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); M. Chassaingne, *Un Maître des Requêtes, Lieutenant-Général des Armées du Roi M. de la Barre, aux Antilles* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); R. G. Adams, *Santo Domingo: a Study in Benevolent Imperialism* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January).

The
American Historical Review

MR. WELLS AND THE NEW HISTORY

WHEN the cynical mood is uppermost, one is likely to agree with Voltaire that "after all history is only a pack of tricks which we play on the dead".¹ There is nothing you cannot find in the past—except the truth: a truth you can indeed find; any number of truths are there ready to be picked out, and perfectly indifferent to the process. Such facts as the mind is predisposed to select as interesting or important will come out and "speak for themselves". The trouble is, they don't care what they say; and with a little intelligent prompting they will speak, within reason, whatever they are commanded to speak. In an educational journal I learn, apropos of the teaching of American history, that by "making William the Conqueror a starting point, for example, it is possible to show the steady progress of the people onward and upward from that period of enslavement to the present time".² I do not doubt it: onward and upward to the Great War, and beyond—to the League of Nations, or the Peace of Versailles, or the ultimate establishment of the Soviet régime throughout the world. The past will provide humanity with any fate you like to imagine. O History, how many truths have been committed in thy name!

In more judicious moments the same idea may be expressed by saying that each age reinterprets the past to suit its own purposes. Leaving aside the vagaries that distinguish individuals, historians cannot wholly free themselves, however detached they may strive to be, from the most general preconceptions of the age in which they live. In quiescent times, when men are mostly well satisfied with the present, or when they fear change and wish to

¹ Letter to de Cideville, Feb. 9, 1757. *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1880), XXXIX, 173.

² *Education*, February, 1911, p. 371.

sit tight, they are likely to be satisfied with the past, are likely to be grateful to it for having contributed to the best of worlds; and at such times historians will easily fall into the habit of just recording what happened, as in itself sufficiently interesting and instructive. But in periods of stress, when the times are thought to be out of joint, those who are dissatisfied with the present are likely to be dissatisfied with the past also. At such times historians, those of the younger generation at least, catching the spirit of unrest, will be disposed to cross-examine the past in order to find out why it did not usher in a better state of affairs, will be disposed, as it were, to sit in judgment on what was formerly done, approving or disapproving in the light of present discontents. The past is a kind of screen upon which each generation projects its vision of the future; and so long as hope springs in the human breast, the "new history" will be a recurring phenomenon.

About the middle of the eighteenth century (not to go farther back) the *Philosophes* proclaimed a "new history". "All the weight of our historians", said Grimm in 1755, "consists in a stupid and pedantic discussion of facts which are commonly as unimportant as they are uncertain and disputed".³ What Grimm and his friends demanded was a study of the past which would enable them to understand, not how the present had come to be what it was, but how they might make it better. "I shall not undertake to prove the utility of history", says Duclos; "It is a truth too generally recognized to need proof. . . . When we see the same faults regularly followed by the same misfortunes, we may reasonably think that if we could have known the first we could have avoided the second. The past should enlighten us on the future; the knowledge of history is no more than an experience anticipated."⁴ The *Philosophes* were well aware of the importance of studying the past, but they studied it in the light of a certain general preconception: they wished to disengage from the past those ideas, those institutions, those striking events and heroic actions, which might be regarded as having a permanent and universal validity, which might for that reason be regarded as conforming to the essential nature of man, and which might therefore serve as guiding principles in the pressing task of social regeneration.

After the French Revolution had run its course, it was the common opinion for a long time that the regeneration of society

³ *Correspondance Littéraire*, III. 20.

⁴ Preface to the "*Histoire de Louis XI.*", *Oeuvres*, III.

had gone far enough. The main drift and pressure of thought was away from change; and the minds of men, fearing revolution and desiring peace and a return to normal conditions, looked to the past in order to find there, if possible, new foundations for a stable social order. The "new history" of the nineteenth century became in consequence the chief intellectual bulwark of conservatism. Historians for the most part studied the past as an inevitable process which must in any case be submitted to, but which, once rightly understood, might at least be submitted to intelligently. "What is the use of rebelling against historical right"? asked von Ranke; and having asked this question, he went imperturbably on revealing God's will by relating the devices of Sixtus V. for increasing the papal revenue. To-day this mood is passing. The tyranny of historic right grows as burdensome as the tyranny of kings; and men who once knew Joseph are calling for a reinterpretation of the past in the service of social reform. Professor Robinson, quite in the spirit of Grimm, deplores the time spent by historians in determining "whether Charles the Fat was in Ingelheim or Lustnau on July 1, 887", and invites them for a change to contemplate the jaw of the Heidelberg Man. He is only one of many who are again calling for a "new history", a history which will not be content to relate the fact just as it happened, but which shall, on the contrary, "exploit the past in the interest of advance".⁵ Mr. Wells's book is a notable attempt to write the history of the world from this new, and at the same time very old, point of view.

In a brief introduction Mr. Wells states his purpose:

This *Outline of History* is an attempt to tell, truly and clearly, in one continuous narrative, the whole history of life and mankind so far as it is known to-day. It is written plainly for the general reader, but its aim goes beyond its use as merely interesting reading matter. . . . The need for a common knowledge of the general facts of human history throughout the world has become very evident during the tragic happenings of the last few years. . . . There can be no peace now, we realize, but a common peace in all the world; no prosperity but a general prosperity. But *there can be no common peace and prosperity without common historical ideas*. Without such ideas to hold them together in harmonious co-operation, with nothing but narrow, selfish, and conflicting nationalist traditions, races and peoples are bound to drift towards conflict and destruction. . . . A sense of history as the common adventure of all mankind is as necessary for peace within as it is for peace between the nations. Such are the views of history that this *Outline* seeks to realize. It is an attempt to tell how our present state of affairs, this distressed and multifarious human life about us, arose in the course of vast ages and out of

⁵ *The New History*, pp. 81, 24.

the inanimate clash of matter, and to estimate the quality and amount and range of the hopes with which it now faces its destiny.

A more ambitious attempt could not well be imagined. That one man should have the courage to undertake it, still more that he should have the resolution to carry it through, fills one with amazement and admiration. It is well known that "fools rush in"; it is well known that Mr. Wells rushes in; but it is well known that Mr. Wells is no fool. We cordially welcome his extraordinary performance. It may well be that more people will read his book than ever read Voltaire or Macaulay or von Ranke. What will they find in this plain history of life and mankind?

They will find, for one thing, that Mr. Wells begins at the beginning—or very nearly so. He does not begin with electrons, but at least he begins with the physical universe. "The earth on which we live is a spinning globe"—such is the dramatic opening of the first book in which we learn of "The Making of Our World". What will strike the reader particularly, and doubtless was intended to, is that it was an incredibly long time in the making—80 or 800 million years, more or less, according to the best guesses. Book II. treats of "The Making of Man". In the history of life on the globe, man is a relatively recent product; but there is still a great discrepancy between the date fixed by Mr. Wells for the appearance of the first man and the date fixed by Archbishop Ussher. Mr. Wells barely mentions Archbishop Ussher's contribution to the solution of this problem, but takes it for granted that an earlier date has now been established. Through 101 pages he discusses the character and *mores* of those remote and unamiable first Europeans—the Heidelberg Sub-Man (*circ.* 250,000 B.C.), the Neanderthal men of the early Palaeolithic (50,000 B.C.), the first "true men" of the late Palaeolithic, and the Neolithic men who came in some ten or twelve thousand years ago. These last were "ancestral to the modern Europeans", there being "no real break in culture from their time onward". In the Neolithic culture the beginnings of modern civilization must accordingly be found. Giving three admirably clear and interesting chapters to the origins of thought and religion, the differentiation of races, and the variations of language, Mr. Wells passes to the third book, "The Dawn of History", in which the general reader will find excellent accounts of such subjects as Aryan Speaking Peoples in Prehistoric Times, the First Civilizations in Assyria, Egypt, China, and India, the early Aegean civilization, the origin of writing, the beginning of kingship, priestcraft, castes

and social classes. Book III. closes with a "summary of 5,000 years". At page 274, with one-fifth of the *Outline* finished, we come at last to "Judaea, Greece, and India"—that is to say, the beginning of human history as it used, not so long ago, to be written.

In the story as Mr. Wells relates it from this point, we miss the traditional landmarks. The table of contents does not contain those familiar terms by which we save ourselves the trouble of taking thought—Ancient History, Medieval History, Modern History, Medieval Church, Medieval Empire, Protestant Reformation. In Book IV., "Judaea, Greece, and India", and Book V., "The Rise and Collapse of the Roman Empire", we are still in fairly familiar country; but in the following books "Christianity and Islam", "Mongol Empires of the Land Ways and the New Empires of the Sea Ways", "Princes, Parliaments, and Powers", Mr. Wells employs names for his major subjects which leave the well-drilled student wondering whether he has not inadvertently abandoned history for something else. The well-drilled student should remember that Mr. Wells, aiming at the history of mankind, endeavors, and with some success, to put Europe in its proper place. From this novel point of view it is possible to regard the history of mankind since the "fall of Rome" in a somewhat less restricted way; to regard it as perhaps centring in three major series of events: (1) the conflict of Islam and Christianity, with the consequent closing in of Western Europe, and the development there, in comparative isolation, of a restricted and provincial way of life and thought; (2) the gradual expansion of the peoples of Western Europe from the twelfth century, resulting in renewed contact with Asia, the liberalization of the intelligence of the Western European peoples, and the transformation of their institutions; (3) the rise of military and industrial states in Europe and America, gradually extending their economic and political power throughout the world, and contending among themselves for the spoils of victory.

To get the full effect of this new grouping, and indeed of Mr. Wells's performance in general, one must read the work as a whole. It is distinctly not a book of reference, but one of which a primary purpose is to convey a sense of the unity and continuity of human history; and there is probably no book, certainly none for the general reader, that so effectively performs that service. Speaking for myself at least (and for most of human history I am no more than a general reader), I arise from a fairly continuous reading of Mr. Wells's book much refreshed, and much enlightened on certain points. I was glad to learn, for example, that Christianity origin-

ated in Judaea with the teachings of a man called Jesus, and not in Rome during the reign of the Emperor Nero. I now know that there were people living in Persia between the days of Xerxes and Mr. Shuster, and that the history of India did not begin with Vasco da Gama or that of China with Jenghis Khan. In general, Mr. Wells has dispelled a vague impression that History, having made a few half-hearted attempts to get things started in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates, abandoned the effort about the sixth century B.C., and migrated to Europe where she has since resided. I have a renewed sense of history as "the common adventure of all mankind", and more than ever before it seems to me likely that mankind may safely be taken to include the "backward" peoples of Asia as well as the froward peoples of Europe.

Some books have high value because, aiming to do a great thing, they at least show us what the great thing is, and so make us wish to have it greatly done. Mr. Wells's book has this high value. It should enable thousands of intelligent men and women throughout the world to see history in better perspective, giving them, however imperfectly, a new sense of humanity's slow and painful emergence from savagery, and in some measure bringing home to them a realization of the intimate and inescapable interrelation of the fortunes of all peoples.

Such is the scope of the work. What are its special qualities? It may seem that if a novelist can write the history of mankind a professor of history might venture to pronounce upon its merits in respect to scholarship and as a contribution to knowledge. Such is not the case. The man of letters may without reproach acquire a knowledge of general history; but the professor of history is not thus free. It is understood that *his* knowledge is intensive to the point of exhaustion, but not sufficiently extensive to be of weight on questions with other than geographical or chronological limits. Upon Mr. Wells's scholarship and general accuracy I shall therefore pronounce no judgment. It will be sufficient to note that Mr. Wells is aware of his limitations in this respect, and that he has wisely sought the aid of many men, especially of Mr. Ernest Barker, Sir H. H. Johnston, Sir E. Ray Lankester, and Professor Gilbert Murray. These men, all competent scholars in their several fields, have doubtless saved Mr. Wells from serious errors in matters of fact; and it was open to them to make objection, in the form of signed foot-notes, to whatever they found objectionable in matters of inference and opinion. It should, perhaps, be added that their objections are both more

frequent and more pointed in the last five books than in the first four.

A contribution to knowledge the book does not of course pretend to be; but a contribution to the meaning which we may, and indeed ought, to attach to the knowledge we have, it does very particularly pretend to be. What chiefly concerns the critic, therefore, is not Mr. Wells's knowledge or technical competence, but his interpretation, his general philosophy of history. It may well be that he has not much thumbed the *Monumenta Germaniæ* or the *Rolls Series*, that the *Wegweiser* has not been his *vade mecum*; perhaps he might with advantage have selected more or less or other facts; doubtless he has made erroneous statements. But the book does not stand or fall on these points. Mr. Wells has facts enough, and sufficiently accurate, for the main purpose. What is that purpose? In what frame of mind does the author approach his subject? Through what particular combination of present experience and knowledge of the past does the mind of Mr. Wells contrive to find a philosophy of history in which it can comfortably rest? Regarded from this point of view, what stands out most invitingly is that as Mr. Wells proceeds in his task his frame of mind changes; and this change is connected, whether as cause or effect I cannot tell, with his general conception of history, his particular theory of its meaning and purport.

In the earlier books Mr. Wells seems to be on good terms with his subject. He treats it with consideration, with friendliness, with a certain geniality. I have a strong impression that Mr. Wells found all these prehistoric questions intensely interesting, that he has gone into them probably for some years back, with all his wonderfully absorptive faculties working at top speed, that he has taken the time and the pains to read the best books and talk with the best scholars in each special field. The account strikes one as that of a man who has mastered the subject well enough to understand the evidence, to be aware of the difficulties, and to realize that the best he could do was to follow with caution and humility in the steps of better equipped men. It is in the spirit of the scientist, desiring only to know how it really was, with no special thesis to defend and no practical aims to further, that Mr. Wells approaches his subject in these first books.

In the later books this equable and objective attitude is more and more, and at last almost altogether, replaced by a different one. One may say that the genial, friendly mood, the mood of the intellectually interested mind, is in the ascendant whenever

Mr. Wells is occupied with the descriptive setting forth of a religion, the advancement of science and learning, or some type of vanished civilization. But when he has to do with political history, with conquerors and kings and statesmen, or the narrative of events which concern them, especially if these events are relatively near our own time, the geniality is likely to give place to exasperation, the friendliness to dislike, and the clear flame of his intellectual interest is often obscured or quite put out by the heavy atmosphere of a moral preoccupation. Much of the later narrative has a perfunctory ring, as if written by a man gone stale on a subject once interesting, who nevertheless feels that he has to go through with it, and who does go through with it as best he may from incomplete or incompletely assimilated knowledge. From the seventeenth century especially, Mr. Wells pushes on, hurriedly as we cannot but think; somewhat heedless of the increasing, and increasingly pointed, protests of his collaborators; of Mr. Ernest Barker particularly, who, as it were, runs along the foot-notes calling up to Mr. Wells to take care what he is about. If we sometimes feel that Mr. Wells doesn't know quite what he is about, we are left in no doubt that he knows what he likes, and what he dislikes. He dislikes many statesmen, almost all kings, and all diplomats; he dislikes patriotism, nationalism, imperialism; he dislikes Rousseau; he dislikes the classical education. In the eighth book, Mr. Wells leaves us with the distinct impression that the last two centuries provide no proper ending to the story of life and mankind; he seems, as it were, disappointed that his characters, in the earlier chapters all doing as well as could be expected, should be so perversely going to the dogs at the close.

The gathering tide of Mr. Wells's exasperation reaches the flood with Napoleon. To this central figure of modern history he devotes a chapter of which the tone and temper may be fairly judged by the following extract:

There lacked nothing to this great occasion but a noble imagination. And failing that, Napoleon could do no more than strut upon the crest of this great mountain of opportunity like a cockerel upon a dunghill. The figure he makes in history is one of almost incredible self-conceit, of vanity, greed, and cunning, of callous contempt and disregard of all who trusted him, and of a grandiose apeing of Caesar, Alexander, and Charlemagne which would be purely comic if it were not caked over with human blood. Until, as Victor Hugo said in his tremendous way, "God was bored by him", and he was kicked aside into a corner to end his days, explaining and explaining how very clever his worst blunders had been, prowling about his dismal hot island shooting birds and squabbling

meanly with an underbred gaoler who failed to show him proper "respect".⁶

The entire chapter is much like this—scarcely more than an angry tirade; often amusing, sometimes pat, but still a tirade. That Napoleon deserved the tirade, I do not deny; and if I note this chapter particularly it is only as a concrete instance of the effect of most of modern history upon Mr. Wells's peace of mind. Why is it that Mr. Wells maintains his equanimity so much better in dealing with certain aspects and certain periods of history than he does in dealing with other aspects and periods? Why is it that the Neanderthalers irritate him less than the Romans, the "Old Man" of the tribe than the pope of the Church, the Heidelberg Sub-Man than Napoleon?

Of course it is more difficult to maintain one's equanimity in respect to a man who has left thirty-six volumes of correspondence than it is in respect to a man who has left nothing but his jaw-bone. Or perhaps Mr. Wells finds his characters less interesting as he goes on because he has taken less time and pains to find out what they thought and did, and why it seemed eminently reasonable to them to so think and do. Or it may be just that the telling of a story, of which the form is pretty rigidly determined by actions for the most part well known and often prosaic, enlists his interest and engages his powers less than the discussion of questions involving the nice use of odd bits of evidence, and giving freer play to the imaginative and constructive faculties. But fundamentally, I think, the temper which Mr. Wells brings to the consideration of different aspects and periods of history is no more than the emotional by-product of the motive which induced him to write the *Outline*, a normal expression of his interest in the past, a proper literary device, so to speak, for effectively expounding the meaning and purpose of history as he understands it.

It goes without saying that Mr. Wells is not, in the conventional sense, *objective*. (O thrice blessed anchorage of the academic mind!) He is biassed. Alas yes! He has a very special, even a personal, interest in the past. He will not take that cosmic point of view which reduced Henry Adams to the cold comfort of a mechanical formula. But then, no historian does. We all agree with Mr. Wells that the last three thousand years of human history are more worthy of our attention than the preceding three hundred and forty-seven thousand, for the simple reason that they are "*more interesting to us*".⁷ We write history from the human

⁶ II. 355.

⁷ I. 15.

rather than from the cosmic point of view because, however indifferent the doings of man may be to the cosmic force of which they are the result, they are vastly interesting *to us*; and vastly important, measured by the standard of human desires, purposes, and aspirations. If the historian is to write history at all, he must be interested in these desires, purposes, and aspirations, must regard them as important in some sense or other. The most disinterested historian in the world has at least one preconception, which is that he will at all hazards have none.

But still there are different kinds of bias, different methods of "exploiting the past", different conceptions of the way in which its value for us can best be appropriated. We may be interested in the activity of man in the past as something in itself worthy to be studied for no other immediate purpose than the increase of human knowledge. From this point of view, the motives and interests that have produced wars and permitted politicians to flourish may be contemptible, but it is important to know just how these motives and interests functioned, since they are part of the record without which we cannot understand what kind of a creature man is. The historian who takes this point of view will perhaps say that whether Napoleon strikes us as a cockerel strutting on a dunghill is beside the point; what is important is to understand how, so recently as a century ago, such a dunghill could exist on the earth, or such a cockerel so long strut on it and with so much and so loud crowing lord it over the barnyard. If we could once thoroughly understand this cockerel and this dunghill, I imagine the historian to say, perhaps we could understand our own cockerels and our own dunghills, and so get rid of them. There is something to be said for the view that we do little, in the long run, to get rid of our dunghills by calling them nasty. But there is something to be said for the view that we do little to get rid of them by indulging a mere idle curiosity as to their chemical and bacteriological properties. It may be, especially in times of pressure like the present, that when the historian comes to a dunghill the best he can do is just indignantly and emphatically to call it a dunghill, just to make his readers intensely *feel* that so disgusting a thing must never again be permitted to accumulate. From this point of view, the historian is interested in the activity of man in the past, not primarily as something to be in itself intellectually apprehended, but rather as something to be practically appraised in the light of ends that are thought to be desirable and attainable in the future. This is clearly Mr. Wells's

point of view. He writes his history in order to estimate "the quality and amount and range of the hopes with which [humanity] now faces its destiny". He writes his history in the light of a definitely conceived theory of human progress.

The indispensable factor in progress, according to Mr. Wells, is intelligence—the expanding capacity of the human mind. In the prehistoric period the growth of intelligence is no more than the accidental result of the "inanimate clash of matter", or the striving of blind human instinct. In this stage, therefore, progress is just the concomitant of what man instinctively does. The Heidelberg Sub-Man contributed to progress no doubt, but without knowing it; and so Mr. Wells feels, and we do too, that it would be manifestly absurd to hold him responsible for actions done or omitted. The Heidelberg man is really too remote to arouse our ire, and we can easily contemplate his activities, we cannot but contemplate his activities, with the same detachment with which we contemplate the antics of the Triceratops. But Napoleon is not thus remote; he is sufficiently like ourselves to arouse our ire. For in the infinitely slow expansion of human intelligence there comes a time when it is a function of this intelligence to be aware of itself, to recall the past and to anticipate the future, to experience regret and to indulge in hope; in a word, to place a value on its purpose and decisions, distinguishing the better from the less good. This very awareness then becomes a factor in progress. Man not only knows that he may choose the better in place of the worse, but he forms a conception of what that better is. Progress can then be conceived as the anticipated result of deliberate human purpose; and so we find Mr. Wells, in so far as he deals with men whose actions and purposes can be determined, approving or disapproving, placing a value on the purpose or the activity, according as it is thought to have contributed to the desired and anticipated result. If Napoleon excites his ire more than others, it is because to him, more than to any other, "it was open to work out and consolidate the new order of things, to make a modern state that should become a beacon and inspiration to Europe and all the world".⁸

You may say, of course, that it was impossible for Napoleon to do other than he did because he was the product of his time, the inevitable result of "all the conditions". Mr. Wells seems at times, rather reluctantly, to admit this. "Perhaps," he says in a kind of aside, "that amount of mischief had to be done by some

⁸ II. 356.

agency; perhaps his career, or some such career, was a necessary consequence of the world's mental unpreparedness for the crisis of the revolution."⁹ If you should ask, why then grow so indignant about what had to be, if you should say that Napoleon, like the Peace at Versailles, was "the best that could be had *under all the circumstances*" of this most impossible of all possible worlds, Mr. Wells would no doubt reply that the low aims and limited vision of Napoleon and his contemporaries were an essential part of the "circumstances", and that for his part he proposes to proclaim insistently to all the world that those aims were low and that vision limited, in order that higher aims and a broader vision may make part of the "circumstances" that are to condition, as inevitably as you please, the activities of men in the future. The answer is adequate enough. Mr. Wells's indignation is as much a part of the cosmic process as Napoleon's low aims; it would therefore be unfair, and contrary to the rules of the game, especially if the game is rigidly predetermined, to accept Napoleon's low aims as necessary while objecting to Mr. Wells's indignation as undesirable.

It comes to this, that Mr. Wells is too much aware of being himself a part of the cosmic process, is too intent upon shaping and improving that process, is too much in the game, to be willing to stand, aloofly wrapped in the blanket of intellectual curiosity, on the side lines, with no other purpose than to observe the intricacies of the play as it goes by. Interested primarily in the "may bes" rather than in the "has beens", the didactic instinct more and more overcomes the scientific instinct; so much so that in the end he seems not so much sitting at the feet of history in order to learn what she has to say, as to be holding the rod over her, and somewhat threateningly pronouncing her answers quite inadequate. Don't tell me what you have done, Mr. Wells seems to be saying; let me tell you what you ought to have done, and what, depend upon it, you have got to do before you are through. As the story draws to a close he conveys the impression of telling us less about Dame History than about what is "the trouble" with her; he lectures the perverse old lady, checks up her faults, notes her stupidities, and exposes all her worst blunders as if he took a warm paternal interest in the mending of her ways. Of her preposterous conduct between 1848 and 1878, Mr. Wells tells us roundly that:

all the diplomatic fussing, posturing, and scheming, all the intrigue and

⁹ II. 373.

bloodshed of these years, all the monstrous turmoil and waste . . . all the wonderful attitudes, deeds, and schemes of the Cavours, Bismarks, Disraelis, Bonapartes, and the like great men, might very well have been avoided altogether had Europe but had the sense to instruct a small body of ordinarily honest ethnologists, geographers, and sociologists to draw out its proper boundaries and prescribe suitable forms of government in a reasonable manner.¹⁰

Perhaps poor old History, being blinder than Justice, hasn't any sense. But Mr. Wells will accept no excuse; and the reason he is so inexorable is that he knows to a certainty what she ought to have been doing—he knows precisely what is *important* in history and what not. The importance of a man or an event is measured by what the man or event contributed to the "five-fold constructive effort" of the future. Men who contributed to this effort are the "real makers of the nineteenth century", in comparison with whom "the foreign ministers and 'statesmen' and politicians . . . were no more than a troublesome and occasionally incendiary lot of schoolboys . . . playing about and doing transitory mischief".

Obviously, the historian cannot estimate the importance of men and events in this manner, at least not with much security, unless he ventures to know what the future holds. Mr. Wells thus ventures. He has his idea of "the next stage in history", of the "world as it might be like, were men united in a common peace and justice". This idea is what inspired him to write the *Outline*; and it is this idea which gives him a standard of *values*, which enables him to say what history ought to have done and miserably failed to do; it is this idea which furnishes him with a philosophy. The Great Society of the future, in the light of which the value of all history is assessed, Mr. Wells sketches in the last book: a Federal World State, democratic in its political organization, without armies or navies, sustained by an educated consciously willing race, inspired by the religion of brotherhood, directed by critical and scientific knowledge, devoted to the exploitation of the material world for the benefit of mankind and to the joyous exploration of the unlimited possibilities of the human spirit.

Needless to say, it is not the study of history that has imposed this splendid ideal upon the mind of Mr. Wells. Like many another man he has created this refuge from despair to save his soul alive out of pessimism.

¹⁰ II. 449.

War is a horrible thing, and constantly more horrible and dreadful, so that unless it is ended it will certainly end human society; social injustice, and the sight of the limited and cramped human beings it produces, torment the soul; . . . Hitherto man has been living in a slum, amidst quarrels, revenges, vanities, shames and taints, hot desires, and urgent appetites. He has scarcely tasted sweet air yet and the great freedoms of the world that science has enlarged for him.¹¹

No, it is not the study of history, but present experience which torments the soul and makes us all wish passionately to end war and suffering, that enables Mr. Wells to see the Promised Land. The Promised Land *must* be ahead, because—otherwise it would be too horrible! In the light of his ardent hope Mr. Wells looks back over the long past of the human race, and there, sure enough, he sees the substance of the thing hoped for. By the beginning of the third century, he can see already emerging the three great ideas of science, of a universal religion of righteousness, and of a world polity.

The rest of the history of mankind is largely the history of those three ideas . . . spreading out from the minds of the rare and exceptional persons and peoples in which they first originated, into the general consciousness of the race, and giving first a new colour, then a new spirit, and then a new direction to human affairs.¹²

Thus upon the screen of the past Mr. Wells projects his vision of the future: all the groping efforts of the human race, all its blood and tears, are seen to mean just this; that humanity has been moving, without knowing it perhaps, with many a tedious and discouraging return upon the path, toward the Great Society which *will* come because it *must* come.

Hitherto this forward movement has been mainly a blind striving, a blind leading of the blind. What is necessary is that men should become conscious of the goal and the way that leads to it. Now it is just the supreme value of history that, by revealing the way that leads to the goal, it enables us to proceed directly and consciously toward it. Whatever in the past has increased knowledge, or instilled into the human heart the spirit of brotherhood, or promoted the establishment of a polity based upon the allegiance of consciously willing subjects, has brought us forward; ignorance and egotism and blind obedience have held us back. Christianity gave us the ideal of the brotherhood of man, and by the thirteenth century there had dawned the "first inti-

¹¹ II. 589.

¹² I. 400.

mation . . . of an ideal of government which is still making its way to realization".¹³ Through ignorance and priestcraft this ideal unhappily failed. The modern world has banished priestcraft and acquired the means of knowledge that bid fair to banish ignorance. But in banishing priestcraft and acquiring knowledge it has lost its own soul, has lost sight both of the idea of a world polity and of a universal religion of righteousness. After the ideas of Roman Empire and Church lost their hold, while in "nearly every other field of human interest there was advance", in things political there was retrogression "towards merely personal monarchy and monarchist nationalism of the Macedonian type".¹⁴ Gradually, therefore,

men shifted the reference of their lives from the kingdom of God and the brotherhood of mankind to these apparently more living realities, France and England, Holy Russia, Spain, Prussia. . . . In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the general population of Europe was religious and only vaguely patriotic; by the nineteenth it had become wholly patriotic. In a crowded . . . railway carriage in the later nineteenth century it would have aroused far less hostility to have jeered at God than to have jeered at one of those strange beings, England or France or Germany. . . . They were the real and living gods of Europe.¹⁵

But this relapse into a new egoism, in which we are still living, is only temporary; a thing only of the last few centuries, a "mere hour, an incidental phase, in the vast deliberate history of our kind". Sooner or later we shall pass out of it as men awake from a nightmare, and the conflicts of these days will seem to our posterity as insane as to us seem the feuds of the Blues and the Greens in the streets of Byzantium.

For a time men have relapsed upon these national or imperial gods of theirs; it is but for a time. The idea of the world state, the universal kingdom of righteousness of which every living soul shall be a citizen, was already in the world two thousand years ago never more to leave it. Men know that it is present even when they refuse to recognize it. . . . They still talk loudly of their "love" for France, of their "hatred" of Germany, of the "traditional ascendancy of Britain at sea", and so on and so on, like those who sing of their cups in spite of the steadfast onset of sobriety and a headache. These are dead gods they serve. By sea or land men want no Powers ascendant, but only law and service. That silent unavoidable challenge is in all our minds like dawn breaking slowly, shining through the shutters of a disordered room.¹⁶

Well, what shall we say? Certainly the room is disordered; the dawn may be breaking, it has often come before, and gone; but

¹³ II. 147.

¹⁴ II. 215.

¹⁵ II. 246.

¹⁶ II. 247-248.

those shutters—how with ineffectual fingers we still fumble at the unyielding clasps!

It may be that Mr. Wells has read the past too close to the desire of his heart. But there are worse things. We may hope at least that the future will be as he thinks. If it should turn out so, Mr. Wells's book will have been more than a history, even if it is not history; it will have been an action that has helped to make history. If it should turn out otherwise, still will the book have been a valiant deed. On November 28, 1760, Diderot wrote to Voltaire, apropos of the latter's *Essai sur les Moeurs*:

Other historians relate facts to inform us of facts. You relate them in order to excite in our hearts a profound hatred of lying, ignorance, hypocrisy, superstition, fanaticism, tyranny; and this anger remains, even after the memory of the facts has disappeared.¹⁷

As much might be said of Mr. Wells's *Outline*. Mr. Wells is not Voltaire, but his *rôle* is much the same: like Voltaire he is a versatile man of letters, with warm human sympathies, interested in all the knowledge of his day; like Voltaire he is a man of faith, who believes that men may be made more enlightened and more humane; like Voltaire he is enlisted in the war on *l'Infâme*—on hypocrisy, superstition, fanaticism, tyranny. Mr. Wells's history is a powerful weapon employed in that war. Like Voltaire's *Essai*, it is a criticism of the present in terms of the past; with all its imperfections, a notable effort to enlist the experience of mankind in the service of its destiny.

"Ah, but this is not *History*!" I hear someone exclaim. Very well, call it what you like. If you like not the term history for Mr. Wells's book, call it something else—for example, the adventures of a generous soul among catastrophes!

CARL BECKER.

¹⁷ *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1881), XLIX. 79.

GERMAN HISTORIANS AND MACEDONIAN IMPERIALISM¹

IN this paper I shall limit my inquiry to a vicennium of Greek History, from 358 to 338 B.C., the critical period of Macedonian expansion under Philip II. to the hurt of the Athens of Demosthenes's day. My study is intended to probe the spirit and degree of historical accuracy which historians of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany have reflected in their treatment of the period under consideration. I shall endeavor to indicate, after the method of literary criticism which Sainte-Beuve first popularized, whatever of political, social, or intellectual influences may have guided the writer in the selection and exposition of his historical data. For Eduard Meyer warns us in his *Methodology* that "the time in which the historian lives is a factor which cannot be eliminated from any historical exposition; this is true as well of his individuality as of the opinions and beliefs of his time."²

A case in point is that of B. G. Niebuhr, first of German critical historians. Living through the Storm and Stress period of the French Revolution, and officially embattled in the War of Liberation against Napoleon, he had grown to be an ardent champion of liberty, whether of the individual, of the nation, or of the state. Conversely, he became possessed of bitterest hatred for the Bonapartist system—its inhumanity, its oppression of nationalities, and its militaristic imperialism. In 1805, the year of Ulm and Austerlitz, he translated into German the First Philippic of Demosthenes, drew therein a parallel between the historic rôles of Napoleon and Philip of Macedon, and dedicated the publication to Czar Alexander I. of Russia, the President Wilson of his belligerent and post-bellum age. His views concerning Philip and Demosthenes he subsequently elaborated in a course of lectures on ancient history which he delivered at the University of Bonn during the years 1825–1826 and 1829–1830.

Of these lectures an English contemporary of ours, G. P.

¹ This paper was read at the Cleveland meeting of the American Historical Association, December 31, 1919.

² "Zur Theorie und Methodik der Geschichte", in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichtstheorie und zur Wirtschaftlichen und Politischen Geschichte des Altertums* (Halle a. S., 1910), p. 54.

Gooch,³ has written: "no part is more suffused with his own personality than that in which he relates the collapse of Greece before the might of Macedon." Niebuhr, I take it, was in hearty sympathy with the dictum of Saint Augustine: "Remota justitia, quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia." Assuredly, the formation of the Macedonian state by Philip never met with his approval, for its object had inclined from the very beginning toward the subjugation of Greece, its means had been of the basest—faithless, virtueless, conscienceless.⁴ Philip's honesty in the making and observance of treaties he impugned, his disregard for national self-determination he denounced, and his morals he branded as in the superlative degree detestable.⁵ Niebuhr's praise of Demosthenes, however, was in inverse proportion to his censoriousness toward Philip. The tragic nature of his noble struggle, his indomitable fortitude in times of adversity, the laudable and patriotic quality of his statesmanship, alike win the historian's enthusiastic admiration.⁶ But toward the opponents of Demosthenes he was less charitable. Traitorous conduct on the part of Aeschines he deemed probable, and judged the claim of the latter's orations to equal merit with those of the former to be as reprehensible as the assumption that the chirp of the cricket is comparable to the song of the nightingale.⁷ Again, of Isocrates his judgment is most severe. "An extremely poor, forlorn writer", he characterizes him, "one of the most thoughtless and wretched of souls; the patriarch of all sophists and declaimers".⁸

But while Niebuhr was lecturing at Bonn, a younger generation of Germans, less reminiscent of the past and more concerned with the German nation of the future, sat spellbound at the feet of a master of dialectic and metaphysical abstractions, Professor Hegel of the University of Berlin. Hegel's political speculations were designed to effect German unification on the basis of a common culture, Prussian military power, and the existing monarchic and ecclesiastical order. From the *Philosophy of His-*

³ *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1913), p. 22.

⁴ B. G. Niebuhr, *Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, herausgegeben von Marcus Niebuhr (Berlin, 1847-1851), translated by L. Schmitz under title, *Lectures on Ancient History from the Earliest Times to the Taking of Alexandria by Octavianus* (Philadelphia, 1852), II. 308-309.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 308-309, 348.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 324-327.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 325, 331.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 386.

tory⁹ and the *Philosophy of Right*¹⁰ one gathers that he regarded world history as the progressive revelation of reason, which may be called the *Weltgeist*¹¹—or, to paraphrase Metternich, “l’esprit qui sert à tout et ne mène à rien.” This *Weltgeist*, he taught, revealed itself as the progressive consciousness of freedom, which he defined as the product of private and public morality (*Moralität und Sittlichkeit*).¹² This freedom he identified with the state, whose existence constitutes the highest right (*Recht*), and whose essence enjoins upon its members obedience to its laws and customs as their highest duty.¹³ The world mission of such a state, envisaged inwardly as civil power and outwardly as military power, can be managed best by an hereditary monarch, whose public actions are not to be measured by the accustomed standards of private morality.¹⁴ This monarch, aided by a warrior caste, which Hegel calls the “class of universality”, may on occasion become the exalted agent of the *Weltgeist*, an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon, and may compound the elements of decadence, which a protracted period of peace is apt to develop, in the purifying crucible of war.¹⁵

Such, in barest outline, was the political philosophy and philosophic history of Hegel. His lectures during the years 1826 to 1829 were attended by a young and impressionable student of philology, patriot and Prussian to the core, J. G. Droysen.¹⁶ From Hegel Droysen acquired, as Lord Acton observed in his article on German Schools of History, that habit of abstract thought which he applied in the first of his historical works, the *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*.¹⁷ The book seems to have been written under the urge of the current Prussian impulse of nationalism: the relations between the military monarchy of

⁹ *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, herausgegeben von Ed. Gans, in *Hegels Werke*, Band IX. (Berlin, 1837).

¹⁰ *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse*, herausgegeben von Ed. Gans, in *Hegels Werke*, Band VIII. (Berlin, 1833).

¹¹ *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, pp. 12–14.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 22; *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, p. 68.

¹³ *Grundlinien*, pp. 69, 313; and cf. *Vorlesungen*, pp. 40–42.

¹⁴ *Grundlinien*, pp. 350–351, 372–375; and *Vorlesungen*, pp. 33–36.

¹⁵ *Grundlinien*, pp. 421–422, 418–420; *Vorlesungen*, pp. 31–32. Cf. the added reference to Alexander and Napoleon in the translation by J. Sibree from the third edition of Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (London, 1890), p. 32.

¹⁶ Cf. O. Hintze, s.v. “J. G. Droysen”, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, LXXXIV. (1904) 85–86.

¹⁷ Hamburg, 1833.

Macedon and the pernicious Hellenic particularism of the past were to teach by precept and example the need for Prussian hegemony over the small, rival German states of his own day.¹⁸

The very title of Droysen's work, intended, as he tells us, not as a biography but as the history of a great man whose "personality was only the instrument of his deeds, his deeds only the impulsion of century-long influences", bears the impress of Hegelian speculation. The book was written with the conviction that *Nous* had been the guide of Clio for all time, that the rational course of history had been advanced by Alexander, the apostle of the *Weltgeist*, and that the achievements of Philip of Macedon were a salutary and necessary preparation for the world mission of his more famous son. The result was a remarkable panegyric from the pen of Droysen on Philip and things Macedonian in general, and a scathing condemnation of Hellenic politics and Demosthenic *intransigence*. Philip, to follow Droysen, was a typical product of the sophistic educational methods of his time, combining Greek with Macedonian virtues and vices: faithlessness, joy of life, bonhomie, shewdness, deception, licentiousness, and criminality.¹⁹ His statesmanship, however, was beyond cavil. Out of his crude but vigorous Macedonians (racially Greeks, as proved by the Heraclid tradition of their kings) he made a nation of free, contented, and devoted masses and of unselfish, crown-serving, and culture-craving nobility, brought them all under the government of a "monarchy in the noblest sense of the word", and organized them in a truly national standing army, as an imperative measure of defense against the dangers which had beset him during the early years of his reign.²⁰ His object had never been the reduction of Greece to a state of subjection, but he had "begun and completed everything with the sole purpose of the war against Persia in view", a national task which summoned all Greeks "to the distant goal of their historical life", and one capable of being realized through the union of Greek freedom and independence with Macedonian monarchal sovereignty.²¹ With Isocrates, Droysen deprecated the constant warfare between the atom-like city-states of Greece, attributed it to the superabundance of energy confined within the land, and sought the remedy without, namely, in the war with Persia.²² Hellenic

¹⁸ Cf. Hintze, *loc. cit.*, p. 88.

¹⁹ Droysen, *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, p. 45.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 36, 41-43.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16, 33, 37.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 16, 32.

freedom he regarded as a withered flower, Greek democracies he stigmatized for their ineffectiveness in accomplishing the "national task", and the immortal struggle of Athens against Macedonian Philip he judged "a conflict for impotent independence and for the tawdry finery of old-fashioned freedom".²³ Of Demosthenes he records that "history knows but few characters as lamentable as the great Athenian orator; he knew not his time, his people, his enemy, nor himself; his life, the irksome consequence of a fundamental mistake, produced no result other than that of making the victory of Macedon the more definitive and effective."²⁴

Although Droysen's interpretation of the clash between Philip and Demosthenes met with but short shrift at the hands of classical philologists like Arnold Schaefer²⁵ and Friedrich Blass,²⁶ his book and viewpoint retained, according to an admission of Beloch's in 1904,²⁷ a position of unrivalled esteem among historians of Germany from the thirties to the eighties of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Droysen's attitude toward the rival claims of Athens and Macedon, colored by the unrealities of Hegelian speculation and Prussian aspiration, has been maintained in spirit, and, with amplifications through modern research, in substance by a majority of German historians from the eighties to the present day,²⁸ but colored in this case by the realities of 1864, 1866, 1870-1871, and by contemporary colonial and commercial imperialism.

The application of the political deductions to which the inexorable logic of these events gave rise in Germany, the world has witnessed and experienced to satiety during the eventful seven years now behind us. The gist of their content can be conveniently gleaned from the pages of Bismarck's *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, or, better still, from Heinrich von Treitschke's *Politik*, a work concerning which A. J. Balfour aptly said that it "bears somewhat the same relation to Bismarck as Machiavelli's *Prince* bears to Caesar Borgia". Grant Robertson, in a recent and highly com-

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 32.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁵ *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, second ed. (Leipzig, 1885-1887). The first edition appeared in 1856.

²⁶ *Die Attische Beredsamkeit von Gorgias bis zu Lysias*, first ed. (Leipzig, 1868-1880), second ed. (1887-1898).

²⁷ Cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, III. 2 (Strassburg, 1904), p. 14.

²⁸ See J. Kromayer, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, C. (1908) 38: Droysen, "ein Mann, auf dessen Schultern unsere Forschung noch immer steht". Cf. also Cauer, in *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, XXVIII. (1911), col. 1169.

mendable study of Bismarck, has summarized these deductions as follows:²⁹

The unification of Germany, the establishment of a German hegemony on the Continent, the Central Europe, the armed peace imposed on and by Nationalism in arms, the defeat of Liberalism and of democratic self-government, the doctrine of the State as the representative and incarnation of Might and Force, the principle that policy is the expression of a national will for Power to which all methods are legitimate provided that they achieve their end at a minimum of cost, the gospel that war is an inevitable and necessary part of the struggle for existence, and that (in Moltke's famous words) the ideal of universal peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream, the principle that reason of State transcends the code of ethics, applicable in the social intercourse of individual with individual — all these and many other characteristics of the Bismarckian system and the Bismarckian interpretation of life and its values lie embedded in the period of history which Bismarck made his own for the Germany and the Europe in which he lived.

That considerations and political currents such as these affected the course of German historical scholarship has been admitted, even in Germany. In 1905 Theodor Lenschau of Berlin, writing for Bursian's *Jahresbericht*,³⁰ noted the tendency of Liberals like Grote to favor Athenian democracy in its opposition to Philip's oppressive absolutism, and observed with an evident sigh of relief that "a new generation of historians have grown up, individuals who were in their youth when Italy and Germany were forcibly united from the North, and who saw Bismarck at work—a man grown to maturity and fame by combating liberal ideas—and finally, individuals who . . . bore witness perforce to the steady decline of liberalism, which was opposed to the new idea of a national world-policy."

The writings of this new generation of historians I have undertaken to examine in so far as they deal with the period 358 to 338 B.C. My list, which I believe to be representative although not all-inclusive, comprises works of Julius Beloch, A. Holm, J. Kaerst, Eduard Meyer, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Pöhlmann, Kahrstedt, Kessler, Paul Wendland, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, and E. Drerup. Of these authors all but Kaerst,³¹ Lehmann-Haupt,³²

²⁹ *Bismarck* (London, 1918), p. 488.

³⁰ "Die Altertumswissenschaft im letzten Vierteljahrhundert, Griechische Geschichte", *Bursians Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, CXXIV. (1905) 166–167.

³¹ *Geschichte des Hellenistischen Zeitalters*, Band I. (Leipzig, 1901).

³² "Griechische Geschichte bis zur Schlacht bei Chaironeia," in Gercke und Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1912), III. 1–120.

and, with vacillations, Wilamowitz,³³ agree in defaming the classicist view of Demosthenes's democratic, historic rôle, and in extolling Macedonian statesmanship for consummating the political unification of Hellas. This interpretation, fairly conventional with living German historians, one can gauge best through an analysis of the writings of the respective individuals named above.

Julius Beloch, radical, rationalist, and iconoclast, seems to have been the Grand Instaurator of Macedonian reputations—and that too, despite his professed disdain for heroes and hero-worship.³⁴ In 1884 he published *Die Attische Politik seit Perikles*, a work in which he sang the praises of Philip and Isocrates and maligned the character and politics of Demosthenes.³⁵ These views he subsequently incorporated in the second volume of his *Griechische Geschichte*,³⁶ from which I shall quote: "A statesman greater than Philip of Macedon has never sat enthroned." He succeeded in purging the Greek nation of the curse of centuries, namely, disunion—a task impossible of achievement by purely moral agencies.³⁷ "Had the allies [the Athenians, Thebans, *et al.*] conquered at Chaeronea . . . the ills of disunion would have continued . . ., greater anarchy and confusion have resulted."³⁸ The transformation of Greek culture into world culture became possible only through the conquest of Asia, which Philip at the head of his Macedonian Greeks had prepared and Alexander had accomplished.³⁹ To Demosthenes Beloch's text devotes but little more space than to Isocrates. By reason of his "Lokalpatriotismus" and his republican pride Demosthenes, according to Beloch, objected to the thought of Macedonian supremacy, particularly after the Peace of Philocrates.⁴⁰ His aggressive actions after 346, rather than the deeds of Philip, who had observed the Treaty of Philocrates in most conscientious fashion, led directly to the disaster at Chaeronea.⁴¹ In 341, unfortunately, he even appealed to the Persian king for intervention against Philip—by that course

³³ Cf. *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin, 1901); "Die Griechische Literatur und Sprache", in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, herausgegeben von P. Hinneberg, I. 8 (Leipzig, 1907); and "Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer", *ibid.*, II. 4, 1 (Berlin, 1910).

³⁴ Cf. Lenschau, in *Bursians Jahresbericht*, CXXIV. (1905), 189–190.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 167; cf. also Lehmann-Haupt, in Gercke und Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, III. 124.

³⁶ Strassburg, 1897.

³⁷ Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, II. 485, 576.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 577.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 577–578.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 485, n. 5, 546–547, 550.

"everyone could see what had become of Demosthenes's fine talk about liberty and independence".⁴² The key changes abruptly, however, when the theme is Isocrates. His *Philippus*, in which he urged Philip to lead a Greece united under his hegemony against Persia, Beloch declares "to have been read from one end to another of the Hellenic world".⁴³ It was in large measure due to Isocrates, who prepared the way just as the men of 1848 had done for German unity, that Philip succeeded in unifying Greece, and that Alexander was enabled to extend Greek civilization and pioneering effort to Asia.⁴⁴ Isocrates, after Chaeronea, probably wrote his Third Letter to Philip, in which he "blessed the day of his old age that had permitted him to see the dawn of the new day".⁴⁵

This narrative of Beloch's, Holm characterizes in his *Greek History* as a sober estimate of the facts.⁴⁶ Philip of Macedon he exonerates from Theopompus's charge of deficient morals; "judged by his actions [he] was a humane sovereign, with just that amount of craft which is necessary for a statesman who wishes to carry out a great policy with a small state."⁴⁷ He was rough only toward his uncivilized Macedonians, but considerate toward the culture-loving Greeks; a man of his word, and of no cruel disposition.⁴⁸ He and his Macedonians, who were not unlike the Germans of old, succeeded in conquering the Hellenes because they understood and utilized the great principle of nationality.⁴⁹ He was "drawn by the disunited Greeks into their quarrels, and invited by them to play a decisive part in purely Greek affairs"; indeed, Demosthenes seems to have been the individual who brought Philip into Greece.⁵⁰ This Demosthenes was great as an agitator, but not as a statesman because he was not straightforward.⁵¹ No reliance is to be placed in his assertions; he never understood the real character of Philip and always misrepresented him to the Athenians.⁵²

⁴² Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, II. 548.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 531-532.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 574.

⁴⁶ A. Holm, *Griechische Geschichte*, translated under title, *The History of Greece from its Commencement to the Close of the Independence of the Greek Nation*, III. (London, 1896) 220.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 205, 285-286.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 240, 278.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 243, 279.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 217, 277.

His policy amounted virtually to this: it continued the old exploitation of Greece by Persia.⁵³ In this respect the advice of Isocrates, who was foremost among high-minded men in Greece, was the better: to revive old aspirations and unite Greece by means of a war against Persia.⁵⁴

The over-statement and uncritical method of Holm are of course foreign to the finished scholarship of Eduard Meyer. But he too has his *parti-pris* in the clash between Philip and Demosthenes.⁵⁵ Meyer's views on the period in question are contained in his articles on Alexander the Great⁵⁶ and on Isocrates's Second Letter to Philip,⁵⁷ and in fugitive passages of the fifth volume of his *History of Antiquity*.⁵⁸ He refers to the enthusiasm of writers like Niebuhr and Grote for ancient Hellas and its protagonist, Demosthenes, and adds:⁵⁹

Our interpretation of Greek History has become a different one; the conviction has grown that the communities of Greece could never again advance through their own endeavors to an even tolerable condition of affairs, that they were certainly unable to resolve the great problems awaiting the Nation's solution, that, in particular, Athens's actual power and political organization were in crass contradiction of its aspirations, that therefore Demosthenes could never have attained to positive success.

The chief task of Philip's lifetime, Meyer continues, was to gain and maintain the mass of the Balkan Peninsula for Macedonia. "But to make this position in the North secure for all future time, and likewise to obtain for his kingdom the standing of a great culture-state, it was necessary for him as well to win supremacy over the southern extension of the Balkan Peninsula, Greece."⁶⁰ The Macedonian kingdom, formed by a migration of Greeks from

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁵⁵ Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, in Gercke und Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, III. 124: "Im Gegensatz zu A. Schaefer, der mit zu grosser Ausschliesslichkeit den Standpunkt des Demosthenes vertritt, wird dieser aufs nachdrücklichste verurteilt von J. Beloch und ebenso von Eduard Meyer. Beide legen einen übertriebenen Nachdruck auf seine Anwaltsqualität und wittern häufiger, als nottut, Schwindeleien und Verdrehungen. . ."

⁵⁶ "Alexander der Grosse und die Absolute Monarchie" (Vortrag auf der Hamburger Philologenversammlung am 5. Oktober, 1905 gehalten), *Kleine Schriften* (Halle a S., 1910), p. 285 ff.

⁵⁷ "Isokrates' Zweiter Brief an Philipp und Demosthenes' Zweite Philippika", in *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1909, pp. 758-779.

⁵⁸ *Geschichte des Altertums*, Band V., *Der Ausgang der Griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1902).

⁵⁹ Ed. Meyer, "Alexander der Grosse," *Kleine Schriften*, p. 285.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

Thessaly, could justly claim the right to survive as a culture-state if it put an end to the "heillose Zerrissenheit" of the Greek world, and if, instead of tolerating a disgraceful condition of Greek dependence on the powerless Persian king, it resolutely hurled its might against the foreign foe.⁶¹ Athens, in seeking the aid of Persia against Philip after the Peace of Philocrates, was committing a shameful act against the national cause.⁶² Demosthenes was, of course, to blame for this turn of affairs; he was probably in the pay of Persia, as Aeschines charged, and became the agent of the Persian king in Greece.⁶³ In his campaign against Philip in 344 he and his party "never hesitated to misrepresent the facts, to employ without scruple every method of the sophist".⁶⁴ His public orations were not genuinely delivered public addresses, but merely political pamphlets such as those of Isocrates.⁶⁵ The latter became the "real political spokesman of the nation"; his writings gave evidence of an appreciation of the actual tasks of the nation, such as writers like Xenophon and Demosthenes were unable to envisage.⁶⁶ In 338, after Chaeronea, he penned his indubitably genuine Third Letter to Philip, in which he hailed the victory of the Macedonian king, "because it nourished his hope that he might live to see realized the national program of Greek unification and of the great Greek war of expansion against Persia".⁶⁷

Wilamowitz, however, mitigates Meyer's imperialistic strictures with some of the restraint of Blass, Schaefer, and Jebb. Although he condemns Athenian democracy of the fourth century rather vehemently, and quotes with approval the gloss written by Frederic the Great in the margin of his copy of Montesquieu's *Considérations*: "ces rois de Macédoine étaient ce qu'est un roi de Prusse . . . de nos jours", Wilamowitz, nevertheless, sounds this warning against pressing too closely the parallel between Prussians and Germans on the one hand, and between Macedonians and Greeks on the other hand: "the political and social life of the Macedonians had a basis so entirely different from that of the Greeks that Macedonia could never merge with Thebes and Athens to form a single state", and therefore "the resistance of Demosthenic Athens was a genuine tragedy, because it had to be in vain

⁶¹ Ed. Meyer, "Alexander der Grosse", *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 289-292.

⁶² "Isokrates' Zweiter Brief an Philipp", *loc. cit.*, pp. 777-778.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 778, n. 2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 778.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 770.

⁶⁶ *Geschichte des Altertums*, V. 280, 337.

⁶⁷ "Isokrates' Zweiter Brief an Philipp", *loc. cit.*, p. 766, n. 1.

and because it was waged against the eternal and unmerciful law of history—but it was a fight for a good cause, namely, the honor of the Fatherland.”⁶⁸ But with all that, Greece needed a master for its self-preservation, otherwise Greece as Ionia would have come under the domination of Persia.⁶⁹ Demosthenes, whose short-sighted fanaticism regarded Philip as nothing but a tyrant, and whose oratory together with that of his school has encompassed the decline of the Athenian state with such an aureole “that posterity has completely deranged the relative positions of Macedonia and Athens as to power and right”, is, notwithstanding, entitled to this meed of praise: “he believed in the greatness of Athens and of Democracy, and lived and died for his ideal”.⁷⁰ But of Isocrates Wilamowitz makes the criticism that he lacked breadth of political vision in continuously harping on the theme of the good old days of Solon; he was the master of the new muse, Rhetoric, which henceforth made its venal charms available for every powerful individual; his writings belong to the class of *genre ennuyeux*.⁷¹

Pöhlmann deals with our period in his *Outlines of Greek History*,⁷² which forms a part of Müller’s *Handbuch*, and in a contribution to the Bavarian Academy’s *Sitzungsberichte* for 1913 on Isocrates and the Problem of Democracy.⁷³ Pöhlmann, in general, shares the viewpoint of Eduard Meyer. He writes of the time of Philip: “the city-state had lost its right to exist”; “it had to yield to the policy of broad vistas, if the economic, moral, and intellectual forces which the nation still retained, were to serve in advancing civilization to a greater degree.”⁷⁴ Chaeronea decided the victory of the *Flächenstaat* over the *Polis*, the victory of monarchy over democracy.⁷⁵ Demosthenes’s view of democracy was a doctrinaire and unhistorical one.⁷⁶ Isocrates judged more

⁶⁸ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, “Basilea” (1886), in *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 72–74.

⁶⁹ *Id.*, *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen*, p. 137.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 136–137; *id.*, *Die Griechische Literatur und Sprache*, pp. 72–73, 75.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69; *Staat und Gesellschaft*, pp. 135, 137.

⁷² *Grundriss der Griechischen Geschichte nebst Quellenkunde* (Munich, 1909), in Müller’s *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, III. 4.

⁷³ “Isokrates und das Problem der Demokratie”, *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1913, pp. 3–171.

⁷⁴ Pöhlmann, *Grundriss*, pp. 230–231.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 241. Cf. the entire passage, pp. 240–241: “Für Demosthenes und die demokratische Zeitanschauung überhaupt ist der demokratische Volks-

correctly in anticipating a favorable turn of the national fortune only by the aid of monarchy.⁷⁷ In fact, he is also an excellent authority to cite against the evils of democracy: his works yield abundant texts to be applied to the pernicious workings of American democracy with its party machines, its bosses, and its "Stimmvieh", of British politics, and of the impractical government planned by the Social-Democrats of Germany.⁷⁸

The writings of Kahrstedt and Kessler can be conveniently paired. They were novitiate performances:—the one, on the *Politics of Demosthenes*,⁷⁹ by a pupil of Eduard Meyer; the other, on *Isocrates and the Panhellenic Idea*,⁸⁰ by a pupil of E. Drerup. The thesis of Kahrstedt is an expansion of E. Meyer's conclusions on the baneful influence and activities of Persia in Greek and particularly in Athenian affairs. The reputation of Demosthenes Kahrstedt adorns with many of Bismarck's diplomatic wiles. He was a clever statesman, but his Olynthiacs demonstrate his lack of idealism and even of Hellenic patriotism.⁸¹ "I have attempted to prove", wrote Kahrstedt, "that Demosthenes worked for Persia; to establish this proof, I described the connection of political events and asked myself the question, who reaped the advantage from the proposals which Demosthenes offered in every particular situation. . . . The answer was ever the same, namely, Persia."⁸² The many orations of Demosthenes, especially that on the Naval Boards, the Megalopolitan, the Aristocratea, the Rhodian, the Olynthiacs, and the Philippics, betray the same zeal for Persian power, at times even to the exclusion of Athenian interests.⁸³ On

staat der Rechtsstaat κατ' ἐξοχήν, der einzige wahre Staat, weil in der Demokratie allein das Gesetz herrsche oder herrschen solle. In allen anderen Staaten ist der persönliche Wille eines oder weniger Individuen stärker als das Gesetz, mag es nun . . . die Oligarchie sein oder die Monarchie. . . . Dass diese Grundanschauung der Demokratie und ihres grossen Führers eine doktrinaire und ungeschichtliche war, wer wollte dies verkennen?"

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁷⁸ *Id.*, "Isokrates und das Problem der Demokratie", *loc. cit.*, pp. 9, 10, 13, n. 1, 41, 42, 86, 138-140, 159, 162, n. 1. On Athenian and present-day democracy Pöhlmann (*ibid.*, pp. 38-39) writes: "Als ob nicht gerade diese Demokratie . . . dadurch dass sie Politik und Rechtsprechung zu Massenaktionen macht, die schlimmsten Instinkte in der Menschenbrust entfesselte!"

⁷⁹ U. Kahrstedt, "Die Politik des Demosthenes", *Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden Fünften und des Vierten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 1-154.

⁸⁰ J. Kessler, *Isokrates und die Panhellenische Idee*, (Paderborn, 1911).

⁸¹ Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126, 128.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 102-103, 111-112, 114-115, 122, 125-126, 140-141.

Kahrstedt's view of the relations between Demosthenes and the Persian king, G. Glotz coined the epigram: "Démosthènes n'est pas devenu partisan d'Artaxerxès par haine de Philippe, mais ennemi de Philippe par amour pour Artaxerxès."⁸⁴

Kessler reveals Isocrates to us as an able thinker and far-seeing *Realpolitiker*, whose activities as publicist were consistently devoted to the task of propagandizing the Panhellenic idea for the national unification which Greece so sorely needed.⁸⁵ This idea, often contrary to accepted opinion and to the literal interpretation of frequent passages, can, by a procedure not unlike the tropological and allegorizing methods of medieval theologians, be laid bare in Isocrates's important orations, the *Panegyricus*, *On the Peace*, the *Philippus*, and the *Panathenaicus*.⁸⁶

Paul Wendland, needless to say, uncovers but few of the "howlers" of Kahrstedt and Kessler. He has contributed two scholarly articles to the *Göttingen Nachrichten* for 1910; the first on King Philip and Isocrates,⁸⁷ the second on Isocrates and Demosthenes.⁸⁸ In 1913 he summarized and popularized his investigations for the history-reading public of *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*.⁸⁹ He wrote therein:

It is now common knowledge how Philip consolidated his state, kept his dangerous northern neighbors in their proper territorial limits, created a citizen army of his people and an officers' corps of the nobility. . . . The temperate and careful nature of Philip's dealings with the Athenian Demos shows that he pursued no ruthless policy of aggrandizement. He fought for the necessary establishment and preservation of his state, for the essential interests of his nation. . . . This clash [between Athens and Macedon] of just interests serves admirably the purpose of training one in political thinking, helps to guard one against the influence of trivial talk about morality and politics, and makes one realize that such a conflict cannot be settled by international arbitration. It should be pointed out that Demosthenes was actuated in his condemnation of the enemy by motives of patriotic hate. Furthermore, one should strongly emphasize the superior merits of a thorough system of monarchical government and of military discipline.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Cf. *Revue Historique*, CVIII. (1911) 108.

⁸⁵ Kessler, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 80.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 20, 27-28, 47, 52, 57, 66-67, 70.

⁸⁷ "Beiträge zu athenischer Politik und Publicistik des vierten Jahrhunderts, I., König Philippos und Isokrates", in *Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1910, pp. 123-182.

⁸⁸ "Beiträge zu Athenischer Politik und Publicistik des vierten Jahrhunderts, II., Isokrates und Demosthenes", *loc. cit.*, 1910, pp. 289-323.

⁸⁹ P. Wendland, "Demosthenes im Unterricht des Gymnasiums", in *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, III. (1913).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

Toward the end of 1917 E. Drerup, authority on Homer and Isocratean Letters, published a book with the title: *From the Days of an Ancient Lawyers'-Republic; Demosthenes and his Time*.⁹¹ The book has not come to my hand, but the London *Classical Review* prints an excerpt from the preface which is worth quoting:

But only through this mighty war, into which half the world was precipitated by the rancor and lies of Paris and London lawyer-politicians, has the mask been fully torn from the face of that chauvinistic demagogue [Demosthenes], who now appears to have been a worthy predecessor, and with the sympathetic views, of Asquith and Lloyd George, of Poincaré and Briand, of Venizelos and Jonsescu, not to speak of the classic Land of Broken Faith. He who studies the orations of Demosthenes as contemporary documents in the light of the World War, who remains undeceived by their emotional appeal, and who measures the attainments of Demosthenes as politician and leader of the lawyers' party, and not according to Demosthenes' own self-righteous estimates, will soon discover him to be the master of the tuneful phrase, who knew, as Asquith, how to conceal his lack of fruitful political ideas and the unscrupulousness of his political methods.⁹²

The preceding quotations will, I venture to affirm, establish beyond reasonable doubt the conviction that the studies of even the foremost of German historians on the period of Greek history from 358 to 338 B.C. are in crying need of revision. Such a rewriting would dwell on the virtues as well as the vices of fourth-century Athenian democracy—its unrivalled training for citizenship, its increasingly anti-militaristic thought and action, its genuine enforcement of the principle of "open covenants, openly arrived at"; it would compromise less with the spirit of chauvinistic nationalism, the impulse of which is decidedly modern and certainly not Philippian; it would recognize in the aggressive tactics of Philip of Macedon the chief element disturbing to the peace of the Hellenic world; it would, on the basis of the scholarly linguistic researches of Hoffman, Pedrizet, Kretschmer, and others, suspend judgment on the problem of the racial affinities of Macedonians and Greeks; it would give Demosthenes due credit for his loyalty to the democratic ideal, for the generally defensive nature of his conflict with Philip, for his tenacious struggle to preserve the independent and continued existence of the city-state form of government, which alone had made possible Athenian cultural progress to his own day; it would never give credence to the view—designed to weaken documentary credibility—that Demosthenes's or-

⁹¹ E. Drerup, *Aus einer alten Advokatenrepublik; Demosthenes und seine Zeit* (1917).

⁹² Cf. W. E. Pantin, in the *Classical Review*, XXXII. (1918) 122-123.

ations were mere political pamphlets, not delivered addresses; it would in all charity observe that Persia had ceased to be a great aggressive power which threatened to conquer the Hellenic peninsula, but was intent only on holding its own; and finally, it would interpret the orations of Isocrates from a philo-Athenian rather than a philo-Macedonian point of view, for that he was a good patriot, I am convinced.

Should I attempt to elaborate a coda for my recurring theme, it would be this: that, although the present generation of German historians have interpreted the story of the clash between Philip of Macedon and Demosthenes in the light of contemporary nationalistic and imperialistic thought, theirs was not the only sin against the Holy Ghost. The historical literature of even the greatest of our modern democracies—Great Britain, France, and the United States—has suffered somewhat from the taint of contemporaneous commercial and colonial imperialism. I would suggest a perusal, with this thought in mind, of the relevant sections of Cavaignac's recent *Histoire de l'Antiquité*, of Wheeler's *Alexander the Great*, and of Breasted's *Ancient Times*. Furthermore, the same decade of British imperial history (1895-1905) which witnessed the publication of Lecky's undemocratic volumes on *Democracy and Liberty* also received from the press the unsympathetic study of Hogarth on *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* and, for our period, the equally uncharitable *History of Greece* by Bury.

JOHN R. KNIPPING.

THE LIFE OF DISRAELI, V., VI.¹

THE two concluding volumes of Disraeli's life which have now been published complete one of the longest and most interesting biographies that has appeared in our language during the last hundred years. On whatever side he is regarded, Disraeli is as singular and indeed as unique and extraordinary a figure as English history presents, a man who, beginning as a Jewish adventurer, and incurring in some quarters dislike, in other quarters contempt, by the escapades of his earlier career, rose to the leadership of what was then still the aristocratic party in what was then still an aristocratic country, and ended by becoming, once in 1868 and again in 1874, Prime Minister. His personal character is a subject for enquiry hardly less curious than is his political career. It is however only with the latter that this Review is concerned, so we may pass by the revelations of his private life and personal tastes which this biography contains, to consider his career in the three aspects in which his action had political consequences and provides lessons which political history ought to note and record.

First, of his career as a personal success. It illustrates two significant propositions, one at least of which is apt to receive less attention than it deserves, *viz.*, the immense difference to the course of events made by what we call Chance, *i. e.*, that factor in human affairs which we cannot predict nor account for. In this instance what chance did was to create a free field for Disraeli's rise to power by withdrawing from that field all the men who could otherwise have competed with him for the leadership of the Tory party, and some at least of whom had prospects brighter than were his. The great schism in the Conservative party when four-fifths of it refused to follow Sir Robert Peel's free-trade policy carried out of it Gladstone and three other statesmen of great ability, Sir James Graham, Sydney Herbert, and Cardwell, and none of them ever returned to the Tory fold. Of the two most prominent and energetic leaders who remained, one, Lord George Bentinck, died suddenly in the prime of life; the other, Lord Derby, sat in the House of Lords. No member of the party fit to lead the Con-

¹ *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield*, by George Earle Buckle in succession to W. F. Monypenny. Volumes V. and VI. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. xii, 558; 712. \$6.00.)

servatives in the Commons was left except Disraeli. Lord Derby, brilliant as a speaker, was lazy, and apt to be bored by the details of politics, so he, while remaining titular leader till 1867, allowed nearly everything to be dealt with by Disraeli as leader in the Commons. The other lesson of Disraeli's life is the immense power of courage, industry, perseverance, and self-reliance. These qualities covered all the drawbacks that told against Disraeli's success; and made his followers lenient to faults which would have submerged less strenuous men, faults which included an unscrupulousness and untruthfulness rare in that generation of English statesmen.

The second question which history asks regarding Disraeli's part in politics is that by which politicians are in the long run most adequately judged. What did he do for England? His opportunities for administrative work were slender, as he had held no office, until he became Prime Minister, except that of Chancellor of the Exchequer (finance minister), and that post only for very short periods. But he had at one time or another much patronage to dispense, and in dispensing it set no good example, for he seems to have usually thought first of politics and afterwards of merit. That practice had formerly been common enough in England among both Whigs and Tories, but in the days of Peel and John Russell things were improving, and a stronger sense of responsibility for selecting the best men, irrespective of party affiliations, was growing up. That sense Disraeli did not share. With him it was politics "first, last, and all the time". His letters about preferments to bishoprics and deaneries in the Church of England are not edifying reading. He attached far more political importance to ecclesiastical appointments than they have now, and, I venture to believe, overestimated their serviceability for party purposes even in his own time. As respects legislation, his only title to fame lies in the passing of the Reform Act of 1867-1868, by which the suffrage was extended in the English boroughs to an extent which went further than the Liberals, led by John Russell and Gladstone, had proposed to go in 1866. Disraeli deserves great credit for having perceived that the admission to the electoral franchise of the working-men in the towns need not injure his party. The result justified his foresight, yet not immediately. He was beaten at the general election of 1868, but after six years of a Liberal government (1868 to 1874) the Tories obtained a majority. They did so again in 1886, after the question of Home Rule for Ireland had divided the Liberal party, and again in 1895 and

1900. But though Disraeli had in his earlier days indicated various topics, including reforms in Ireland, on which legislation was needed, he did very little at the height of his power between 1874 and 1880 to carry out any of these, partly perhaps because he was then old and sickly, partly because foreign politics absorbed all his faculties. He is not remembered in England as a constructive statesman.

It is in the third aspect of his career, that of foreign affairs, that he finds a place in world history. In those affairs he had always been keenly interested, for they appealed not only to his imagination, but also to his vanity, as opening to him opportunities for playing a part in the great theatre of Europe. The views he held about foreign policy were formed early in life and little changed thereafter. He had read a good deal of history, and gathered from it certain definite ideas or principles which remained with him as fixed principles or maxims, sometimes erroneous, and very little modified by events, for having ceased to travel abroad he had failed to comprehend how much the emergence of new forces, economic and intellectual, had made the Europe of 1875 different from the Europe of 1845. He had no more sympathy with either the love of liberty or the sentiment of nationality than had Metternich, showed no good-will to the Italians in their struggles against Austria and their domestic tyrants, and deplored the extinction of the temporal power of the pope in 1870. He was, like most cynics, a worshipper of power and relied on material force to the disparagement of those other means by which order and peace may be maintained within a state or between other states. He had imagination and brilliant literary gifts, as his novels show, and a faith in certain ideas or doctrines, doctrines which when pushed to extremes distorted his vision of facts. In early life he had wandered through the Near East and seems to have contracted there an aversion for the Christian subjects of Turkey which helped to make him insensible to the miseries and oppressions they suffered at the hands of their Turkish rulers.

These influences must be allowed for in judging the course he pursued in the momentous years 1875 to 1880, for through that quinquennium his fixed views and strenuous will governed the foreign policy of England. These were also the last years in which his action counted for anything, since he lost office when defeated at the polls in 1880, and died in April, 1881. An insurrection against the Turks in Herzegovina in 1875 and a subsequent attack by the Serbians on Turkey were followed in 1876 by an attempted

rising of the Bulgarian Christians in Thrace against their Turkish oppressors. This movement was suppressed by the Turks with circumstances of atrocious cruelty in which many thousands of innocent persons who had taken no part in the rising were slaughtered. Massacre is the expedient to which the Turks always resort; their limited intelligence, incapable of reforming their administration, flies at once to bloodshed. When the facts became known in Russia, they aroused passionate indignation, and the Czar Alexander II., found himself obliged to take strong diplomatic action against the Turkish government, insisting on concessions which, while deemed necessary for the protection of the Christian populations, would have materially reduced the authority of the Turks over them. Austria and Germany, who had already joined with Russia in remonstrances and demands addressed to the Turks, invited England to concur. Disraeli held this to be derogatory to the dignity and rights of England, which was no less interested than the three continental powers in the fate of the East, and he refused to concur. Meantime the news of the Bulgarian massacres had reached England and stirred indignation there, which grew hotter when Gladstone took the field and advocated the complete liberation of the Bulgarians from a government which had forfeited whatever legal rights it had over them. The Turks were obdurate, and Russia threatened war. Disraeli insisted, and carried his sometimes rather reluctant cabinet with him in insisting that Russia must under no circumstances be allowed to occupy Constantinople, her possession of which would be—so he argued—a danger to England and especially to English rule in India. An attempt made to adjust matters by a diplomatic conference at Constantinople failed, owing to the obstinacy of the sultan. Russia declared war, and after more than a year's fighting dictated to the Turks, under the walls of Constantinople, a peace embodied in the Treaty of San Stefano.

Public opinion in England was by this time thoroughly roused, hotter on both sides of the question than it had been since the American Civil War, twelve years before. Disraeli seems, from the letters given in this biography, to have honestly believed that the victory of Russia would be a heavy blow to the position of England in the world. Though himself of foreign origin, and in a certain sense always a foreigner, he outdid most native Englishmen in his Orientally florid glorification of English power and prestige, and so became the creator of that school of imperialism; or, more colloquially, "jingoism", which remained a potent factor

for thirty years after his death. He did not venture to urge his colleagues into hostilities when Russia declared war, because he and they realized how unwilling Englishmen would be to fight with Turks as their allies; but now when he feared that Russia would occupy and dominate the East from Constantinople he redoubled his efforts to stop her advance. At last, his menacing attitude having alarmed the Russian government, which was not prepared for another war, their resources having been already overtaxed, it was agreed that the Treaty of San Stefano should be submitted to a congress of the Great Powers. Such a congress was accordingly held at Berlin under the presidency of Bismarck in the summer of 1878. Before it met, Disraeli and his Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury (who had shortly before succeeded to that office on the resignation of Lord Derby, who disapproved of Disraeli's policy), concluded two secret agreements. One was with the Turks. By it England undertook to guarantee the defense of the Turkish provinces in northern Asia Minor, and received in return the control and administration of Cyprus as a "place of arms" from which that defense might be conducted, the Turks promising to reform their administration. The other convention was made with the Russians, and by it they agreed to modifications of the Treaty of San Stefano restoring to the sultan large districts in Thrace and Macedonia which that treaty had allotted to the new principality of Bulgaria. These secret arrangements settled in advance the most controversial and difficult questions which were to come before the congress, so its success was almost assured. Not a few points, however, remained for discussion and negotiation, and in settling these Disraeli, who had gone to Berlin as chief British plenipotentiary, showed both adroitness and firmness. He knew what he wanted; he played for it and he got it. He established excellent relations with Bismarck, who recognized in him an audacity and resolution resembling his own. "The old Jew," said the Chancellor, "that is the man!" He was, with Bismarck, the leading figure in the most important international gathering Europe had seen since the Congress of Vienna, and he divided with the Man of Blood and Iron the honors of the hour, having indeed a more difficult part to play as one of the contending parties than that which fell to the president of the congress, whose interest in the matter was far less keen, since German interests were little affected. It was the proudest moment of Disraeli's life. When he returned to England he was welcomed by enthusiastic crowds; and his policy, though attacked by the Liberal opposition, was approved

not perhaps by the bulk of the nation, but certainly by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament.

His biographer, who throughout the book displays a thorough-going admiration for his hero and all his hero did, natural in a political partizan speaking at the moment, but surprising in a historian narrating events in cold blood after the lapse of forty years, becomes effusive in his description of these triumphs. If we look only at the talent and the force which Disraeli showed, the admiration is justified. What he meant to do he did effectively. But was it the right thing to do? Did the settlement he effected last? What were its results for the countries concerned and for the world?

Taking first the European settlement, that branch of it which concerned the Eastern part of the Bulgarian regions (to which the Treaty of Berlin gave the name of Eastern Rumelia), the settlement lasted just seven years. In 1885 the artificial and indefensible separation of two parts of the same people was removed, and "Eastern Rumelia" became, with universal approval, a part of Bulgaria. Disraeli's arrangements had no basis, and vanished. But far worse was the fate of those regions north of the Aegean Sea, inhabited by a predominantly Bulgarian population, which the Treaty of Berlin handed back to the sultan, from whose rule the Treaty of San Stefano had delivered them. The provision made for a scheme which should give some protection to the Christian inhabitants was never carried out. Misgovernment and oppression continued, as every one with experience of the Turks knew that they were sure to continue. After a time risings and disturbances appeared. The Bulgarian population of Macedonia was in a state of continued unrest. The insurgent bands which carried on what was a sort of guerrilla warfare against the Turks roused the antagonism of Serbs and Greeks, who, expecting the expulsion of the Turks sooner or later, raised other armed bands to assert their claims in Macedonia in opposition to the Bulgars. The Turkish authorities, unable to cope with these disorders, did their best to set each race against the others. After some thirty years of these troubles, inflicting endless suffering on the peaceful part of the population, a league of the three Christian kingdoms, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, was brought about, largely by the instrumentality of an able Englishman (the late Mr. J. D. Bouchier), Balkan correspondent of the London *Times*; and the three nations joined (1912) in an attack on the Turks which drove the latter out of the whole peninsula, except a small district near Constanti-

nople. Unhappily there followed a dispute between the three allies over the liberated territories, and another war broke out (in 1913) between them, as a result of which the Turks recovered a part of what Bulgaria had obtained in 1912 and Bulgaria lost southern Macedonia with its Bulgar population. All this long-continued strife, all these miseries, were directly due to Disraeli's perverse action at Berlin when he insisted, in the name of "British interests", on restoring to the Turks territories which were not Turkish by race or religion and to which they had, by their abominable misgovernment, lost all moral claim. Nor did the train of evil consequences stop there. The Treaty of San Stefano, forced by Russia upon the Turkish government, which Disraeli succeeded in getting abrogated at Berlin, had made a territorial settlement of Southeastern Europe which was, broadly speaking, conformable to the racial, the linguistic, and the ecclesiastical conditions of the problem. Austria having obtained at Berlin what she wanted, *viz.*, a commission from the congress to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, was fairly content, and there was no question then left open to encourage the further ambitions which she subsequently developed and which accentuated her rivalry with Russia. It was the unstable, because unjust and indefensible, state of things due to the Treaty of Berlin that not only subjected the population of Macedonia and Thrace to Turkish tyranny for more than thirty years, but also helped to bring about the Great War of 1914, and all those consequences of that war from which the world is still suffering.

If we turn to the results in Asia of what Disraeli secured at Berlin they will prove to have been no less disastrous. By the Treaty of San Stefano the sultan had ceded some territory in Armenia to Russia, and had given Russia the right to interfere at any time for the protection of the Asiatic Christians under Turkish rule. This right, which made the Czar, whose territory adjoined the parts of Asiatic Turkey inhabited by the Armenians, responsible, in the eyes of his own people and of the world, for the safety from massacre of the Eastern Christians, was taken from Russia by the Treaty of Berlin, which substituted a provision enabling the powers who were parties to the latter treaty to require the Turks to execute reforms and to supervise their application. Everybody who knew anything of Turkish history knew perfectly well that administrative reforms—which the sultans had been promising for many a year—would never be executed, and that the Great Powers, among whom this shadowy responsibility was divided, would

never compel their execution. This was exactly what happened. Turkish oppression grew to be worse than ever, and culminated in the frightful massacres of 1894, 1895, and 1896, when more than 100,000 innocent persons were slaughtered. Nothing was done to stop the slaughter. England alone had tried from time to time to put pressure on the Turks to better their ways, but as she received no support from the other signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, her intervention may possibly have done more harm than good, for it did not frighten Abdul Hamid, so long as no other power joined England,—and it may have led that suspicious and resentful savage to the conclusion, which he tried to put in practice in 1895, that the best way to get rid of the Armenian question was to get rid of the Armenians themselves.

The Cyprus Convention which was proclaimed in 1878 to have been a master-stroke of Disraeli's policy turned out a complete fiasco. Some British military consuls were appointed to posts in Armenia, and for a time they travelled about trying to give some protection to the Christians from the ferocities and oppressions of the Turkish officials and from the raids of the robber Kurds whom the Turks were constantly hounding on to attack and rob the Christians. But their attempts were unavailing, for the Turks refused to mend their ways; so after a few years the consuls were withdrawn in despair, and England's obligation to defend the frontiers of Turkey was tacitly understood to have lapsed, because the Turks never attempted the promised reforms. Whether the convention entitled England to continue to hold Cyprus was a question never formally raised. That island, though it continued to be administered by England, did not prove to be of value to her either as a "place of arms" or otherwise. It might have been of value, not indeed for defending Turkey, but for attacking her when she declared war against England in 1914; but it was not used for that purpose.

Whoever reads the history of Disraeli's action in Near Eastern affairs from 1875 to 1880, told very fully and clearly in this book, and then proceeds to follow out the melancholy consequences which followed from it will naturally ask: How came a man of so much talent and experience to make such deplorable mistakes, and how came a large section of the English people to applaud a series of acts which were to tarnish England's good name by committing her to the support of a detestable tyranny and by injuring those whom the English people would have desired to protect? There are some persons who, like Disraeli's worshipping biographer, still

try to excuse or palliate Disraeli's policy and conduct. One can account for his conduct, one can recognize the cleverness and boldness with which he played his game against Russia. But the aims were hopelessly wrong, and he ought to have known that they were wrong. About the results there can be no question. The facts as they developed themselves in Europe and Asia from 1878 to 1914 speak for themselves. It was Disraeli's successor in the leadership of Disraeli's party who said, long afterwards, in speaking of the policy which British statesmen followed in the Crimean War and down to and even after 1878, in supporting the Turks, "We put our money on the wrong horse."

The explanation of Disraeli's errors seems to lie in certain facts, conjectured at the time, but rendered clearer by the correspondence which sees the light in this book, facts which may be summarized as follows. He was possessed, or obsessed, by certain notions which he had formed long before and had never brought himself to examine and correct in the light of facts. His conservative instincts made him cling to things as they had stood when he first saw them, and fail to realize the changes which had made existing conditions indefensible. Gladstone once said of him to me, in or about 1876, "Disraeli's two leading ideas in foreign policy have always been the maintenance of the sultan at Constantinople and the maintenance of the temporal power of the pope." He could not save the latter, which fell in 1870; he sought to save the former. His aversion to sentimentalism, his sense of the danger of popular enthusiasms, made him dislike the sympathy shown in England for the oppressed Christians of the East, and filled him with dread of the plots which, as he believed, were being planned by revolutionary societies against the sultan, though the Russian agitation over the Bulgarian massacres, and of course the English agitation also, were open-air and entirely natural. Though often kindly toward individuals—there is abundant proof of this in his letters—he was a cynic who indulged, and enjoyed, his cynicism. He was ignorant, though perhaps no more ignorant than many other statesmen in his day, of things he ought to have known, overestimating the aggressive power of Russia and the dangers to England of her advance southward, though the campaign of 1877 had proved the truth of Moltke's dictum that a war between Russians and Turks was a war between the one-eyed and the blind. Every war has shown that however great the difficulties Russia offers to an invading army, corruption and maladministration immensely reduce her offensive power. Still more

did he err in supposing it possible to induce the Turks to reform their government so as to make it even tolerable to its Christian subjects. Here, if he did not deliberately shut his eyes to facts, he showed a culpable ignorance, for the evidence of Turkish irreclaimability had been accumulating for centuries. He had so often heard such words as justice, humanity, liberty, nationality, used or misused by those whom, often quite unjustly, he deemed demagogues or charlatans, that he suspected every cause on whose behalf those words were employed. The mistakes he committed from 1875 to 1880 were remarkable in this respect, that they extended to a matter on which he was usually shrewdly penetrating, *viz.*, the feelings of the British people, for he seems to have believed that the diplomatic triumphs he achieved at Berlin had won their sympathy and approval, and he was not undeceived until the general election of 1880, when a crushing majority of the electorate was recorded against his foreign policy in its spirit, as well as in its details.

This defeat was no doubt partly due to the Afghan war in which his government embarked in the end of 1878; but the general political issues involved in that war so much resembled those which he had dealt with in the Near East during the three preceding years that the judgment of the country was delivered on both together and for much the same reasons. It was a condemnation of the sort of imperialism he had been preaching and practising. The frontier questions relating to Afghanistan were ultimately settled not by him but by the Liberal government which succeeded him, and they need not be discussed here. Enough to say that the policy of advance which he favored was by them reversed, and that things have gone better on the northwest frontier of India ever since.

American students of the British Constitution who read the long series of letters which passed between Disraeli and Queen Victoria during his two administrations may be struck by the number and the urgency of the appeals she made to him to take the action she desired in public affairs. Such readers must however note and remember that there is nothing to show that these appeals had any influence on the action which the cabinet took. Disraeli was of her mind, as she was of Disraeli's mind, all through the various phases of the Eastern question. She wished him to go further and faster than he did go, for his colleagues sometimes applied the brake, but he would apparently have gladly gone both farther and faster if he could have carried his cabinet with him. He certainly did flatter her outrageously, but this was not so much

interested adulation as an imaginative dramatization of the sovereign and himself as figures on the great stage of Britain. When he had a decided view of his own which was not hers, he could hold his own, and she gave way. Nobody in England has now any fear of interference on the part of the crown, for the conduct both of the last sovereign, Edward VII., and of the present sovereign is understood to have been irreproachably constitutional in every respect, and has never elicited popular criticism. The belief, at one time general in Germany, that Edward VII. was the author of the so-called "encircling policy" (*Einkreisungspolitik*) had no foundation. King Edward was fond of the French, but not the malicious enemy of Germany which he was in that country deemed to be.

Disraeli was one of the last among English statesmen who made their reputation and kept their power entirely by work in Parliament, with little recourse to the platform. Though he was far indeed from being the oracle of wisdom which the rank and file of his party deemed him in his later years, though many British statesmen have risen high above him both in range of knowledge and in oratory, he has been seldom equalled and perhaps never surpassed in his sarcastic wit, in skill as a parliamentary tactician, and, in his later years, in the power of inspiring confidence in his leadership. This confidence was largely due to his imperturbable coolness and to his courage. No braver or more self-confident man ever faced a legislative assembly; and though he was sometimes vindictive, and often untruthful, he was never treacherous, never unfaithful to a friend or neglectful of a supporter. No one can help admiring the fortitude with which he faced ill-health and pain; no one can refuse to feel for him when after his wife's death he turned for sympathy to the ladies whose names meet us so often in the record of his later years.

Mr. Buckle has done his work as a biographer with laudable industry and care. The notes are very helpful, the index is a model, the narrative passages interspersed between the letters are clear and concise. The personal and political bias of his comments is regrettable, but though they affect its value as a historical record to the general reader, every American student will soon discover and will thereafter allow for it. Long as is this biography, there is not a chapter in the last two volumes that could be spared, for they are full of instruction not only to the historian but to the student of politics as an art or a science. Disraeli made in his personal career, as well as by his acts, a contribution of enduring interest to our knowledge of human nature.

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION IN NEW ENGLAND¹

THE half-century before the Civil War was, for the farmers of southern New England, a period of great stress. For two or three generations they had been engaged in well-stabilized, self-sufficient agriculture. Then came the development of New England manufactures and the rise of new factory villages and towns which, by creating a new demand for food-stuffs and raw materials, opened a market at the farmers' very doors. Because of the inherent inflexibility of the agricultural industry, the first steps in the transition to commercial agriculture were slow. For a great many reasons it was difficult to leave off farming for a living and begin farming for profit. By 1840 the change was well under way. But just then the building of railroads so cheapened transportation that the New England farmers were exposed to disastrous competition in certain lines from the newer farms in western New York state, and in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. A reconsideration of his economic problems was now forced on the New England farmer. He had to abandon his attempts to supply the factory population with bread-stuffs, pork, beef, and wool, and had to find new kinds of specialization.

The readjustments in the farm business were made reluctantly, haltingly. Consequently the rural folk did not enjoy the rapid rise in their standard of living which we, at this distance, might have expected. The changes in agricultural technic and in the social life of the rural folk which did result, however, from these two great, new forces, the home market and western competition, were so great and far-reaching that they may well be called an agricultural revolution. It is to a consideration of these changes that the present paper is devoted.

A brief review of the economic situation of the farmers of southern New England in 1810 will furnish a background against which later developments stand out clearly. In Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* we read: "a country will seldom have a productive agriculture, unless it has a large town population, or the only available substitute, a large export trade in agricultural

¹ This paper was read at the Washington meeting of the American Historical Association, December 29, 1920.

produce to supply a population elsewhere.”² Now the farmers in southern New England in 1810 had neither a foreign nor a home market for their products, and the absence of such markets was the determining condition of their economic and social life. They raised no staples which could be exported to foreign markets, and, with the exception of a few small seaport towns, there was no non-agricultural population in New England which could furnish a home market. The results of the lack of markets were: lack of exchange; lack of differentiation of employments, or division of labor; the absence of progress in agricultural methods; a relatively low standard of living; emigration and social stagnation.³

The distinguishing characteristic of farm-life was its economic self-sufficiency. Being unable to sell his products, the farmer was unable to buy from outside. Consequently each farm was a unit or an economic microcosm, producing for itself practically everything that it consumed; food, clothing, furniture, and household- and bed-linen, soap, candles, and a great variety of minor articles. Of course, on farms in the vicinity of the port towns, self-sufficiency was far from complete, and even in the typical rural communities farther inland there was not an entire absence of trade. The country store was a regular feature of village economy, furnishing opportunity, in even the smallest communities, for the exchange of cheese, butter, salt pork and beef, and household textiles in return for salt, iron, sugar, and liquors. In general, however, farming was carried on not as a business, but for the satisfaction of the needs of the farm family.⁴

In the half-century 1810-1860 there took place in New England an industrial revolution, comparable in its significance and in many of its characteristics to the Industrial Revolution in England of the last half of the eighteenth century. On this side of the Atlantic, as on that, power machinery replaced hand-tools, and the processes of manufacture were transferred from the farm-houses and shops of craftsmen to factories. Railroads, furnishing the cheap transportation essential to industrial changes, were rapidly constructed after 1840 and assisted in breaking down the isolation of rural communities.

The rapid increase in the population of southern New England

² Book I., ch. VII., sec. 3, p. 120 (Ashley ed., New York, 1909).

³ See the author's "Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century", chs. II. and III., *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XX, 241-399.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. VI.

is the most obvious evidence of a new economic situation.⁵ To the 811,000 persons living in the states of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts in 1810, there was added before 1860 a round million more, an increase of 130 per cent. in the half-century. Emigration to western states, which had been keeping population stationary before 1810, was checked, and in addition to the natural increase of the native population there was found room for between three and four hundred thousand persons of foreign birth.

The explanation of the growth of population is to be found principally in the rise of manufactures and, to a less degree, in the prosperity of the maritime industries which were themselves stimulated by manufacturing progress. But this is not the place to review the fascinating history of the rise of New England manufactures; for the present we are interested in that branch of industry only through its effects on the life of the agricultural population.

The increase in population was accompanied by urban concentration. In 1810 there were in the three states only three towns containing as many as 10,000 persons: Boston, Providence, and New Haven. Taken together their population was only 56,000, less than seven per cent. of the total population. In 1860 the towns of over 10,000 numbered 26, containing in all 682,000 persons, or 36.5 per cent. of the total of southern New England. The new population was a non-agricultural population, a fact of greatest importance to the farmers, for it meant that now for the first time they had a market for their products, and that market, moreover, was a *home* market.

We must be prepared to find the influence of the home market very small at first. The manufacturing boom of 1807-1815 was followed by a prolonged period of industrial depression after the panic of 1819. The few factories which survived, and the new establishments which were founded between 1825 and 1830, we should now consider insignificantly small. The cotton and woollen mills were the largest, but very few even of them employed as many as 100 persons each in 1830, and the great majority had less than 50 hands.⁶ The new industrial units were not only

⁵ For a fuller discussion of the causes and significance of population changes, see the author's "Population Growth in Southern New England, 1810-1860", *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, new series, XV. 813-839.

⁶ See *Documents relative to Manufactures in the United States* (Ex. Doc. 308, 22 Cong., 1 sess.), vol. I.

small, they were also widely scattered. In 1840 it would have been difficult to find 50 out of the 479 townships in southern New England which did not have at least one manufacturing village clustered around a cotton or a woolen mill, an iron furnace, a chair factory or a carriage shop, or some other representative of the hundreds of miscellaneous branches of manufacturing which had grown up in haphazard fashion in every part of the three states. In the absence of local concentration of industries, there could be no concentration of the industrial population. Consequently the effects of the home market were spread thin over the entire area, and no single agricultural community received much benefit therefrom.

One of the earliest and most wide-spread effects of the new market was an increased interest in agricultural improvement. A new spirit was stirring among the farmers. They began to feel that they were living in a period of great changes, and they were unwilling to lag behind the age. At just this time the New England farmers were fortunate in having presented to them a form of organization by which the spirit of improvement might be fostered and turned into the most effective channels. I refer to the agricultural societies on the Berkshire plan. First founded in Pittsfield, in 1811, these societies spread into practically every county in southern New England in the next fifteen years.⁷ In contrast to the older societies whose interest in agriculture was largely literary and philosophical, the Berkshire societies were made up of practical working farmers; their work was consequently far more important than that of their predecessors. The older societies had confessed their inability to interest the common farmers in their theories and schemes for improvement. The reason was not far to seek. The working farmer of an inland community could not be interested in schemes to increase production until someone could show him a market for his surplus. But as soon as the home market developed, it was not difficult to stimulate interest in better farming. The new agricultural societies owed their rapid growth and great popularity partly to their success in seizing upon the awakened interest of the farmer, instructing him by pamphlets and addresses, stimulating competition by annual cattle shows and exhibitions of agricultural produce. But their success is also explained by the skill with which

⁷ The early history of these societies is related by Elkanah Watson in his "History of Agricultural Societies on the Modern Berkshire System from 1807 to 1820", printed in *History of . . . the Western Canals in the State of New York* (Albany, 1820).

they satisfied, in their annual gatherings, the farmer's deep-lying need for more social contacts, for closer relations with others in the community.

The immediate practical results of the new spirit were not revolutionary. Most farmers continued on about the same lines, doing somewhat better what they had for many years been doing rather poorly. There was, however, in the first quarter of the century the important change from wooden to cast-iron ploughs which took place with spectacular rapidity. Iron ploughs were practically unknown until 1828 or 1830, and then in a few years everybody had them.⁸ In spreading information about the new implements, the agricultural societies did valuable service, ploughing matches being regular features of their annual exhibitions.

The lighter draft of the new iron ploughs, and of the steel ploughs which succeeded them, made possible the substitution on the farm of horses for oxen as draft animals. The displacement of oxen was well under way in progressive communities by 1840, but was not fully completed until after the Civil War. In fact, remote New England villages are now among the few spots in the United States where an occasional yoke of oxen may still be seen. The Yankee farmer was much attached to his oxen; they were stronger if not so fast as horses; they worked better in rough and marshy ground; and furthermore, they had food value after their working days were over. Besides, sentiment was involved. "The ox was a pioneer with the Pilgrim", we read in one of the reports of the Massachusetts agricultural societies,⁹ and the descendants of the Pilgrims did not willingly abandon the use of the faithful animals. The faster gait of horses made them better adapted not only for ploughing but for the operation of the various new agricultural machines, such as mowing machines and horse-rakes, which were invented between 1830 and 1840. On the small, uneven fields of the New England farms the new machines were at a great disadvantage and consequently were much more slowly introduced than in the states to the west and south. Mowing machines, for example, were still a curiosity in New England at the time of the Civil War.¹⁰

A detailed review of the technical aspects of the revolution in New England agriculture cannot be attempted here. Confining our attention to the broader economic aspects of the transition

⁸ See *New England Farmer*, IX. 114.

⁹ Massachusetts, Secretary of State, *Abstract from Returns of Agricultural Societies*, 1845, p. 67.

¹⁰ Massachusetts, State Board of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1856, I. 175.

from self-sufficient to commercial farming, we find increasing specialization of first importance. Adam Smith's familiar phrase, "the division of labor is limited by the extent of the market", finds clear application here. In 1810 farming was practically uniform throughout southern New England. Every farmer distributed his land in about the same proportions into pasturage, woodland, and tillage, and raised about the same crops and kept about the same kind and quantity of stock as every other farmer. There were one or two unique regions, such as the Connecticut Valley, Nantucket, and Cape Cod, but for the most part it made little difference in the character of farming whether it was conducted in one county or in another. But the opportunity of selling farm products in the new home market stimulated differentiation. The market acted as a selective force, tending to encourage in various groups of townships the particular branch of farming for which they were best fitted. In the language of the economist there was developed a territorial division of labor in New England agriculture. The new specialization was of two kinds: (1) determined by location, (2) determined by advantages of natural resources. Let us consider first the specialization determined by location.

In Essex and Middlesex Counties in eastern Massachusetts the advantage of situation in the immediate neighborhood of growing industrial towns, such as Lynn, Lawrence, Lowell, and Boston, had produced by 1840 well-defined specialization in market-gardening and in dairy-farming. Of Middlesex County Henry Colman wrote in 1841:

Though in a great degree in its general aspect unpromising, yet no county in the State is more distinguished for its agricultural improvements than Middlesex. . . . The Capital, with the large towns in its vicinity and the several villages and manufacturing towns in the interior, afford a ready and quick market for all the products of agriculture. This condition determines in a great measure the character of the agriculture of the county—which is confined rather to the production of vegetables, fruits, butter, and articles that find an immediate sale in the towns, than to products on a large scale, to be sold in great quantities or consumed upon the farm.¹¹

An agricultural survey of Rhode Island published in 1840¹² describes the rapid development of intensive agriculture in the towns within market radius of Providence. Marshes were drained, land reclaimed, and record crops of onions, carrots, turnips, and

¹¹ Massachusetts, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of the State, *Fourth Report* (Boston, 1841), pp. 194–197.

¹² Charles T. Jackson, *Report on the Geological and Agricultural Survey of the State of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1840).

potatoes were grown. The attention to root crops and the large proportion of farm areas in tillage were unusual in New England. Similar tendencies with less striking results were observed in the neighborhood of Fall River, New Bedford, and New Haven.

The peculiarities of natural resources, chiefly soil and configuration, gave rise to specialization in three branches: (1) the fattening of beef-cattle in the towns of northern Massachusetts in the Connecticut Valley; (2) the cultivation of tobacco on a narrow strip of Connecticut River lowlands extending from central Connecticut to the northern border of Massachusetts; (3) wool-growing in a number of rather widely separated, hilly regions, but principally in the western counties of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The history of each of the three branches of specialized agriculture forms in itself an interesting study, displaying the action of market forces and illustrating the difficulties which prevented the New England farmers from taking full advantage of their new market. But the brief scope of this paper will not permit their consideration here.

To summarize: the home market was the dominant influence affecting New England agriculture from 1810 to 1840. The new market opportunities stimulated a new spirit in the farmers, leading to the introduction of important technical changes; also, specialized, commercial agriculture was developed in well-defined areas.

Now we are prepared to consider the effects of the second great influence, *viz.*, outside competition, chiefly from the West. It would be hardly accurate to fix the beginning of western competition at 1840, for the New England farmers had never enjoyed a monopoly of their market. Even before 1810 the trading and fishing population of the seaport towns had received large supplies of wheat-flour and corn from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The opening of the Erie Canal and the introduction of steam transportation on Long Island Sound and the Connecticut River brought in steadily increasing quantities of food-stuffs for the supply of the new factory villages, so that the establishment of through railroad connection with the West between 1840 and 1850 marked not the beginning, but the culmination of a generation of growing pressure on New England producers from cheaper outside sources of supply.

The influence of the railroads was twofold. In the first place, the trunk-lines laid down between 1830 and 1850, such as the Boston and Albany and the lines running northward from Long

Island Sound, brought in wool, wheat, and pork at prices so low as to discourage home production. And such cheap transportation tended to break down that division of labor which was based on the peculiarities of natural resources. Disaster overtook the new specialized agriculture in two lines, wool-growing and beef-fattening. The railroads brought in the cheaper wools of Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois at a transportation cost of only two or three cents a pound.¹³ The inevitable effect was the decline of wool prices in New England and the rapid abandonment of sheep-raising. The census figures show a general decline in sheep in each of the three states, amounting to a 50 per cent. loss in 1840-1850, followed by a further decline of 35 per cent. in 1850-1860.¹⁴

The check imposed by outside competition on beef-fattening, while not as disastrous as in the case of wool-growing, was nevertheless severe. The shipment of dressed beef in refrigerator cars was of course still unknown, and freight charges were high on the live animals. Consequently a large part of the cattle received from outside came on the hoof from the bordering states, being driven in herds to local markets. In 1840 the reporter of the Brighton market, the most important live-stock market in southern New England, wrote: "About two-thirds of the stall-fed cattle are from this State, the balance principally from New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine; now and then a lot from New York." In 1854 it was officially estimated that more than half of the beef supply of Massachusetts came from without the state, which meant outside of southern New England, as neither Connecticut nor Rhode Island produced enough for even its own wants. Beef-fattening remained the most important and profitable branch of farming in Franklin County until the Civil War, but it failed to expand with the expansion of the industrial population and with the demand for beef.¹⁵

But the railroads also provided cheaper internal communication, and thus greatly promoted specialization in branches of the

¹³ C. W. Wright, *Wool Growing and the Tariff* (Boston, 1910, *Harvard Economic Studies*, V.), p. 128.

¹⁴ The number of sheep in southern New England reported by the census of 1840 was 871,832; in 1850, 407,150; and in 1860, 264,500.

¹⁵ There were, according to the census of 1840, 558,000 neat cattle in the three states; in 1860 the number reported was 555,000, of which 263,000 were milch cows. It is probable that owing to the increase in milk-farming, the milch cows formed a larger proportion of total neat cattle in 1860 than in 1840. If this assumption is true, then the decline of beef cattle was greater than the above figures would seem to indicate. Relative to population, beef-cattle had declined from 48 per 100 persons in 1840 to 30 per 100 in 1860.

agricultural industry where nearness to the market was the determining advantage. The main lines of railroad were soon supplemented by a close network of branch and local lines. Thus the areas of profitable specialization in market-gardening, fruit-raising, and milk-farming were rapidly widened after 1840. A keen observer of agricultural change in Massachusetts writing in 1850 said: "Probably, in our state, there are now few farms not within ten or twelve miles of a railroad. They are thus enabled to send many articles to market, for which they before had none; while the transit of what they sell and what they consume is wonderfully cheapened."¹⁶ The results of cheap transportation he expressed as follows: "The former vegetable gardens for the metropolis are transformed into houselots, and their substitutes are found in the valleys or on the hillsides of Worcester or Middlesex, while her strawberry beds extend to the banks of the Connecticut."

In the dairy industries, contrasting effects of cheap transportation appear clearly. The production of cheese, for which the western counties of Massachusetts and Connecticut had become famous, declined rapidly between 1850 and 1860, when exposed to the competition of the newly established cheese factories of western New York and Vermont.¹⁷ But in the case of milk, and to a less degree in the case of butter, the absence of modern methods of refrigeration made nearness to the market decisive. The result was a marked increase in dairy-farming in the industrial counties. If reliable statistics were available, I believe we could show an interesting migration of dairy cows from east to west in the years 1820 to 1840 and a re-migration from west to east in the succeeding twenty years.

The full extent of the effects of cheap transportation on New England are not revealed in its effects on specialized agriculture alone. A large proportion of the farmers never went in for specialties. They felt the stimulating effects of the new market, and responded by attempting to increase production in the lines

¹⁶ Charles Theodore Russell, *Agricultural Progress in Massachusetts for the last Half Century*, address before the Westborough, Mass., Agricultural Society (Boston, 1850), pp. 18-19.

¹⁷ In 1850 Connecticut was the fifth cheese-producing state in the Union, being credited by the census of that year with a product of 5,363,000 pounds. Massachusetts produced 7,100,000 pounds. In 1860 the product had fallen to 4,000,000 and 5,300,000 pounds respectively. Litchfield County cheese enjoyed a wide reputation and was sold for high prices in the markets of Boston, New York, and Baltimore. See Connecticut State Agricultural Society, *Transactions*, 1855, p. 327.

of general farming. They continued to keep cattle and pigs for their own supplies of meat and dairy products, hoping for the opportunity to sell a small surplus. The same policy was evident in the crops they raised, chiefly hay, corn, and potatoes. But even the general farmers could not remain unaffected by outside competition. They found their market for beef and cheese curtailed by the same influences which had destroyed the production of these articles in specialized areas. Western pork was making serious inroads into New England markets before 1840. In an agricultural address of 1836 the following statement was made: "Within a few years a mercantile house in Boston purchased in a single season, from the county of Worcester, nearly two million pounds of pork, the growth and produce of that county; and the same house is now employed in obtaining the same article of provision from the West, to sell for consumption in that very county."¹⁸ Importation of improved breeds¹⁹ and the selection of native stock bettered the quality of hogs, making them more valuable as pork-producers, but their numbers decreased rapidly. The census of 1860 showed only 175,000 swine in the three states, where there had been over 300,000 twenty years before.

Hay had always been of great importance in the New England farm economy. Protected by its great bulk from outside competition, this crop showed significant gains both in quantity and quality. The crop of 1860 was 25 per cent. larger than that of 1840, and it was much better hay. Indian corn was at the beginning of the century the backbone of New England agriculture, an unfailing food for man and beast. The increased use of wheat bread checked the use of corn meal for human food,²⁰ while its use as a food for cattle and swine was cut down by the falling-off in the production of beef and pork. There was increasing competition

¹⁸ *New England Farmer*, XV. 249.

¹⁹ The introduction of Chinese swine, which Colman considered so important (*Fourth Report*, p. 308), seems to have been the result of accident. Trading ships returning from the East had a few on board which they liberated on making port. See Massachusetts State Board of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1854, I. 90-93.

²⁰ Regarding the increasing use of wheat flour Colman wrote: "Public manners in this matter have undergone considerable change within the last quarter of a century. Bread made of rye and Indian meal, was then always to be found upon the tables in the country; and, in parts of the state, was almost exclusively used. Wheat flour was then comparatively a luxury. Now brown bread, as it is termed is almost banished from use. No farmer gets along without his superfine flour, his bolted wheat; and the poorest family is not satisfied, without their wheat or flour bread." Massachusetts, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of the State, *Third Report* (Boston, 1840), pp. 51-52.

from the South and West. Nevertheless, so well adapted was corn to New England that production actually increased 25 per cent., 1840-1860.

The decline of the potato crop from 9,700,000 bushels in 1840 to 5,600,000 bushels in 1860, a loss of over 40 per cent., was one of the tragedies of the period. The decline seems to have been caused not so much by external competition as by a blight which affected the crops for a series of years before the Civil War. The secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture wrote regarding potatoes in 1854:²¹ "Most farmers place but very little reliance on this crop. So extensive were the ravages of the disease to which it has been liable for a few years past, during the last season, that it is likely to receive even less attention hereafter, than it has heretofore." He observed that not only had the acreage planted to potatoes decreased, but the yield per acre had declined noticeably. It is interesting to note that the only counties in southern New England which did not show in the censuses of 1850 and 1860 decreased production of potatoes were Dukes and Nantucket, both of which being islands separated by several miles from the mainland seem to have been immune from the ravages of the blight.

The agricultural revolution brought great changes in household economy. In fact the best evidence of the extent and rapidity of the transition from self-sufficient to commercial agriculture is to be found in the decay of the household industries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the typical New England farmer was still clad in homespun cloth made from wool sheared from his own sheep, spun, dyed, and woven in his own home by the women of his household. Many other articles of household furnishing such as blankets, towels, and sheets were made by these overworked women. Before the Civil War, however, the household textile industry was transferred entirely to the new factories. The graceful spinning-wheels and clumsy hand-looms were relegated to the attics of the farmhouses, there to accumulate dust and cobwebs until rescued and restored to posts of honor by the antique-collectors of our own generation.

The transfer of the textile industry from farmhouses to fac-

²¹ *Annual Report*, 1854, I. 32-34. In 1851 a reward of \$10,000 was offered for "a sure and practicable remedy" for the blight. The proposals made were summarized in a pamphlet published by the Massachusetts Secretary of State, entitled *Synopsis of . . . Communications on the Cause and Cure of the Potato Rot* (Boston, 1852), which affords an interesting commentary on the state of agricultural science at the time.

tories was an interlocking feature of both the industrial and the agricultural revolutions in New England. Until now the change has been studied chiefly with reference to the growth of manufactures; but from the standpoint of the history of the rural people it is hardly of less importance.

As soon as the cash income could be gained from the sale of wool, pork, butter, and cheese or vegetables, the farmers began to buy goods which they had formerly produced for themselves. The rapidity of the change from homespun to factory-made textiles bears eloquent testimony to the hardship which the household industries had imposed upon the farm women. The coincidence in time and place between the decay of household industries and the rise of the market is striking. The reports of agricultural fairs show that the exhibits of home-made textiles fell off rapidly between 1820 and 1830 in counties where industrial growth and urban concentration were progressing most rapidly. An official report from Connecticut in connection with the census of 1830 stated that "individual and household manufactures are so far abandoned as to be comparatively inconsiderable",²² and in his agricultural survey of certain counties in Massachusetts ten years later Colman speaks of the household industry of that state as "completely destroyed".²³ It seems safe to conclude that by 1860, although the use of homespun fabrics still continued, their further production in farmers' families in southern New England had come to an end.

The significance of the decay of the household manufactures can hardly be exaggerated. Even before the change was wholly completed, its importance was recognized by the leading thinkers of the day. Horace Bushnell said to the Litchfield farmers in 1851: "This transition from mother- and daughter-power to water- and steam-power is a great one, greater by far than many have as yet begun to conceive—one that is to carry with it a complete revolution of domestic life and social manners."²⁴ The prophecy proved true. As self-sufficient farming declined there went with it long-established habits and traditions, not only in the

²² *Documents relative to Manufactures in the United States* (Ex. Doc. 308, 22 Cong., 1. sess.), vol. I.

²³ A broad generalization which must be qualified. In a number of instances he calls attention to the persistence of self-sufficient conditions in remote townships, but such cases were exceptions, sufficiently rare to deserve especial comment. See *Fourth Report*, pp. 156-157, 178-179; also *Second Report*, p. 61.

²⁴ *Work and Play* (New York, 1881), p. 382.

method of getting a living, but also in ways of thinking and of living. The *mores* of self-maintenance, to use Sumner's phrase, were revolutionized and there followed of necessity a change in the ideas and ideals of the rural folk, in family and in social relations.

The self-sufficient economy emphasized the virtues of self-reliance and independence, of frugality and thrift. As Bushnell remarked, it harnessed together in the productive process all the members of the family, young and old, male and female; it concentrated attention upon the interests of the family group rather than upon the interests of its individual members. The introduction of the cash *nexus*, the selling of certain articles and buying of others, forced the farmers to confront a new set of problems, calling for the exercise of a new set of faculties. Shrewdness in buying and selling must now be added to the simpler qualities of hard work and saving. Farming became a more speculative business, for to the already existent risks of weather conditions was added the risk of price-fluctuations. Thereafter success in getting a living no longer depended on the unremitting efforts of the farm family, aided by Providence, but to a large extent also upon the unpredictable wants and labors of millions of persons in the industrial villages, and in the newer farms to the westward.

It is clear that, in the long run, the transfer of the production of textiles from the farmhouse to the factory must have been of advantage to the rural population. Production was far more effectively carried on in the factories, so that eventually the farmers got more goods for a given amount of labor by concentrating their efforts on purely agricultural operations. But only in the long run were the advantages of the change clearly apparent. In the meantime, during the twenty or thirty years of transition, there were a number of discouraging difficulties. There was first of all the problem of finding a new employment for the farmers' wives and daughters. Remarks such as the following show how this problem was presented:²⁵

It is a deceptive and dangerous economy, which induces a farmer to buy all his woollens of the manufacturer, merely because he can buy them cheap—cheaper even than he supposes he can make them at home. . . . While the farmer is buying at the store, what he could make at home, . . . the members of his family, whose labour could produce the same articles, are unemployed, or employed to little or no purpose.

Colman, who was a clergyman as well as an agriculturist, speaks

²⁵ *New England Farmer*, VIII. 126.

with regret in several instances of the decline of the household manufactures because the "healthy exercise of domestic labour" has been exchanged for "the idleness and frivolities of pride and luxury";²⁶ and again, emphasizing the economic rather than the moral aspects of the problem, he speaks of the "internal resources of the farmer" having "dried up".²⁷

Anyone familiar with the exhausting toil of the farm women of the earlier years might have remarked that they had well deserved a rest. But habit and tradition, and economic pressure as well, decreed otherwise. The traditional Puritan ethics required all to be producers and none merely consumers. No one knew what evil work the Devil might find for idle hands, especially if these hands were women's.²⁸ Moreover, even with improved agricultural technic, the income from a New England farm was meagre, and the wants of the farm family were expanding rapidly. The urban population were establishing a new and higher standard of living; the farmers' daughters wanted better clothes, and pianos like those of their city cousins.

The problem of finding new employment for the farm women was solved in two ways: (1) by their leaving the farms and taking employment in the rapidly growing urban centres, either in factories, or as school teachers, or in domestic service; (2) by the introduction of new industrial occupations in the home. We know how important was the migration of the farmers' daughters to Lowell, Lawrence, and Fall River in the years around 1840, furnishing an indispensable labor force for the new factories, and it would be interesting to trace their fortune further, but we are concerned here chiefly with those who stayed on the farms. The employments to which the latter now turned their attention were the sewing of shoes, the plaiting and sewing of straw and palm-leaf hats and bonnets, and the production of men's ready-to-wear clothing. An extreme example of the efforts to utilize the surplus labor force on farms is seen in the misguided attempts to hatch silk-worms and produce reeled silk.

²⁶ *Second Report*, p. 138.

²⁷ "In the changes which, since the introduction of extensive manufactures of cotton and woolen among us, have taken place in our habits of domestic labour, some of the internal resources of the farmer have dried up, and new occasions of expenditure introduced." *Fourth Report*, p. 181.

²⁸ In Wilder's *History of Leominster* (Fitchburg, 1853), p. 29, we find the fear expressed that the farmers' daughters will not only lose skill "but they will have more time to be idle, and thus will be less fit for good and profitable wives".

Most of the employments enumerated above were not new. The farm women had long been making their own bonnets and their husbands' and fathers' shirts and underclothes, but whereas formerly such articles were produced principally for home consumption, after about 1830 or 1840 they were produced principally for sale. The organization of production was what is known to economists as the commission system, a transitional stage between household and factory production. The employer was a merchant who provided the straw, cloth, or parts of shoes. He also undertook to dispose of the finished product, paying the workers on a commission basis.

In the making of shoes, the most important of these domestic manufactures, the men were also employed. In some townships in Massachusetts a very large proportion of the population was actively engaged in shoe-making. In 1837, in the town of Grafton for instance, 1400, or almost one-half of a total population of 2950, were officially reported as making shoes.²⁹ A writer in the *New England Farmer* said that the industry in that place "is a domestic manufacture, chiefly carried on by men at their own homes, with their own means, where their labors and those of their families alternate with the care of their gardens and farms, promoting wealth and furnishing recreation".³⁰ Of Essex County, where the farmer shoemakers were most numerous, Colman wrote: "Farming in this county is scarcely pursued as a distinct or exclusive profession; but as subsidiary to some other business or pursuit."³¹

The farmers carried on a wide variety of quasi-industrial pursuits, by-industries which in some cases were more lucrative than agriculture. Building operations in the growing industrial communities demanded sand, stone, and timber. Besides these, the farms furnished to the city-dweller enormous quantities of firewood and charcoal, the products of the winter months. The Yankee had long been famous as a whittler and in these years he turned his experience in wood-working to good account. The extent and variety of the wooden wares produced in some of the more remote communities is astonishing. In various towns in Franklin County there were made, in 1855, surgical splints, faucets, canes, washboards, rolling-pins, pill-boxes, shingles, scythe-snaths, lemon-squeezers, towel-rollers, twine-reels, match-boxes, brooms,

²⁹ Massachusetts, Secretary of State, *Statistics of Certain Branches of Industry* (Boston, 1837).

³⁰ XV. 57.

³¹ *First Report, Agriculture of Massachusetts* (1838), p. 14.

broom-handles, and penholders.³² All of these were made for sale, either in the cities or in the Southern states. Partly they were made by farmers in small shops on their own premises, and partly in small factories utilizing a small water-power, where the farmers worked intermittently in the winter and between seasons. The numerous by-industries carried on by the New England farmers and by their wives and daughters provided an important supplement to the farm income. The prosperity of many communities out of reach of the market influence can be explained only by the existence of these quasi-industrial pursuits.

The general impression remaining after a careful survey of New England agriculture in this period is not one of great achievement or striking progress. There was undoubtedly prosperity in certain areas and probably a higher standard of living for the rural population as a whole. But somehow we cannot escape the feeling that the New England farmers had not lived up to their opportunities. Often in the comments of the best-informed contemporary observers we find frank dissatisfaction.³³ They refer to the prevailing condition of agriculture as "common, irregular, rag-weed farming, helter-skelter farming", they condemn the "niggardly, shiftless, and slovenly manner in which the business of the farm is conducted", painting realistic pictures of poor crops, inconvenient houses, falling walls, and denuded hills and undrained swamps, debts, mortgages, and foreclosures.

In the transition period there was little uniformity in agricultural conditions. In a single county we might find, so one writer tells us, "every system of farm management practised that has ever been followed since the days of Noah". In every community there were a few progressive farmers, but often in close proximity, perhaps on the next farm, there would be tumble-down buildings and a general slovenly appearance. The great majority of farmers were between these extremes. They were not badly off; their hundred acres were all paid for, and perhaps they had laid aside a little for a rainy day. They kept four or five cows, a yoke of oxen, a horse, some pigs. They sold a little butter, a little rye, a little pork, a pair of calves, possibly a little cider and a cord or two of wood, yielding a total money income of four or five hundred dollars. When out of this they had paid a hired man for services in planting and haying, the grocer, the tailor, and the

³² Massachusetts, *Statistics of Industry*, 1855.

³³ For example, the address of Donald G. Mitchell before the Connecticut State Agricultural Society in 1857. *Transactions*, 1857, pp. 95-116.

shoemaker, the blacksmith, and taxes, there was very little left over.³⁴

There is an old French proverb which runs, "Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner", and perhaps when we understand and fully appreciate the difficulties and discouragements which the New England farmers of this period had to face, and the doubts and fears which harassed them, we shall be inclined to judge that they did well, rather than poorly. Changes in farming are always slower than in other industries because of the stronger hold of traditional habits. Rural folk tend to be conservative. It is harder for them to get out of the rut of the good old ways. Moreover, they lacked knowledge, for notwithstanding the educational services of the agricultural societies and of the farm papers, there was still much uncertainty on even such a familiar subject as the proper methods of planting and cultivating corn. Superstitions regarding the influence of the moon still lingered in the minds of intelligent persons.

The farmers suffered from the lack of consistent leadership. They got advice from all sides, but much of it was conflicting. Only rarely do we find before 1840 frank and clear-sighted recognition of the necessity of giving up the old-style, self-sufficient farming;³⁵ for the most part the orators of the day at agricultural fairs were content to be followers rather than leaders of public opinion. They advised their hearers to continue to raise everything they needed "to eat, drink or wear". "The first of all rules in domestic economy", says Colman, "as far as the actual wants of his family are concerned, is for the farmer never to go abroad for what he can produce at home."³⁶

An important difficulty was the farmers' lack of business experience. Commercial farming involved the selling of crops and the buying of supplies. The markets for agricultural produce were still unorganized, the phenomena of price fluctuations unfamiliar.³⁷ In buying machinery and commercial fertilizers the farmers were often the victims of sharp practices, and such experiences made them more reluctant than ever to invest their money in these very desirable improvements.³⁸

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

³⁵ See address of William Buckminster before Middlesex Society of Husbandmen and Manufacturers, 1838, in *New England Farmer*, XVII. 113-114.

³⁶ *Agricultural Addresses at New Haven, Norwich, and Hartford, Conn., at the County Cattle Shows in the year 1840* (Boston, 1840), p. 38.

³⁷ Well illustrated by the experiences of the cattle raisers of Franklin County, Mass. See *Fourth Report, Agriculture of Massachusetts*, p. 84.

³⁸ See reports of Professor S. W. Johnson on analysis of commercial fertilizers, in *Transactions of Connecticut State Agricultural Society*, 1859.

Then, also, they lacked capital, not only for permanent improvements, but also for running expenses. The farmers at a distance from their markets usually sold their pork, butter, cheese, and grain between January and April. Very few had sufficient working capital to support their families and pay for hired labor for nine months in the year. Hence they could often employ only half as much labor as could have been profitably used. Their supplies they got from the country store-keepers on credit, paying high interest rates in the shape of advances over cash prices.³⁹ Banking facilities were no better adapted to the needs of the farmers than now. The complaint of those days that banks existed for the benefit only of merchants and manufacturers sounds strangely modern. Bankers were feared and distrusted, and the farmer was advised to "shun the door of a bank as he would an approach of the plague or cholera".⁴⁰

The disturbing effects of western competition I have already mentioned, showing how the farmers had hardly entered upon their new business experience when the flood of competing products forced them to seek new lines of specialization.

I have reserved to the last what seems to me the most depressing and disastrous of all the hindrances to progress in agriculture: this was the wholesale desertion of the farms by the younger generation. Not only the farmers' daughters, but their sons as well, were leaving their homes throughout this period to seek their fortunes as clerks and factory operatives in the growing urban communities. The boys who wanted to pursue agriculture went West, although the lure of that region was not nearly as strong as in the generations before 1820. The kind of farming their fathers were carrying on seemed to promise nothing but "a fixed, dull round of listless toil". Besides having the idea that farming was bound to be unprofitable, the younger generation was oppressed with a growing sense of social inferiority to the city population. A writer in the *New England Farmer* about 1840 says:

Every farmer's son and daughter are in pursuit of some genteel mode of living. After consuming the farm in the expenses of a fashionable, flashy, fanciful education, they leave the honorable profession of their fathers to become doctors, lawyers, merchants, or ministers or something of the kind.⁴¹

The tendency to leave the farms deprived the farmers of their

³⁹ *Fourth Report, Agriculture of Massachusetts*, pp. 182-183.

⁴⁰ *New England Farmer*, XIII. 368; XVII. 78.

⁴¹ *New England Farmer*, XVII. 406. See also *Transactions of Connecticut Agricultural Society*, 1856, pp. 396-400.

only available labor force, at a time when cheap and reliable labor was particularly necessary if they were to take full advantage of the new market opportunities. But the ultimate effects of the rural exodus were of greater importance. The best human material was selected out of the country; the best brains and the boldest spirits went to the cities. To the more timid and the slow and the plodders was left the great task of carrying forward the agricultural revolution.⁴² Shall we wonder that they failed to realize its full possibilities?

It should now be clear that in the fifty years before the Civil War, New England was making great strides in social evolution. Into the space of less than two generations had been compressed momentous changes—the transition from self-sufficient to commercial agriculture, and from household manufactures to the factory system—changes which in England and on the Continent of Europe had been spread over centuries. As in the case of organic evolution, so in the evolution of New England society, there was constantly progressing differentiation. Out of the simple rural communities which comprehended the bulk of New England life at the beginning of the nineteenth century there unfolded a varied urban, industrial life. The germs of manufacturing which had been developing in the farm household now split off as independent occupations. Farming itself became varied by the adaptation of its various branches to the soil and location of particular regions. The market worked as a selective force. Under its influence good land became more sharply differentiated from poor land. The poor land, even in entire farms, was abandoned to grow up to woods, while the farmers' efforts were concentrated on the best fields.

The differentiation of occupations led to a differentiation of customs and habits of life between rural and city folk. The urban population began to wear a different kind of clothes, to live in a different kind of houses from those of their country cousins. They began to think and talk differently, and eventually they began to look down upon the farmers as a backward race. Within the cities the factory system produced further differentiation between capitalists and laborers. The gulf was widened when the Irish

⁴² "There is need for more brain put to the farmer's work. . . . Wit, ingenuity, shrewdness, tact, seem to gravitate, all of them, into other pursuits, into cities, into shops, into courts, into pulpits; and the dullest of the sons takes the farm. I dislike to say it. I dislike to say it all the more, because it is so true." From the address of Donald G. Mitchell, *Transactions of Connecticut State Agricultural Society*, 1857, p. 108.

arrived to swell the ranks of unskilled labor, adding to the economic conflict divergences of race and religion.

It was a time of storm and stress for both urban and rural New England. Men's minds and hearts in city and country alike were deeply stirred by a series of remarkable intellectual and social movements. In politics, Republicanism triumphed over Federalism; in religion, the struggles of Unitarians and Trinitarians for domination shook the established Congregationalism; a vigorous temperance reform swept through the rural communities; the anti-slavery movement foreshadowed the Civil War.⁴³ Leadership in reform naturally came from the cities, but the strength of these movements and the measure of success they eventually attained depended upon the active response and hearty support of the countryfolk. One may not be ready to subscribe to a strict economic interpretation of history, and yet may recognize the inevitable connection between the changes in the external conditions of New England and the changes in its inner spirit. The New England farmers had been awakened; they had been encouraged, disturbed, disappointed, and perplexed. But most important had been the awakening, the preparation of their minds for the reception of new ideas.

PERCY W. BIDWELL.

⁴³ Professor Turner has described these reform movements in chapter II. of his *Rise of the New West* (New York, 1906). In a recent paper, "Greater New England in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century" (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, new series, XXIX. 222-241), he relates "the changes of these revolutionary decades" to emigration to the West, showing how the democracy and optimism of the new region reacted on literature and politics in the older parent communities.

CHINESE HISTORICAL STUDIES DURING THE PAST SEVEN YEARS

THE Great War, which made so serious a gap and marked so important a transition in much of the productive scholarship of the world, has not been without effect upon studies in the field of Chinese history. These have, however, continued throughout the past seven years with surprisingly little interruption, less, certainly, than in many other fields of research and writing. Now that the war is officially over, and scholarship is free to return to many of its normal channels, it is important to pick up the broken threads and to see what has been published during the years when the major part of the world's attention has been absorbed by the great conflict, and the peace settlements that followed. This is particularly advisable because the past seven years have brought the Far East into increased prominence. The problems of the Chinese and Japanese and their neighbors are much more a matter of concern to the Occident than they were in July, 1914, and it is increasingly the duty and privilege of European and American scholars to study the history, both recent and remote, of these peoples, and to familiarize the West with the results. Only thus can there be obtained that intelligent understanding of our trans-Pacific neighbors which will prevent us from blundering and which will enable us to behave toward them wisely, sympathetically, and justly.

First of all, scholarship has suffered a grave loss in the death of two of our most noted sinologues, William Woodville Rockhill and Édouard Chavannes. The former, who died at Honolulu December 4, 1914, had had a noteworthy career as a scholar and diplomat. His interest in the Far East began at an early age, for he commenced the study of Tibetan as a youth at St. Cyr. He came to Peking in 1884 as second secretary to the American legation, with the purpose of pursuing his study of Chinese and Tibetan. Later connected for some years with the Smithsonian Institution, he made expeditions to Tibet under its auspices and published his results in 1891, 1894, and 1895. Much of his life was spent in the diplomatic service of the United States, in Peking, Constantinople, and St. Petersburg, and in the Department of State, but his interests in scholarship as such never abated and he found time to continue his researches and to publish from time

to time. His works chiefly of interest to historians were *Conventions and Treaties with or concerning China and Korea* (1908), and *Chau Ju-Kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (St. Petersburg, 1912), a noteworthy piece of translating and editing which was done in collaboration with Professor Friedrich Hirth.

M. Chavannes at the time of his death was without much question the greatest scholar in things Chinese that the Occident possessed. Brilliant, carefully trained, and an indefatigable worker, he had been for many years the joy and the despair of those interested in Chinese scholarship. His most noteworthy production, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (five volumes, Paris, 1895-1905) was much more than a translation of that great history. Its elaborate prolegomena and its full critical and explanatory notes are invaluable commentaries on the early centuries of Chinese history which will not soon, if ever, be superseded, and it is an irreparable loss to scholarship that the author should have been cut off in the prime of his productive years without the opportunity of completing his self-appointed task. This formidable *magnum opus* would alone have been sufficient to give M. Chavannes a foremost place in scholarship. In addition, however, he was the author of numerous articles and monographs which have added much to our knowledge of earlier Chinese history. Two of his later works, *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*, tome I., première partie, *La Sculpture à l'Époque des Han* (three volumes, Paris, E. Leroux, 1913), and (in conjunction with P. Pelliot) *Un Traité Manichéen, retrouvé en Chine* (Paris, 1914), are part of the fruits of an expedition which promised much to the scholarly world and which one wishes might have been followed by others.

The deaths of Rockhill and Chavannes, while so regrettable, fortunately do not deprive us of all of our older noteworthy scholars in Chinese history. Professor Hirth still lives, although we have had little from his pen for some time. Henri Cordier, the editor of the journal *T'oung Pao*, the compiler of the indispensable *Bibliotheca Sinica* (second edition, four volumes, 1904-1908)—the most nearly complete bibliography of publications on China in foreign languages—and the author of *L'Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales* (Paris, 1901, 1902), has not only survived the war, but is continuing the publication of

T'oung Pao and has also brought out a history of China¹ which, while by no means as good a piece of work as could be produced, even now, by a Western scholar, has much of interest and value. It is certainly the only recent work of like magnitude which attempts to cover the whole field; and one can only regret that it shows so little perspective, follows so closely the traditional Chinese narrative, and incorporates no more of recent European scholarship. A first-class general history of China has yet to be written and is badly needed. Professor Herbert A. Giles, the veteran Cambridge sinologue, is still at work. In 1914 he published in one volume,² notes on a variety of topics which show the wide range of his scholarship in things Chinese. Although he is always an eager controversialist, his work often ranks with the best that has been done in English. Professor Giles's contemporary, with whom he has sparred through many a page of the *China Review*, Professor Edward H. Parker of the University of Manchester, has within the past five years added to his numerous books a new and enlarged edition of his *China, Her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce* (London, 1917).

Of the periodicals which deal with the history of China, the larger number either continued publication through the years of the war or were but slightly interrupted. The *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* regularly made its annual appearance and in addition to its contributed articles is noteworthy, as usual, for its excellent reviews of books. In no other publication can one find in so convenient a form critical, even if often belated, notices of scholarly books on China. The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* contained as usual admirable book reviews and excellent articles on China. Two of these latter, "Documents relating to the Mission of the Minor Friars to China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" (July, 1914, pp. 583-599), and "The Minor Friars of China" (January, 1921, pp. 83-115), by A. C. Moule, especially come to mind. In the pages of that model publication on Oriental scholarship, the *Journal Asiatique*, are to be noted especially M. P. Petrucci, "L'Épigraphie des Bronzes Rituels de la Chine Ancienne" (January-February, 1916, pp. 1-76) and "Premier Exposé des Résultats Archéologiques obtenus dans la Chine Occidentale par la Mission Gilbert de Voi-

¹ Henri Cordier, *Histoire Générale de la Chine et de ses Relations avec les Pays Étrangers depuis les Temps les plus anciens jusqu'à la Chute de la Dynastie Mandchoue* (Paris, 1914, 4 vols.).

² H. A. Giles, *Adversaria Sinica* (Shanghai, 1914).

sens, Jean Lartigue, et Victor Segalen, 1914", of which three installments have so far appeared.³ The reports of this expedition show, as have those of the all too few others, what vast and little touched riches China has for the archaeologist. Future expeditions should give us results which are paralleled only by those of the last century in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Crete, and which, together with the voluminous printed sources that exist, should permit of the reconstruction of China's past with a fullness which is matched by that of no other country. It is to be hoped that the project for an American school of archaeology at Peking will not be dropped but will be pushed vigorously. Such an institution could in time become an important centre for the study of the older China.

Among the periodicals it is a pleasure to note the appearance at Shanghai in 1919 of the *New China Review*, of which twelve numbers had appeared by January, 1921. This journal,⁴ the product of the initiative and industry of Mr. Samuel Couling, provides a place for the publication of scholarly articles on China and avoids recent political controversy. It has already won a place for itself and deserves a wide circulation in this as in other countries. The École Française d'Extrême-Orient, that admirable institution for research at Hanoi, continued the publication of its bulletins throughout the war, and is a noteworthy example of the leadership which the French hold in the systematic organization of scholarly research in Chinese subjects.

Of facilities for research there have been a few interesting additions in the course of the past few years. The rapid growth of the Missionary Research Library in New York City is beginning to afford for those students who are interested in the impact upon China of the religious and idealistic phases of Occidental culture an opportunity which is equalled only by the older Day Missions Library at Yale. There has recently gone to Cornell the library of the late Charles W. Wason of Cleveland. This collection was the work of the last several years of Mr. Wason's life, and represents an attempt to gather everything which has appeared in English upon China. It is inferior to the famous Morrison Library, now in Japan, in that the latter was designed to include all which has appeared on China in every European tongue, but it is probably more nearly complete in material in English, and

³ May-June, 1915, pp. 467-486; Sept.-Oct., 1915, pp. 281-306; May-June, 1916, pp. 369-424.

⁴ Samuel Couling, Medhurst College, Shanghai, editor.

has been so amply endowed by its generous founder that it can be kept up to date. It should prove a mecca for all those interested in research in things Chinese, especially in British and American relations with China. Nor must mention be omitted of the growing collections of books in Chinese in the Library of Congress, and the University of California, of the sections of the Newberry Library which are devoted to China, and of the acquisition in Chicago of a font of Chinese type which can be used for scholarly publications.

In recounting one by one the more noteworthy historical books on Chinese subjects which have appeared in the past seven years, it is fitting that one should begin with a group of volumes produced in English by Chinese. These have appeared at various times and places and are by a variety of authors. They are often the work of immature and even inaccurate scholarship, for they are usually doctoral dissertations by younger Chinese whose time from boyhood has been so taken up with Occidental subjects that they have never had the opportunity to go carefully or thoroughly into the Chinese sources. All too frequently those who have guided their research have been American or English scholars who either have no knowledge of Chinese language, institutions, and history, or who have had too fragmentary a knowledge to permit of the proper direction of their students. Works by Chinese are, moreover, often marred by an attempt to glorify China at the expense of the Occident, or by an effort to fit Chinese institutions into Western dress and terminology. Few if any of the books of this class, then, have made important or permanent contributions to our knowledge of earlier Chinese history. They are, however, of very great interest, for they occasionally have incorporated valuable material and not infrequently throw a flood of light upon the interests, the mental prejudices, and the convictions of the younger Chinese who have been trained in America or Europe and who are in the future to have so large a share in the leadership of their country. These volumes, moreover, may well be a promise of better things in years to come, when, trained in modern historical methods, and coming to their own records with an interest and a facility which should be equalled by no Westerner, Chinese will produce works which will greatly extend the world's knowledge of their native land.

The most substantial of the volumes which fall in this class, and one which is by no means open to all the criticisms made of

the group, is *Outlines of Chinese History*, by Li Ung Bing.⁵ It is almost exclusively political in its scope, and contents itself with presenting the usually accepted facts of the record of China's past. More than half of its space is devoted to the Manchu dynasty. Its pages are adorned with numerous illustrations, some of them very interesting, and it has some fairly good maps. The Western student will, however, find in it but very little, if anything, that has not already appeared in better form in English from the pens of British and American scholars, such, for example, as the works of MacGowan, Parker, and Hirth, or the shorter summary by Pott. The chief interest of the volume lies in the fact that so excellent a book should be written by a Chinese in English and that it should be published in so creditable a form by a house which is purely Chinese in ownership and management.

Other of the better books of this class are Sih-gung Cheng, *Modern China, a Political Study* (Oxford University Press, 1919), M. T. Z. Tyan, *The Legal Obligations Arising out of Treaty Relations between China and other States* (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1917), and Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao, *Village and Town Life in China* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1915).

The most important general reference-book on China published in recent years is Samuel Couling, *The Encyclopedia Sinica* (Oxford University Press, 1917). A work with so pretentious a title would usually be a co-operative enterprise and could well run into several volumes. The present single volume, however, is almost entirely the work of one man and suffers somewhat not only from this fact but, in spite of 633 pages of small type in double columns, from its brevity. The author disarms criticism, however, by a modest introduction in which all of these shortcomings are frankly and humbly admitted. In spite of the fact that parts of the field have been covered by W. F. Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual* (1874, reprinted Shanghai, 1910) and H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (London and Shanghai, 1897, 1898), Mr. Couling's volume is the only one of its kind. It contains, moreover, an amazing amount of material, both on strictly Chinese subjects and on those connected with foreign intercourse with China. Students and teachers of Chinese history are greatly in Mr. Couling's debt and must look forward eagerly to the time when he will carry out his half-expressed hope and

⁵ Edited by Professor Joseph Whiteside, Soochow University (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1914).

see the one volume expanded into several, in which all the best-equipped scholars shall share the burden of compilation.

On the history of Chinese philosophy and religion four volumes need mentioning. Daisetz Taitaro Suzuki, *A Brief History of Early Chinese Philosophy* (London, Probsthain and Company, 1914), while written in an English style which leaves much to be desired, presents in an appreciative yet fair manner a compact account of Chinese philosophy which is of value to the thoughtful student, whether he be a beginner or an expert. Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism, their History, Iconography, and Progressive Evolution through the Northern Buddhist Countries* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914), is an admirable account of the iconography of Mahayana Buddhism, well illustrated by reproductions of objects in Henry H. Getty's collection. While by no means complete, for that would be impossible in a volume of 196 pages, it contains much that is of value on a subject which is little understood in the Occident. W. E. Soothill, *The Three Religions of China* (New York, 1914), gives in a comparatively brief volume a useful though summarized account of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. The author has long been a missionary in China and is a scholar of unquestioned distinction and ability; and he treats his subject with a sympathy which leaves little to be desired. The work must remain for some time one of the most useful introductions to the subject. In his *Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming* (Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1916), Professor F. G. Henke has given us a translation of a Chinese compendium of the most important philosopher of the Ming dynasty. The book is of the kind which one wishes we had for many another Chinese thinker.

On the history and archaeology of China before the nineteenth century the past seven years have seen published a number of interesting volumes. James M. Menzies has given us a study of the *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin* (Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1917). The book is not at all remarkable, except for the fact that the author had been only a few years in China, and that the lithographic reproductions of the specimens discussed were made in the heart of China. These reproductions afford the chief value that attaches to the little book, for they make available to scholars additional light on the origins of the Chinese character. More elaborate is *Chinese and Sumerian* (Oxford University Press, 1913), in which Professor C. J. Ball follows in the footsteps of

Terrien de Lacouperie and others in attempting to discover a connection between the language of early China and that of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. He himself is convinced that Chinese script "almost certainly sprang from Sumerian prototypes", but unfortunately neither he nor those who hold similar positions have been able to convince any wide circle of scholars of the truth of their fascinating contention. In Paul Pelliot's *Les Grottes de Touen-Houang. Peintures et Sculptures Bouddhiques des Époques des Wei, des T'ang et des Song* (Paris, 1914-1921, vols. I-IV.) we have beautifully reproduced examples of art in a western outpost of Chinese civilization where Greco-Indian, Iranian, and Chinese elements are all to be found mingled. We shall wait impatiently for the text which is to accompany these portfolios. Marcel Granet in *Fêtes et Chansons Anciennes de la Chine* (Paris, Leroux, 1919) attempts to shed fresh light on ancient Chinese life and literature by an original treatment of the *Shih Ching*. Dr. John Steele in *The I-Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* (London, Probsthain and Company, 1917, 2 vols.) has given us a translation of the text and part of the commentary of that ancient work of the Chou dynasty which throws so much light on the ceremonial and the life of China of the second millennium before Christ. Interesting information on the history of Chinese currency is given us in the translation of the *Ch'üan Pu T'ung Chih* by K. Tomita in *Ancient Chinese Paper Money as described in a Chinese Work on Numismatics* (*Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, June, 1918). The paper bears the name of Andrew McF. Davis, who furnished the introductory notes. The major part of *Chinese Painters: a Critical Study* (New York, Brentano's, 1920), by the late Raphael Petrucci, is devoted to a brief but excellent historical survey of that branch of Chinese art. Volumes II. and III. of *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale, l'Inde, l'Asie Centrale, l'Extrême Orient*, published by the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, Leroux, 1916, 1919), contain some valuable papers. In that long line of excellent publications of the Catholic Mission Press of Shanghai, the *Variétés Sinologiques*,⁶ there has recently appeared as no. 52, *Mélanges sur la Chronologie Chinoise*, a work which will prove indispensable to Western students of Chinese history, especially to those wanting the European equivalents to Chinese dates.

⁶ I. "Notes concernant la Chronologie Chinoise", par les PP. Havret et Chambeau, S. J.; II. "Prolégomènes à la Concordance Néménique", par le P. Hoang (Shanghai, 1920).

The most prolific present-day writer on the older China is Dr. Berthold Laufer, of the Field Museum of Natural History. It is a sad commentary on the state of American interest in Chinese scholarship that the work of Dr. Laufer, who is without much question one of the greatest Chinese archaeologists that our generation has seen and probably the most learned of living sinologues, should be so little known in this country. It is, however, gratifying to know that he is here, that a few discriminating Americans have had the wisdom to make possible his services, and that he has gathered and placed on exhibition a collection which shows, as probably does no other, the life of China through its long centuries. A mere list of those of Dr. Laufer's monographs, long and short, which have been published in the past seven years is impressive, especially if one realizes how excellent they all are, and that a large proportion of the author's time is of necessity spent in arranging and caring for the collection. In his *Chinese Clay Figures*, part I., *Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armour* (Chicago, 1914), he attempts in 242 pages to show, especially from clay figures from Shensi and Honan, that plate armor had its origin in Western Asia. *The Diamond, a Study in Chinese and Hellenistic Folk-Lore* (Chicago, 1915), displays something of the breath of Dr. Laufer's learning, and illustrates the value of comparing cultures as apparently widely separated as were those of Greece and China. In his *The Beginnings of Porcelain in China* (Chicago, 1917) Dr. Laufer traces the production of that characteristically Chinese product from the first gropings after porcelaneous ware in the second and third centuries after Christ to the appearance of the first true porcelain in the seventh century. His latest long contribution, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization of Ancient Iran* (Chicago, 1919), gives in 450 pages some of the information on the culture of ancient Iran which is to be obtained from Chinese sources and, by no means incidentally, sheds much light on the civilization and the language of the older China and on the commerce that connected it across Central Asia with the outposts of Indian, Near Eastern, and Occidental peoples. The volume treats of one hundred and thirty-five different objects, most of them plants or derived from plants, which were either taken from Iran to China or were known by the Chinese to be found in Iran. The time covered is about a millennium and a half, beginning in the second century before Christ with the trip to the West of the redoubtable Han general Chang Ch'ien and closing with the Mongol

(Yüan) Period in the fourteenth century. Sharp issue is taken on some points with such a veteran sinologue as Professor Hirth. While confirming, for instance, the story which declares the first knowledge of wine and the cultivated vine to have been obtained by the Chinese from Central Asia through Chang Ch'ien in the second century B.C., Dr. Laufer roundly denies that the Chinese name for the grape, *p'u t'ao*, is derived from the Greek *βότρυς*. To attempt to add to this list of monographs that of the articles which have come from the pen of Dr. Laufer in the past seven years would prolong this article to too great length. We may expect many other and even more notable works from him in the course of the next twenty years.

On the earlier foreign intercourse with China three notable works have appeared in the period we have under review: Professor P. Y. Saeki's *The Nestorian Monument in China* (London, 1916), the revised edition of Colonel Henry Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, by Henri Cordier (London, Hakluyt Society, 1913-1916, 4 vols.), and John F. Baddeley's *Russia, Mongolia, China, being some Record of the Relations between them from the beginning of the XVII. Century to the Death of the Tsar Alexei Mikhailovitch* (London, Macmillan, 1919, 2 vols.). Professor Saeki's work not only reproduces the text of the famous monument and gives us a fresh translation of it, but provides us with many interesting notes, and discloses more clearly than has previously been done the co-operation of Buddhists and the early Nestorians and the use by the latter of many Buddhist terms. The new edition of Yule's famous work brings the notes down to date and adds enough to our knowledge to cause the edition definitely to supersede the earlier one. It has been supplemented by an additional volume of notes by M. Cordier⁷ which adds definitely to the value of the work. The sumptuous volumes by Mr. Baddeley are made up chiefly of early maps of northern Asia and of narratives of envoys sent by the czars, or their representatives in Siberia, to the Kalmuk and Mongol princes and to the emperors of China.

The works on China during the nineteenth and particularly during the twentieth century are, as might be expected, numerous. E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland add to their *China under the Empress Dowager* a volume called *Annals and Memoirs*

⁷ Henri Cordier, *Ser Marco Polo: Notes and Addenda to Sir Henry Yule's Edition, containing the Results of Recent Research and Discovery* (New York, Scribners, 1920).

of the Court of Peking (Boston, 1914), a kind of chamber of horrors and narrative of palace intrigues covering various periods from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. J. O. P. Bland also gives us in the *Makers of the Nineteenth Century* series a biography of Li Hung Chang (London and New York, 1917) which is no more readable but is infinitely more reliable than the spurious *Memoirs of Li Hung Chang* which appeared in 1913. Bishop J. W. Bashford, in *China, an Interpretation* (Abingdon Press, New York, 1916), produced a volume which covered a wide variety of topics, historical and other, and which, while largely the result of wide reading in the works of others, and while not making any unique or particularly striking contribution to our knowledge, is still in part the product of extensive travel and excellent opportunities for observation, throws much valuable light upon the earlier years of the republic, and presents an interesting and constructive point of view. A really noteworthy work, and one which must long remain of standard quality for reference purposes, is Hosea Ballou Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, volumes II. and III. (London, 1918). The first volume appeared in 1910 and covered the years from 1834 to 1860. The last two volumes bring the story down to the republic (1911). The author, an American by birth, and a graduate of Harvard, was for many years a member of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, and has already produced such valuable works as *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*,⁸ *The Currency of China*, and *The Gilds of China*. He has been in retirement for over ten years and has devoted much of his time to the two volumes which have so recently appeared. Coming from a member of the customs staff they have much to say of that remarkable piece of administrative machinery which was built up by Sir Robert Hart. They devote most of their space to the official relations of China with other powers and have only incidentally to do with the other phases of her contact with the Occident. Even within their chosen field they do not tell the entire story and have by no means spoken the last or the fullest word on their subject. They are, however, of very great value and the historical world is much indebted to their author for them. When the history of Western intercourse with China is written as it should be, Mr. Morse's volumes will be superseded, but they will, in the meantime, have proved invaluable to the authors of the volumes that will

⁸ The third revised edition of the book has appeared, published in London by Longmans, in 1921.

have supplanted them. Another noteworthy work just appearing is by John V. A. MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China, 1894-1919* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1921, 2 vols.). The publication of these two large volumes has been made possible by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Nothing nearly so full has appeared for the years covered, and all students of China and foreign relations owe a debt of gratitude to this member of our diplomatic service and will look forward eagerly to other books by him.

The missionary enterprise, which is so important a phase of Western intercourse with China, gives rise to a constant stream of literature. Most of this, while valuable source-material, is not historical in its purpose. Some excellent volumes of biography and history have recently been produced, however, and cannot be ignored by the student who would understand the China of the past sixty years. The most important of these are Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China* (New York, 1916), the autobiography of a remarkable man who touched Chinese life effectively and beneficently from many angles; Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission* (Philadelphia and Toronto, 1915), a sympathetic, interesting, and careful account of the first fifty years of the organization which made it its business to form the vanguard of Protestantism in China and which maintains the largest body of missionaries of any Protestant agency at work in China; and Dr. and Mrs. Howard Taylor's *Life of Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission* (London, 1919), a biography of the founder of the China Inland Mission, which is accurate, but which is rather too detailed for the general reader, and is pervaded by what will seem to many an exaggerated and obtrusive piety. It is fitting that Hudson Taylor's work should be well commemorated. No other leader has so profoundly affected Protestant missions in China, and this is all the more remarkable when one remembers that during much of his life Dr. Taylor was an invalid or semi-invalid, and that the organization which he founded, while it eventually supported more missionaries than any other single Christian body operating in China, was undenominational and so did not have the support of any previously existing religious group. The fact that to many Dr. Taylor's outlook on life will seem to be that of a decidedly narrow evangelical, should never blind the historian to the magnitude of his achievement. Few Westerners have so profoundly influenced China.

Of the many volumes which have appeared on recent events only a few deserve the careful attention of the serious historian. Stanley K. Hornbeck, in his *Contemporary Politics in the Far East* (New York, 1916), has given us one of our best and fairest accounts of events in China during the five years that preceded the publication of his volume. His interpretations are clear and usually sound and his documents and other materials are well chosen. The views of Thomas F. Millard, the energetic editor of the weekly review which bears his name, are well known. One expects, then, that in his volumes there will be nothing which can be justly accused of being pro-Japanese, and one is not surprised to find that his two latest volumes, *Our Eastern Question* (New York, Century Company, 1916), and *Democracy and the Eastern Question* (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1919), are very frankly declamatory against the Island Empire. They are, moreover, written in a style which is not easy reading and are too largely made up of quotations culled with a partizan purpose. In spite of these defects the volumes are not without a certain value and as illustrations of a particular point of view must long be important as source-material. B. L. Putnam Weale can also never be accused of being unbiased. Like those of Millard, his works are controversial and journalistic and are not to be regarded as judicially and carefully written history. Also like Millard's books, however, they derive a certain value from their documents and from their author's intimate knowledge of Chinese political and diplomatic events. Consequently *The Fight for the Republic in China* (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1917), and *The Truth about China and Japan* (*ibid.*, 1919), deserve the reading of all historians interested in the Far East for the light they throw both on events and on the opinions of Europeans and Americans who are resident in China. W. Reginald Wheeler's *China and the World War* (Macmillan, 1918), while not nearly as large as these other volumes, is the fairest and clearest account of the period which it covers. No better in its general tone than Dr. Hornbeck's volume, it brings the story more nearly down to the present day. It will be superseded as our knowledge of the events it narrates becomes fuller, but it is at present our best brief guide through the maze of the war years in China.

One cannot close a survey of this nature without expressing a wish that Western and especially American historians would give more attention to China. Here is a fifth of the human race,

whose future is closely tied up with that of the rest of the world and for whose past there are excellent records for at least three thousand years, fuller, probably, than are those of any other section of mankind for a similar period. Yet, while much excellent work has been done, China's history is a field comparatively untouched by scholars trained in modern methods. Here are a need and an opportunity, and it is to be hoped that such work as has appeared in the past seven years will prove an additional stimulus to Occidental scholars to delve more extensively into China's past, both remote and recent, and to help to interpret it to the Chinese and to the world.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE.

CHINESE HISTORICAL SOURCES

THE Chinese have the longest and most continuous historical records of any existing nation. Possibly the ancient Egyptians might once have rivalled them, but certainly no other people, ancient or modern. From the sixth century before Christ until the present time, historical records of unsurpassed completeness tell the story of the greatest civilization of Asia.

China might very properly be called the paradise of the historian, since for ages the leadership of the empire has been in the hands of men deeply grounded in the history of their country. Confucius (born B.C. 551) edited the Book of History (*Shu Ching*), one of the five classics, covering the period from the twenty-fourth to the eighth centuries B.C.¹ and himself wrote the Spring and Autumn Annals (*Ch'un Ch'iu*), another of the five classics, which details the principal events of his native state, Lu, from 722 to 484 B.C.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien (born B.C. 145), the father of Chinese history in the modern sense, wrote the Historical Record (*Shih Chi*) covering the history of China from the earliest recorded times down to 122 B.C., a period of more than three thousand years.² This work has been the model for all subsequent official histories of the Chinese dynasties, of which there are twenty-four, including the Historical Record of Ssu-ma Ch'ien. The Dynastic Histories, properly so called, begin with the Book of the Former Han by

¹ The Book of History has been translated into English three times. The first translation, by W. H. Medhurst, was published in Shanghai in 1846; the second, by Dr. James Legge, was published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1878. These two translations give also the original text in Chinese characters. The third translation, by Walter G. Old, was completed in 1878. It was reprinted later by John Lane (New York) and Murray (London).

There is also a French translation entitled *Le Chou-king*, etc., by Father Gaubil, revised and corrected by De Guignes, and published in Paris in 1720.

Dr. Legge's translation contains in the prolegomena a translation of the Annals of the Bamboo Books, an ancient record covering the period from the oldest times down to B.C. 299.

² The *Shih Chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien has been translated by the famous sinologist E. Chavannes, under the title *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, traduits et annotés par Édouard Chavannes, and published at Paris by Ernest Leroux. Of the one hundred and thirty chapters, vols. I.-V., 1891-1905, with 3052 pages in all, covers chs. I.-XLVII.

Pan Ku (completed after his death by his gifted sister, Pan Chao), covering the period from B.C. 206 to A.D. 24.

The last of the twenty-four official Dynastic Histories to be issued was the Ming History (*Ming Shih*) by Chang Ting-yü covering the period from 1368 to 1643 A.D., and submitted to the emperor in 1742, just a century after the fall of the Ming dynasty. Five years later, in 1747, the Twenty-Four Dynastic Histories of China were issued in an uniform series of which Professor Herbert Giles in his *History of Chinese Literature* says they "show a record such as can be produced by no other country in the world".

Several other uniform series of the Dynastic Histories were issued before this. During the Ming dynasty the Twenty-One Dynastic Histories were published and still may be purchased in China.

The Twenty-Four Dynastic Histories have been reprinted in photographic facsimile by the Commercial Press, at Shanghai, and so are obtainable without difficulty. This reprint is bound in 711 volumes of the Chinese style.

The Dynastic Histories are very voluminous and are rather historical material than histories in the Western sense. They contain, in addition to a vast number of documents, biographies of famous men and even notices of famous books published during each dynasty.³

It is a noteworthy proof of the stability of the civilization of the Chinese and their high regard for historical accuracy that official censors have for ages commented freely on every action of the emperor and of the great governing boards of the central government without any fear of punishment. These censors'

³ A good idea of the character and arrangement of the matter contained in a dynastic history is given by Bretschneider's account of the *Yüan Shih* or official record of the Mongol dynasty in his *Mediaeval Researches*. This work, like Yule's famous edition of Marco Polo's travels (see full citations at the end of this article), gives a vivid picture of life in China at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. It should be noted that in many ways the contacts of Europeans with China were closer during the Yüan dynasty than at any time before or since. Regular trade routes existed between Europe and China frequented not only by merchants but by adventurers, missionaries, scholars, and envoys as well. The Mongol empire covered all eastern, central, and northern Asia and extended far into Europe; the emperors were always ready to take into their service talented Westerners such as Marco Polo. As a result of all this the Great Khans of Cathay loomed large in the minds of contemporary Europeans and their fame persisted long after the downfall of the Yüan dynasty, as witness the efforts of Columbus shortly after reaching the New World to send envoys to the Great Khan a full century and a quarter after the accession of the Ming emperors—in China!

records furnish a very necessary commentary on the official activities, and are religiously preserved for use when the dynastic history is written.

Still more interesting and significant is the fact that only after a dynasty falls is the official history compiled. Shortly after the fall of the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty ten years ago, Chao Erh-hsün, former viceroy of Manchuria, was appointed official historiographer of the Ch'ing dynasty. He is to-day, with a few chief assistants and about sixty good scholars, going over the censors' records and archives as well as the printed reports of the Manchu dynasty in order to prepare the *Ch'ing Shih* or Manchu Dynastic History. It was my privilege, by invitation of Chao Erh-hsün, to see at Peking in October, 1918, the scholars at work on this great history. Hundreds of volumes of the censors' records that formerly at the end of each year were carried off in state to the old Manchu capital at Mukden had been brought back to Peking and were piled on long tables. The volumes when opened often showed strips of paper covering up some or all of the lines or columns of characters. These strips were pasted down at the two ends only and could be lifted up, revealing the characters written underneath. I was told that such discreetly concealed passages contained adverse criticism of the emperor or powerful personages and were in this manner concealed from the chance gaze of any one accidentally seeing an open page of the book.

The last great Dynastic History to be finished, the *Ming Shih*, was ordered compiled in 1679, thirty-six years after the fall of the Ming dynasty. Fifty-eight scholars were appointed to compile it. It was not finished and laid before the emperor until sixty-three years later, in 1742. It is probable that the Dynastic History of the Manchu dynasty now being compiled will be finished more promptly. At any rate it is likely to be the last of its kind. It is devoutly to be hoped that the censors' records will be preserved for posterity. The censors have ceased to function under the republic. The fear of the verdict of the censors and of the dynastic history doubtless kept many a Chinese monarch from unjust and ill-considered acts.

Even the most cursory perusal of Chinese state documents and imperial edicts will show how powerful the pressure was to force conformity to the supposed lessons of history. The great reformer and innovator, Wang An-shih (1021-1086 A.D.), who lived during the Sung dynasty, was even accused by his enemies of having

published perverted commentaries on ancient history in order more easily to gain credence for his doctrines.

Besides the Dynastic Histories, Chinese bibliographers recognize fourteen other main classes and many subclasses of historical works. One of the most important of these classes is that of the Annals, of which the Spring and Autumn Classic of Confucius is a model. The most comprehensive and best known of these works is the Mirror of History, by Ssu-ma Kuang, who lived from 1019 to 1086 A.D., during the Sung dynasty. He published five works in all, of a very voluminous character, the main work covering Chinese history from the beginning of the fourth century B.C. to the middle of the tenth century A.D. The great critic and philosopher Chu Hsi and his pupils rearranged and condensed these works to fifty-nine books under the title *T'ung Chien Kang Mu*, and published it in 1172 A.D. Many subsequent editions and supplements of this work, which is still considered the standard history of China, have been published.⁴

Minor historical works are almost innumerable in China and it is no exaggeration to say that a strong historical sense pervades all branches of Chinese literature. As a striking example of this may be taken the official gazetteers that have attained in China a development unknown in other countries. China as a whole, and every province, every prefecture, and almost every district, has an official gazetteer. There are eighteen provinces in China proper, about 300 prefectures, and some 1700 districts. The provincial and prefectural gazetteers are often very voluminous works, and even the smallest official gazetteers, the *Hsien Chih*, or district annals, often contain ten to twenty or more books, frequently bound in as many volumes.

The gazetteers give maps, accounts of the topography, mountains, rivers, and other natural features of the region they cover, discuss the products and industries, and then give in much detail the history of the region, with notices of celebrated men and famous

⁴ The *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* of Ssu-ma Kuang as revised by Chu Hsi was translated into French by Father Mailla (Joseph Ann Marie de Moyriac de Mailla), a missionary at Peking from 1702 to 1748, and published at Paris by the Abbé Grosier, in thirteen quarto volumes, 1777-1778, under the title *Histoire Générale de la Chine ou Annales de cet Empire, traduits du Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*. The translation of the *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* (a late and supplemented edition running up to the end of the Yüan dynasty) occupies vols. I.-IX., a total of 5276 pages, including 200 pages of preface and introduction. No Chinese characters are given. An Italian translation, made from the French edition and entitled, *Storia Generale della Cina*, in 35 octavo volumes, was published at Siena, 1777-1781.

books they have written, and much other information, some of it often fantastic to our ears but very like the medieval European chronicles. Such gazetteers are usually rewritten every fifty or one hundred years and some have been revised as many as ten or twelve times. (The gazetteer of Kiangyin district, *Kiang Yin Hsien Chih*, was first published in 1194 A.D., and the fifteenth revision was issued in 1840. At least one, and possibly more additional revisions have been issued since.) These works, published locally, are of the greatest value in any detailed work on the history of any phase of Chinese civilization.

Besides the official gazetteers of administrative regions of various ranks, there are numerous unofficial gazetteers of mountains, islands, lakes, etc. I estimate that in all probably about 2500 different regions have been covered by gazetteers and that over 10,000 different revisions have been published during the past five hundred years, probably in at least 100,000 volumes.

Few people have any adequate idea of the great volume of Chinese printed books. Printing began in the sixth century A.D., but printed books did not supersede manuscripts until about the middle of the tenth century, about five hundred years before Gutenberg set up his printing-press. For five hundred years all the printed books in the world, and these were many and valuable, were issued in China. For three centuries, from 1450 A.D. to 1750 A.D., the books printed in China probably exceeded in number those issued by all the rest of the world taken together, and doubtless up to 1850 or even later more books were printed in China than in any other country in the world.

Very many works, some of them of the highest value, have been lost in China, and the rapid changes now in progress there make it probable that the next few decades will witness the loss of a large part of these books unless Western scholars awake to a realization of their value and by exhibiting intelligent interest in the great literary monuments of Chinese greatness bring the new leaders of China, the students with Western education, to appreciate more than they now do the priceless heritage of their country's past.

The very number, variety, and bulk of the Chinese historical records, as well as their inaccessibility and the difficulties in abstracting or translating them, have operated to prevent up to now the writing of good histories of China in foreign languages.

There are three noteworthy collections and several fairly good

smaller collections of Chinese books available to students in this country. The Newberry Library of Chicago contains a large and well-selected collection of Chinese books on history, religion, belles-lettres, etc. An equally large complementary collection of Chinese books on science, industries, arts, etc., is in the John Crerar Library of the same city. Both collections were purchased in China by Dr. Berthold Laufer, of the Field Museum of Chicago.

A still larger collection is found in the Library of Congress, where, thanks to generous donations by the Chinese government, and to systematic purchases made by Dr. Herbert Putnam during the last ten years, the collection is now in many fields the best outside of the Orient and in some few probably better than any outside of China. As a whole the collection is easily one of the two or three best to be found outside of the Orient. Historical works are richly represented and are being continually added. The collection of Dynastic Histories, of Annals, and of minor histories is very good, and the biographical works are without a rival in Western countries. The collection of gazetteers is so large that it would be noteworthy even in China, and probably exceeds any single collection to be found outside of China.

The Library of Congress collection is particularly rich in historical works and encyclopedias printed during the second half of the Ming dynasty. These are of great interest because they give the Chinese records of the advent of Europeans by the sea route, initiated by the arrival of the Portuguese off the coast of South China in 1517.

Besides the great collections of Chinese books in the Library of Congress at Washington and in the Newberry and John Crerar libraries of Chicago, there is a large Chinese library in the University of California at Berkeley, and a fair-sized one in Columbia University, New York City. The New York Public Library has James Legge's Chinese library, and the American Museum of Natural History in the same city has a small but select collection. Yale University has a collection of Chinese works filed with the Far-Eastern books, and the University of Pennsylvania a small collection of Chinese works, but not as yet adequately indexed. The Museum of Fine Arts at Boston has a very well-indexed collection of Chinese works on the fine arts.

The Chinese civilization is the oldest existing in the world and unlike the European it has had no dark ages. Because of the high emphasis placed on the family institutions by the Chinese law

and custom and because the examination system opened the door to talent wherever found, there being no hereditary aristocracy to monopolize the higher offices, the Chinese state was practically permanent. China has been a great experimental laboratory in governmental and sociological methods. Well-read Chinese scholars can usually cite from the rich store of Chinese history the results of carefully conducted and well-recorded trials of most of our modern political and sociological prescriptions.

It should be said that the help of the old scholars steeped in the lore of ancient China is indispensable to a correct understanding of Chinese literature, which, because of the wealth of historical and mythological allusions, is often difficult for a Western scholar to read. The abolition of the old-style examination system in 1906 cut off the supply of these old scholars, so it is to be hoped that Western investigators will, before it is too late, arrange to co-operate with their Chinese colleagues in an attempt to render available to the whole world the vast stores of human experience now locked up in the literature and traditions of China.

There can be no doubt that the West has as much to learn from China as it has to give to China. By the accident of position America is China's next-door neighbor—the Pacific Ocean is no longer a barrier but rather a gateway to China. All competent observers agree that our relations with the Far East are bound to become increasingly important in the near future. Should not then the scholars of this country instead of being far behind their colleagues of Europe in their knowledge of China and her neighbors, take their proper place as the leaders in the world history of the future, which can no longer ignore any country or any race?

WALTER T. SWINGLE.

APPENDIX

As a guide to the principal historical works on China, both native and foreign, the following books, in addition to those cited above in foot-notes, will be found useful:

Alexander Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, second ed. (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1902, pp. xxxix, 307). Brief notices of some two thousand Chinese books. Titles given also in Chinese characters. Written 1867. In the introduction, pp. 24-37, is an annotated list of 141 translations from Chinese into European languages, up to 1867.

William F. Mayers, *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, reprint from ed. of 1874 (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1910, pp. xvi, 444). Brief notices of the lives of about 900 of the chief personages of China. Names given in Chinese characters.

Herbert A. Giles, *Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (London, Quaritch, 1898, pp. xii, 1022). Biographical sketches of 2379 famous Chinese historical or mythological personages. Names given in Chinese characters.

Herbert A. Giles, *A History of Chinese Literature* (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1901, pp. viii, 448). Notes and short translations from a few hundred of the chief Chinese works. No Chinese characters.

Friedrich Hirth, *The Ancient History of China to the End of the Ch'ou Dynasty* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1908, pp. xx, 383). Perhaps the most scholarly history of China yet published. Cites Western authorities but not Chinese. Based largely on the texts reprinted in the *Yi Shih* by Ma Su, first published in 1670 A.D., covering Chinese history down to B.C. 206.

Emil Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, etc. (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., reprinted, 1910, 2 vols., pp. xii, 334; x, 352). This is a reprint, with some additions, of the three papers following: I. "Notes on Chinese Mediaeval Travelers to the West", *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. V., nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, and vol. VI., nos. 1 and 2, August 1874–April 1875. Also reprinted, without change (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Press, 1875, pp. iii, 130). II. "Notes on the Mediaeval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia, drawn from Chinese and Mongol Writings and compared with Observations of Western Authors in the Middle Ages", *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, vol. X., pp. 75–307. III. "Chinese Intercourse with the Countries of Central and Western Asia during the Fifteenth Century", *China Review*, Hongkong, vols. IV, and V., 101 pages in all. The best account yet published of the Chinese historical materials relating to the Yüan dynasty. The three original papers give Chinese characters for place and personal names, but these characters are omitted in *Mediaeval Researches*.

Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*. Third edition, revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier (London, John Murray, 1903, 2 vols., 1392 pages in all, 164 text cuts, 53 plates and maps). The best book on China yet published in English, replete with illuminating notes on all matters cognate to Marco Polo's journeys. (Marco Polo left Venice in 1271 and returned to Genoa a prisoner in 1298.)

Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither, being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*. New edition, revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, series II., nos. 33, 37, 38, 41.] (London, Hakluyt Society, 4 vols., 1379 pages in all, 8 text cuts, 7 plates and maps.) An admirable complement to Yule's *magnum opus* on Marco Polo.

Henri Cordier, *Ser Marco Polo: Notes and Addenda to Sir Henry Yule's Edition, containing the Results of Recent Research and Discovery* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, pp. x, 161). Supplements the *Book of Marco Polo*.

Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica, Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire Chinois*, second ed. (Paris, E. Guilmoto, 1904–1908, 4 vols., with a total of 1654 pp. Cites titles of books and papers about China up to date of publication.

Henri Cordier, *Histoire Générale de la Chine et de ses Relations avec les Pays Étrangers depuis les Temps les plus anciens jusqu'à la Chute de la Dynastie Mandchoue* (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1920, vols. I., II., III., pp. 374, 334, 428; the fourth and last volume is to appear in 1921). The latest and best general history of China. No Chinese characters are used.

Li Ung Bing, *Outlines of Chinese History* (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1914, pp. iv, 664, 20). History of China in English written by a Chinese. Gives the modern "Young Chinese" and often prejudiced view of Chinese history. Chinese characters are given for the names of men and places. Many interesting facts given here are found in no other European language history of China.

Kenneth S. Latourette, *The Development of China* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917, pp. xii, 274). A select bibliography of works on China, chiefly in English, is given on pp. 261-267.

Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran* [Publication no. 201, Field Museum of Natural History (Anthropological Series, vol. XV., no. 3)]. (Chicago, 1919, pp. iv, 446). A critical historical monograph in the best spirit of modern scholarship. The introduction and the copious foot-notes cite most of the historical researches on China that have appeared since the publication of Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*. Chinese characters used freely.

Léon Wieger, *La Chine à travers les Ages, Hommes et Choses* (Chihli, China, Sienhsien; Paris, A Challamel, 1920, pp. 548). An epitome of Chinese history, with many paragraphs translated from Chinese authors of all the dynasties. The learned Jesuit author, a doctor of medicine, has previously published studies on the two great religions of China, taoism and buddhism. The value of this work is greatly enhanced by a biographical index giving very brief notices of about 4500 names and a bibliographical index of about 1000 Chinese works. Chinese characters are used freely.

DOCUMENTS

Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, I.

MR. ABEL DOYSIÉ, searching Paris archives under the general direction of Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was so fortunate as to discover the following journal in the archives of the Service Hydrographique de la Marine,¹ and, immediately appreciating its interest and importance, has placed it at the disposal of the *Review*. The manuscript consists of 79 unnumbered pages. Of these, the first 54 are a journal, in English, extending from December 4, 1764, to September 7, 1765. Page 55 contains only a memorandum in French. Pages 56-62 inclusive present, in French, a close equivalent of the English narrative through March 14, 1765. Pages 63-69 are a discussion, in French, of the American towns, especially Norfolk, Philadelphia, and New York, of their defenses, and of the degree of ease with which they might be attacked. Pages 70-79, not here printed, contain a series of comments, article by article, by the same writer, on someone's plans for the conquest of Jamaica from the English.

The writer was a Catholic, and apparently a Frenchman, indeed apparently an agent of the French government; but all efforts to identify him, both by careful investigations in the French archives and by consultation of books and manuscripts in this country, have thus far been unsuccessful, except that it has been demonstrated, from evidence in the French archives, that he was not M. de Pontleroy, whom Choiseul sent over to inspect the colonies in 1764. He seems to use English and French with nearly equal freedom, at any rate spells both about equally well. The manuscript is in the same hand throughout, with the same peculiarities of execution, such as the almost constant capitalizing of C, D, and E. But it appears that the journal we have was not the first manuscript, but is the result of subsequent copying. The installment now printed divides at the crossing of the Potomac. The journey to Annapolis, Philadelphia, and New York will be presented in the second installment, together with the notes on defenses.

While the remarks of this observant traveller have at many

¹ Vol. 76, no. 2.

points a considerable value, and are not unfairly to be compared to those of Burnaby, Anburey, and Lord Adam Gordon, the most interesting single matter in the journal is the writer's eye-witness account of the debate in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, May 30 and 31, 1765, on Patrick Henry's resolutions against the Stamp Act, and especially interesting is the writer's version of the celebrated passage in Henry's speech in which he made his interrupted comparison of George III. with Caesar and Charles I. It is a remarkable chance that further information respecting that debate should come to light, after this distance of time, from a source so unexpected.

It may be of interest to set forth the basis of our existing knowledge concerning that oft-quoted passage in Henry's speech. The first published account occurs in a private letter from Virginia, dated June 21, apparently not written by an eye-witness, which was published in extract in the *London Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, no. 11,363, Aug. 13, and was thence reprinted in *The General Advertiser for the New York Thursday's Gazette*, no. 1191, Oct. 31, 1765.² This anonymous writer says:

Mr. ——— has lately blazed out in the Assembly, where he compared ——— to a Tarquin, a Caesar, a Charles the First, threatening him with a Brutus, or an Oliver Cromwell; yet Mr. ——— was not sent to the Tower: but having prevailed to get some ridiculous violent Resolves passed, rode off in triumph, some of which Resolves were passed one day, and erased the next; and the G——, advised by the Council, thought proper to dissolve the Assembly.

The first statement published in any book seems to have been that of Gordon, who says,³ "Upon reading these resolves [he no doubt means, upon the reading of these resolves] the Scotch gentlemen in the House cried out treason, etc. They were however adopted." John Burk, in the third volume of his *History of Virginia* (Petersburg, 1805),⁴ reports the passage more fully, thus: "'Caesar', said he, 'had his Brutus, Charles his Cromwell, and (pausing) George the third (here a cry of treason, treason, was heard, supposed to issue from the chair, but with admirable presence of mind he proceeded) may profit by their examples. Sir, if this be treason,' continued he, 'make the most of it.'" But Burk also purports to give, as a quotation, an extended sketch of the

² The librarian of Yale College, Mr. Andrew Keogh, kindly favored the editor with a transcript of the article, from the New York newspaper preserved in that library. The *London Gazetteer*, since examined, reads the same. The matter of the resolves, to which the writer alludes, is discussed in note 84, below.

³ *History of the Rise, etc.* (London, 1788), I. 170.

⁴ Page 309.

speech, certainly apocryphal, and his account of the resolutions is so erroneous as to allow little authority to his narrative.

The classical account is that which was next published, namely, by William Wirt, in his *Life of Patrick Henry*. It runs as follows:⁵

It was in the midst of this magnificent debate, while he was descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious act, that he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, and with the look of a god, "Caesar had his Brutus — Charles the first, his Cromwell, and George the third — ('Treason!' cried the speaker — 'treason, treason', echoed from every part of the house. It was one of those trying moments which is decisive of character. Henry faltered not an instant; but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis) — *may profit by their example*. If *this* be treason, make the most of it."

To this passage in his text, Wirt annexes the following footnote:

I had frequently heard the above anecdote of the cry of treason, but with such variations of the concluding words, that I began to doubt whether the whole might not be fiction. With a view to ascertain the truth, therefore, I submitted it to Mr. Jefferson, as it had been given to me by Judge Tyler, and this is his answer. "I well remember the cry of treason, the pause of Mr. Henry at the name of George III., and the presence of mind with which he closed his sentence, and baffled the charge vociferated." The incident, therefore, becomes authentic history.

Wirt's account is therefore given on the joint authority of John Tyler the elder and of Thomas Jefferson, both of whom heard the speech, standing side by side in the doorway between the house and the lobby,⁶ the former a youth of eighteen, the latter of twenty-three. Jefferson in his autobiography refers to this account by Wirt for the details of the matter.⁷ Apparently the account of these two eye-witnesses is confirmed in a manuscript letter to Wirt, by Paul Carrington, who also was an eye-witness, indeed a member of the house.⁸

Early in the nineteenth century Edmund Randolph (d. 1813) wrote a *History of Virginia*, which still remains in manuscript, in which he reports the language of the orator thus: "'Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First, his Cromwell, and George the Third'—'Treason, Sir,' exclaimed the Speaker; to which Mr.

⁵ I quote from the second edition (Philadelphia, 1818), p. 65, but I believe all editions read the same.

⁶ Jefferson, *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX. 468.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 6. Wirt says that the speech given by Burk is apocryphal, and that he himself "has not been able to procure a single authentic trace of that speech, except the anecdote presently given in the text." *Patrick Henry*, p. 64.

⁸ *Henry's Henry*, I. 86.

Henry instantly replied, 'and George the Third, may he never have either.'" ⁹ But Randolph of course did not hear the speech, and was indeed but a boy of twelve when it was made.

Governor Fauquier's letter to the Lords of Trade, June 5, 1765,¹⁰ gives an account of the discussions, mentioning Henry, but not quoting. Commissary William Robinson, writing to the Bishop of London on August 12, 1765,¹¹ says of Henry, "He blazed out in a violent speech against the Authority of parliament and the King, comparing his Majesty to a Tarquin, a Caesar, and a Charles the First, and not sparing insinuations that he wished another Cromwell would arise." The mention of Tarquin and his Brutus, both in this letter of 1765 and in that which was printed in the London newspaper of that year, seems to show that they were included in Henry's comparison, though not remembered by Tyler and Jefferson.¹²

A photograph of the whole manuscript is in the office of the *Review*.

Xbre¹³ the 4th 1764.

Decbre 4. Sail'd from Tiberoon¹⁴ for Jamaica with pasqual to whom I was Obliged to give Six and thirty pistoles.¹⁵

Dec. 6. met with a Droguer of Bul Bay¹⁶ that Caryed myself and bagage to Kingston for three pistoles.

7th. arived at Kingston and took lodgeings at the widow Breons for a pistole a week.

Jany. 24, 1765. Sailed from port Royal In a sloop bound to Charles-town S. Carolina and to touch at the havana.

25. the west End¹⁷ bore N W b N Dist about 10 leagues.

26. Do. bore E B N Dist about 10 leagues, lost sight thereof and steard about N W until the 30th at Sunset had sight of Cape Corientes.¹⁸

31st. at 3 afternoon Cape Corientes bore N B E Dist 3 miles, at 4 made the land tending away to Cape St. antonio,¹⁹ at 11sd. Cape bore

⁹ L. G. Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, I. 56; M. C. Tyler, *Patrick Henry*, p. 65.

¹⁰ Printed in Alexander H. Everett's life of Patrick Henry, Sparks's *American Biography*, second ser., I. 391-392; transcript in Lib. Cong., from C. O. 5: 1331, p. 70.

¹¹ Perry, *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Virginia*, p. 514.

¹² "Tarquin and Caesar had each his Brutus", is the version given by George Bancroft, *History*, V. 277 (of original edition).

¹³ December.

¹⁴ At the southwestern extremity of Haiti.

¹⁵ A pistole was at that time about equivalent to four dollars.

¹⁶ Buff Bay is meant, a small place on the north coast of Jamaica. A drogher was a West Indian coasting vessel.

¹⁷ Of Jamaica.

¹⁸ The south cape of western Cuba.

¹⁹ The westernmost cape of Cuba.

north Dist about 6 miles; both the Capes are low and flat having no remarkable Elevated lands about them, but some scattering trees.

Feb'y. the 1st. at noon Cape St. antonio Bore S S E and the shoals to the Northward of the Cape N. W.

2d. at Day light began to discover the high lands to the Eastward of Cape St. antonio. at 8 in the m'g the wind Came to N N W in a squal and imadiately to N N E, a very hard gale and rain, we stood of[f] shore with Doublle reefd m. and f. s.²⁰

the 3d. at 4 in the m'g Stood in Shore, the Sea very high blows hard. at noon had Sight of the land, which is high, at 3 Ev'g Stood of. the weather so thick and Dirty, Did not Judge safe to Keep in with the land.

the 4th. at 2 in the m'g Stood in shore until Day light. Saw the land, then Stood of. blows very hard. wind at N. E. under a Double reefd M. S. and Jib. at 6 in the E'g handed the Jib.

the 5th. the wind East stood in for the land at 2 in the m'g; at noon the weather Clear, had sight of the high land over porta porcas.²¹ Continued to run in with the land until we Discovered a ledge of rocks which stretch to the N. E. of portaporcas, about a league of the land. at 5 Stood of shore.

Feb'y the 6, 1765. at three in the m'g Stood in shore. wind N E. at 11 made the land which was high and Cuts the Curents set very strong to windward. at 5 Ev'g Stood of, a very hard gale and high Sea.

the 7th. Stood of all night under a double reefd m. s. at 4 m'g Stood in shore under the same Sail, at 4 Ev'g saw the aforementioned high lands. we wore and lay of. the sea Excessive rough. the vessel began to take Considerably, at 10 she Strained so Much we handed the main s. and set her tribble reefd f. s.

the 8th. at 4 m'g the f. s. split in the midle from head to foot. Set the Balanced²² m. s. wind at E B N very hard indeed, head to the northward. all hands to mending the F. S. and the pump Continually a going.

the 9th. wind at East very hard. Stood in shore at m'g. at 9 bent f. s. towards Noon the weather Cleard up. Saw the land and observed 23d. 7. North latitude. the wind at E S E prety Moderate. stood of and on all night.

the 10th. at 8 m'g Saw the Bay of hunda²³ which seems to have a fine Entry. the Curents set to windward very strong. at 3 Ev'g were a brest of La Cavagnos²⁴ which seems also to have a fare Entrance. litle winds. plying to windward all night. saw several fires on shore.

the 11th. at Day light were abrest of La Maria²⁵ out of which Came several small Craft loaded with timber for the King. the wind Comeing to the Southward, at 10 m'g we had sight of the moro Castle.²⁶ at 1 Ev'g Came to an anchor after the usual seremonys of sending the Boat on

²⁰ Mainsail and foresail.

²¹ The harbor at the mouth of Rio de Puercos, some twenty miles west of Bahia Honda.

²² Meaning, apparently, balance-reefed.

²³ Bahia Honda.

²⁴ Cabañas.

²⁵ Mariel.

²⁶ Off the entrance of Havana harbor.

shore to the fort which kept us a long time; this is one of the finest harbours in the world, the moro Castle stands on a rock on the larbord side going in and the punto²⁷ oposite to it on the starbord side. the Entrance is a long neck in which two ships Can not go abreast.²⁸ when past this neck the harbour Extends itself to the right and left to hold any number of shiping of any size. ships of 900 tuns load and unload alongside the wharf. there were two 84 gun ships read[y] to launch in the Dock.²⁹ they have a very fine sawmil in which they work 24 saws at the same time, they also [have] great quantitys of timber Such as mahogony and Sedar, of the last they build all their ships. the Soil of this Island is Extremely rich and fertil but the inhabitants are too Indlent to reap the benefit therof. the town is large and regular, ful of inhabitants, the Climate is the healthiest of the west India Islands.

general oReily seems to have made other men of the spaniards here than they naturally are,³⁰ there was a general review of both regulars and militia which Could not be Distinguished one from the other, so well did the militia go thorough the Exercise. there was in all five thousand men under arms of which two thousand were regulars.

there is seventy thousand Chests of shugar made on this Island which Contain a thousd. weight Each, great quantitys of snuf, they have the finest fruit and green market here in any part of the west Indias.

this City is about two miles in circumference and Contains about 26 thousand inhabitants, the particular Commerce of the Island Consists in shugar, snuf, hides (which are rekoned very good), ginger, aloes, saseparila, tortiss shel, and pearl which they have from other Islands; as to its general Commerce it is the rendezvous for all the ships, particularly from portobelo and la Vera Cruz, which return into Spain from the Indias so that there is frequently a good number of shiping in this port. while they ride here there is a fair kept on shore where they trade for imense sums; while the fleet is in the Bay provisons are very Dear on shore and mony so plenty that nothing Else is seen in the Streets hardly. the fleet sails generaly from hence thourough the Channel of bahama in the month of september and is the richest in the world. the smalpox took my negroe servant here which obliges to leave him in Charge with Doctor Grahame, and hjer a white servant whom general oreily had Discharged From his service.

Saturday March the 2d, 1765. Sailed from the havana at noon. wind South, weather thick and heavy, stearing N E haveing a pilot on bord, we took at this place.

²⁷ Punta del Castillo.

²⁸ The Spaniards in June, 1762, at the opening of the siege by Albemarle and Pocock, blocked the entrance by sinking three vessels there. Keppel's *Keppel*, I. 365; Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*, VII. 51.

²⁹ Probably the *Trinidad y San José*, 112, and the *San Rafael*, 80, partly destroyed on the stocks by the British at the end of their occupation (August, 1762–July, 1763) but rebuilt. Fernández Duro, VII. 114–118; Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, III. 257, 315.

³⁰ On the evacuation by the English in July, 1763, the Conde de Ricla became governor-general, with Don Alejandro O'Reilly as second in command and inspector-general. An account of O'Reilly's prompt and effective reorganization of the military is given in Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba*, III. 19–24.

Sund. 3d. at 6 this m'g had sight of the saw hill³¹ to the Eastwd of the havana; the Eastermost part therof Bore South, Distance from the land about 8 leagues.

Mondy. 4th. at Daylight no land in sight. at noon light northerly winds. tacked to the westward.

tuesday 5th. light winds. at 4 Ev'g made the land about Cape florida.³² at 6 put about, wind N Easterly.

wednesday 6th. wind N westerly. set all sail. at 6 Ev'g made the Isac rocks³³ bareing E B S about 3 leagues Dist. at 7 put about to the westward.

thursday 7th. at 6 m'g tacked. light winds and fare weather. at 9 Ev'g made the Isac rocks again. at 11 Ev'g the wind Comeing to the Eastward Crowded all sail.

fryday 8th. wind about E N E. stearing N B W. 6 Knots. a great Swel from the N. E.

Saturday 9th. light winds. saw a Sail standing to the southward. the Curents Set to the north about 60 miles in the 24 hours until we got past the providence³⁴ then 24 miles, and next day when I imagin we were out of Channel they were slack. at noon we observed 30.° 8' Latitude.

Sunday 10th. at 2 m'g Came to blow very hard at S. W. Dark thick weather. at 10 sounded seeing the water alterd but no grownd at 50 f.³⁵ we Expected to have fetched Georgia this Day where the Captn. promised me to put me on shore but we found the Curents set us far to the westward of the rekonig, and impossible to fetch it therefore made for Charlestown. this Day observed 32° 34' latitud which is that of Charlestown, by which we were certain we could not fetch this place, so Made for Cape fair.³⁶ at 6 Ev'g sound 16 f. water, Course sand. at 10, 13f., fine white sand with b[l]ack spots. blows Excessive hard at W.S.W. at 11 Ev'g 11 f., black sand with Isinglass, at 12 lay too under f. s.³⁷ head in shore.

monday 11th. at one m'g sounded 11fm. at 2 saw Brakers all round us. Sounded two ½ fm. wore imadiately and luckyly we did not touch. if we had we should have perished inevitably. we steard East of the shoals and were soon in 11f. water. From this wrun 24 miles N B E and observed 33° 53' latitude which shews we were on Cape fear shoals Commonly Called the Fryingpan being one of the most Dangerous on the Coast; it blows so hard obliged to lay too under a Balanced main S. and all hands to the pump. Drifted of to 17 f. water.

tuesday 12th. Continues to blow very [hard]. wind at N W. under a

³¹ Monteserrata?

³² At the southeast extremity of Florida.

³³ Great Isaac and Little Isaac are rocks at the northwest of the Bahamas, near Bemini, and about 70 miles northeast of Cape Florida.

³⁴ Meaning, past the Northwest Providence Strait. Lord Adam Gordon reports, November, 1764, "In latitude 28 deg. and 30 Min. lies the North end of the great Bahama Bank, and beyond that Latitude the current will hustle you both to the Eastward and Northward, Surprizingly." Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, p. 390.

³⁵ Fathoms.

³⁶ Cape Fear.

³⁷ Foresail.

Balanced M. S. Sounded at Diferent times From 17 to 21 fm. latitude obsd. $33^{\circ} 32'$ all this time out of Sight of land. at 10 Ev'g the wind began to modrate a litle. made sail to N N W. at 12 sounded 12 fm. at 1 m'g 10 fm. lay too head of shore.

wednesday 13th. at 5 m'g made sail. wind at S. W. smart breez. at 6 made the land, Distance about 4 leagues. all this coast is very low. at 8 were a brest of a place Call Beaufort. saw the Brakers on the bar³⁸ but not being acquainted we Continud to Cape lookout 12 miles farther; where we Came to an anchor at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11 very lookily, for at 12 it Came to blow as hard as Ever, and Continued so from S W to W N W.

this Bay is very safe, there is $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathom water at the Entrance and in the Bay. underneath is the figure and the right anchoring place.³⁹

you Keep the point on the right hand, on bord going in, and youl have $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathom water, fine sand.

there is a very Dangerous shoal of the Cape which tends away S W. about 20 miles.

it Continued to blow so hard the remainder of this Day and all thursday that we Could not go on shore.

friday 15th. Set out from the vessel with my servant and portmante on his Sholder. we walked 7 miles to where there were some whale fishers tents, and got one of them to Cary us over the Sound⁴⁰ in their boat to Beaufort, a Small vilage not above 12 houses, the inhabitants seem miserable, they are very lasy and Indolent, they live mostly on fish and oisters, which they have here in great plenty. this harbour is Calld topsail inlet or Cor sound. Non but small vessels Can come here there being but 13 feet water on the bar at low water. the tide does not rise above 4 feet. the litle trade that is Caryed on here Consists in terpentine. tar and pitch. the first is made by Chiping the bark of one side of the tree about 3 feet from the ground; near the rout therof they make a hole to recive the terpentine as it Distils out of the Chiped part, which is taken out with a leadle and put into barels made for that purpose which are to hold thirty one galons and one half weighing 322 pds. the Cask or barrel Included. [In margin: its said that one Negroe will tend 3000, which will rendr about 100 Barls. terperlin.] terpentine sels here now 8 sh'gs pr Bl. this Curency, which is Eequal to 7 ss. philadelphia Cur'y.⁴¹ terpintine is only made in the sumer time when the heat of the sun is suficient to force it out of the tree. when rain falls they are obliged to renew the inssision on the bark, otherwise the liquor would Not Distill from the tree.

there is also great quantitys of tarr and pitch raised in this part of the Country; indeed more than in any other part of america. tar requires

³⁸ The bar off Old Topsail Inlet. They seem to have anchored in a bay lying just inside Cape Lookout, on the west—"at Cape Lookout. . . . a small Harbour Landlocked from all Winds, and without it a very good road, the best and safest from the Capes of Virginia to Georgia". Governor Dobbs in 1762. *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VI. 608. The coast-line has since altered greatly, but in John Collet's map of North Carolina, 1770, it is shown precisely as in our traveller's sketch-map of his haven (see next note).

³⁹ A rough sketch-map follows in the manuscript.

⁴⁰ Core Sound.

⁴¹ More exactly, 8s. North Carolina currency (= one dollar) equalled 7s. 6d. Pennsylvania currency.

a more Considerable apparatus, and much greater trouble than terpentine; they prepare a circular floor of Clay, well simented, Declining a litle towards the Center in the form of an Iron sugar boyler, from the botom of this is laid a pipe of wood, the uper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches 10 feet without the circumference; under the Ends the Earth is Dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tarr as it runs; upon the floor is built a large pile of pine wood (which is generally of old fallen pines and of the branches and knotty parts) raisd Commonly to the hight of 10 or 12 feet and in the aforesaid form of a boyler, filled up with the pieces of split pine with the Ends slopeing or tending towards the basson in the Center, the whole is surrounded with a wall of Earth, leaving only a small opening at the top where the fire is first kindled. when the fire begins to burn they Cover this opening likewise to Confine the fire and hinder it from flaming out, and to leave only sufficient heat to force the tar Downwards to the floor. they temper the heat as they please, by running a Stick through the wall of Clay and givinge it air or vent. in this manner the outward Extremity of the wood burning the tar drops from the other part into the floor and is Conducted by the woodin pipe into the barrels, which are to Contain $31\frac{1}{2}$ galons weighing 322 pds. the Cask included. this is als[o] the gauge for terpintine and pitch. this last is made by boiling it in an Iron kette or making a hole in the Ground in which the tar is put and set on fire and burns itself into pitch.

Saturday March the 16th. 1765. got horsesses with great Difficulty for myself, servant and a guide, and rode through a Continual forest of pine trees, with narrow roads Cut in Diferent points of the Compas (it would be necessary to have one to travel in this Country) untill we Came to a good Quakers 12 miles Dist. from Beaufort, where I lay this night. he makes spirits of terpentine and rosin.

Sunday 17th Do. Departed from the quakers Early in the morning for new Burn⁴² and still the same thing today as yesterday, pine trees, In general terpentine walks, there is also oak and sipres and some sedr; there was here and there a small vilage and some litle farms Dispersd up and Down where they rais nothing but Indian Corn (of which they make their bread) and peas. the Soil all along very sandy and indifferent, the land Extremely level and Even, not the least apearance of a Small hill, nor a stone to be Seen, but sea shels in plenty, which would seem to intimate that great part of Carolina was risen by the sands thrown up by the Sea to a Certain hight and then obliged itself to retire. the roads here must be very Dangerous in stormy weather by the falling of great Dead trees. the Inhabitants are obliged by an act of assembly to Cut them when once Dead⁴³ but they are not very punctual in the Execution therof. at 5 arived at trent river fery, a Small mile over to Newburn, which is to be the Capitol of north Carolina, as being best situated for that purpose;⁴⁴ it is the most sentrical town in the province, on a point

⁴² Newbern.

⁴³ Statute of 1745, ch. 5, sects. 9, 10, 14, 24. *N. C. State Records*, XXIII. 223, 224, 226.

⁴⁴ Lieutenant-Governor Tryon, who was escorting Lord Adam Gordon through the province at just this time, and came into charge of the government by the death of Governor Dobbs on Mar. 28, writes on Apr. 1, "I spent two months in a Tour of this Province, and am determined in my opinion,

that separates the two rivers news and trent. the former runs up a considerable way in the Country to the N. W. nearest, the latter towards the S. W. but not so far; neither of them are navigable for any else than flats or petiaugres⁴⁵ above the town, much to its advantage, as all the trade is thereby Carried on in the place. Vessels of two hundred tuns Burden Can Come C[lo]se to the town loaded, but there is a swash or flat inside of oacok barr,⁴⁶ on which there is but 9 foot water. when vessels Draw more than this quantity, they are obliged to lighten into flats and take in their goods when they are over the swash; the town is 70 miles from the Barr. the trade Consists in salt pork, some beef, Indian Corn, pitch, tarr, terpentine, spirits of terpentine, Rozin, rice, Dears skins, talow, hogs fat, mirtle wax, some tanned leather, lumber of all kinds and shingles, very good. there is plenty of saw mills in this Country set up at little Expence. wherever there is water that they can raise to the height of 5 feet by means of a Dam or breastworks they Erect a mill, if there is a sufficient quantity of water; the wheels are undershot about $3\frac{1}{2}$ foot Diameter and 10 or 12 in length, they are allways going, as the Contry is Cover with timber such as pitch pine, red, black, and white oak (the two first are very bad wood), some walnut, sipes and sedar, they are always well supplied. there is generally a tub mill for grinding their Corn at the same Dam. In the spring of the year, there is great quantities of herin Caught in the Different rivers, also shad (which we Call *alose*⁴⁷ in france), Drum and sturgeon; they send this fish to the westindia Islands, and the parts of the Continent where is non Caught; there grows some wheat in this province, but in small quantity, the Soil not Suiting it. their bread is generally of Indian meal. the town Consists of about 100 houses and 500 Inhabitants. there is a good Church⁴⁸ and Courthouse.⁴⁹ this place is very unhealthy in the sumertime, as is all Carolina, much afflicted with feavors, which must be owing to the lands being very low and not Cleard of the wood, and the stagnateing waters of these great rivers where there is no tide or Curent but what is occasioned by the winds. on hot Calm Days youll see a thick scum on the water, which occasions a Disagreeable stensh. at this time the fishes ly Dead on the water.

at the first settlement of Carolina (which is now Distinguished by North and South) it was granted by the King to private gentlemen (8 in number) who were Called proprietors, but it was by an act of parlem^t redemanded and put under the protection of the Crown, Except the Earl of Granvilles eighth, which he still Enjoys. the other proprietors accepted of about 24000 £. the Indians back of this or these provinces are the Cherokees and Cataubas, with whom they are on a good footing, now. the Country is Intirely flat and level, 80 miles from the sea. the Carolinas is the only [province?] on the Continent subject to huricaines. oranges and olives grow well in south Caro'a, of which that the Public Business of it can be carried on nowhere with so much conveniency and advantage to far the greatest part of the Inhabitants, as at New Bern." *N. C. Col. Records*, VI. 1320; VII. 2.

⁴⁵ Piraguas.

⁴⁶ At Ocracoke Inlet, leading into Pamlico Sound.

⁴⁷ Alose.

⁴⁸ Christ Church.

⁴⁹ Acts of 1761, ch. 8. *N. C. Col. Records*, XXV. 462.

Charles town is the Capital, a very flourishing tradeing town. Indego and rice is now the great staple. its Chief produce formerly was in Bavers, which is intirely Destroyed, as well as in Canada, by the Encouragement the Indians received for killing them.

Dureing 5 Days that I stayd here we had Continual bad weather and very Cold.

Saturday march the 23d 1765. Set out from Newburn (where I eat my St. Patricks Dinner which lasted untill 4 next morning), took fery a mile from the town and Crossed News river, which is about 2 miles broad here, but full of shoals. saw several flats Coming Down with pitch and tar, Corn, shingles, etc. Came this night to Mrs. bonds fery oposit to bath town,

Do 24th. Crossd over to bath. the fery is three miles Including one mile up the Creek on which the town lies. bath is small having but litle or no trade. the vessels Can go 20 or 30 miles above the town. there are several vessels built here, and on other parts of this as well as on News river, but all small on account of the swash; the town in 80 miles from the Bar.

I went to weat on Colonel Pamer after Dinner, who is Colonel in the milita, Colector and surveyor general for this part of the province.⁵⁰ he invited me to spend the even'g with him, which I Complied with. he is very agreable scots gentleman. Dureing three Days that made here we spent most part of the time together; the produce, and trade here, is of the same nature as at Newburn.

wednesday march the 27th 1765. Set out from bath, Crossed through forests and uncultivated lands as before to this Difference, the Soil seems to beter gradually as I Come to the norwd., and a greater mixture of oak trees than hitherto. [*In margin:* Crossed Earl granviles southern't bounds 3 miles to the norwd. of bath, from whence it Continues to virginia.]⁵¹ Great troops or flocks of swine which run wild in the woods and feed on the pine seeds and acorns, which is their only food. it is not surprising that their pork is not so firm or good in any sheap⁵² as to the norwd where they feed them with Corn etc. there is great plenty of Dear in this part of Country, but will soon Diminish, if they Continue Destroying as they do now, in season or out of season, male or female is all alike. I Dined this Day on venson stakes in a poor farmers house where I stopd for that purpose. bacon is the Chief suport of all the Inhabitants, when fishing is out of season. it is a Dainty Dish here tho ever so fat or rare. this night lay at Daylys fery on Roanok river.⁵³ this is the most Considerable of all the rivers Communicateing to Albemarle or Pamligouh sounds. with regard to its Extent back no body knows as yet how far it gos. it is three and four fathom Deep for 150 miles up in the Country. many ware houses and stores are along it. great part of

⁵⁰ Col. Robert Palmer, surveyor-general since 1753, member of the council 1764-1771, highly spoken of by Tryon. *N. C. Col. Records*, VII. 516, 535. He seems to have continued in office till the Revolution. In 1785 he was living in England, a Loyalist. Egerton, *Royal Commission on the Loyalists*, pp. 259, 393.

⁵¹ Lord Granville's property embraced all of the province that was north of 35° 34' N.

⁵² Shape.

⁵³ A few miles below the present Plymouth, N. C.

the produce of the Country about this river in the back part is sent to virginia, where they meet with a beter market than they Could Expect in any part of their own province, on acct. of its bad navigation. it is Computed that 6000 hhds. of tobacco are sent from this part, to Petersbourg on James's river, virginia. there Comes a Considerable quantity of wheat and Corn Down this river, and about 3000 hhds. tobacco which is shipped at Edenton. the Soil along the Sides of this river is reckoned fertil and rich, which is owing to its yearly overflow, it has that in Common with the Nile In Egipt. but it is a Dangerous neighbour when in that state, for it sometimes rises 40 feet perpendicular and Cays Every thing on its way, before it. it Covers great part of the adjacent Country as it is so very flat and level. the floods or freshes are generally in the End of sept'e'r and begining of octob'r. there are plenty of Iron mines in this part of the province but not yet worked; there is a very rich black lead mine In Bute County, near halifax, on Rogers mill Creek but not yet open'd. the lands back of the first of mountains, what they Commonly Call the blue ridge, are very rich, they are Inhabited by the scotch Irish, Germans, and Dutch, which were sent thither to Serve as a barière betwixt the lower settlers and the Indians; this, however, turned out otherwise, luckily for the poor wretches, that were sent there to be butcherd; necessity, and the great Distance from any seaport, or town, obliged them to be industrious in riseing all their necessaries within themselves, and at the same time to be watchful of the Indians and secure their litle habitations with palisadoes and out works; the Soil answerd beyond their Expectations, in So much that it is at present the plentifullest part of america. they have all sorts of Cattle, grain, roots, and fruits, buter, Chees, and beer of their own brewing. they manufacture their own aparel and have Everything In short, Except salt and Iron: they Drive great Drovers of Cattle to the lower settlements, also butter, Chees and hemp which they Dispose of to advantage and a Considerable quantity of flower.

fryday march the 29th 1765. I was obliged to remain heere two Days for want of horses and at length Crossed the river and walked to Cashia fery,⁵⁴ Crossed it and went to a farmers where I dined on good fat Bacon, greens, and Indian bread and had good sider to Drink. after Dinner he hied me to horses to mr Campbels on showan river 12 miles above Edenton for whom I had a letter of recomand'n.⁵⁵ [*In margin:* arrived at mr Campbels the 30th.] this gentleman is Justice of the peace, speaker of the assembly, in this Country, and a man generally Esteemed, and of the greatest property of any man in this part of the province; he received me with the greatest Civility possible, and notwithstanding all I could do, would not let me go from his house for a fortnight. Dureing which time he accompanied me to Different places; his house is pleasantly situated on the south side of showan river on a fine hil or eminence which [is] a rarity in this Country. the river is about two miles broad here altho 100 ms. from the Bar, and large sloops and schoo[ners] go up 50 miles above this place; the river seperates into two

⁵⁴ Across Cashie River.

⁵⁵ John Campbell of Bertie, member of the assembly 1754-1760, 1769-1775, speaker 1754-1755, member of the first four provincial congresses, 1774-1776; "the most eminent trader in this province", says Governor Dobbs in 1760. *N. C. Col. Recs.*, VI. 286.

branches, Called Nattoway and Meharin,⁵⁶ this last is navigable far up in the Country. the vessels that go up it brings great quantitys of Corn, some Wheat and staves, which they Cary to the norward to Different parts. the Difficulty of the Bar makes all these Comodities sel Cheaper than else where; there is great quantitys of fish Caught In this river, especially herin and others as before mentiond.

wednesday aipril the 3d. Crossed the river with mr. Campbel to see his soninlaw Mr BrownRigg, an agreable gentleman.⁵⁷ in the afternoon walked out to his saw mills which are on a Creek Communicating to the river. this evening went to see the herin fishing. in an hours time they Caught about 100 barels with quantity of Rock, white perche and several other sorts.

aipril the 5th 1765. went with these two gentlemen to Edenton which was formerly the Capital of North Carolina. it is pleasantly situated on a point betwixt two Creeks Communicateing to showan river. there was a Dozen vessels, briggs, sloops and schooners here takeing in pork, pitch, tar, terpertine, wheat, and Corn etc. this town is not quit so large as newburn. it is looked on to be very sickly in the sumertime. the land from the town on the north side the river, Down to Curatuck sound, is very good, produces quantities of wheat, Corn, pork, and very good passture. the bar hurts this place much. the back settlers on the river Roanoke and other places send their produce to Charlestown in south Carolina, and to petersburg, on James river, virg'a, where they get a beter price for them than here or in any porte in the province, the Chief of which are Cape fear, Newburn, etc, the former Governor mr Dobs resided at Cape fear, which was very unhandy to the Inhabitants, its being at the Extremity of the province; they were Obliged to atend the Courts there, but the present lieutenantgov., Colonel tryan, intends to reside at Newburn, which is indeed the most suitable place. they are got into a method hereabouts, of makeing what they Call green tar, which is this; they Chip the pine trees of their bark about 8 feet from the root Downwards on which the terpertine falls imediately into the Chiped part. when it is well imbibed therwith they slice of the wood as far as it is imbibed and burn this in kills as the former. the tar is much thinner and beter. there is a bounty of 4 s. pr barl. on this kind of tar which is great encouragement.

by Computation, there is in this province from 25 to 30 thousand white taxables, or men from the age of 16 to 60 — whom are musterd 4 times a year as militia; there but very few if any rich people. their fortunes Consist generally in lands, which are for the most part uncultivated, and Consequently of no advantage or value for the present, but the Inhabitants augment fast. this province is the azilum of the Convicts that have served their time in virginia and maryland. when at liberty they all (or great part) Come to this part where they are not Known and settle here. it is a fine Country for poor people, but not for the rich.

aipril the 7th. went to halifax on Roanok river, where there was a

⁵⁶ Nottoway and Meherrin.

⁵⁷ Richard Brownrigg of Chowan, member of the assembly 1770-1771, d. 1771; "Mr. and Mrs. Brownrigg, whom you will soon find two of the best people in the world". H. E. McCulloh to Iredell, in McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I. 30. "Rd. Brownriggs Saw Mill" is laid down on Collet's map.

Court held, where all the inhabitants of the adjacent Country Come, to Deside their lawsuits and other Differences. this was formerly a town of Some note, but is Dwindling away fast. the 8th Came back to mr. Cambels, who tels me that this province and south Carolina particularly abounds in nitre. [*In margin*: the extent of both Carolinas from S to N. is from 31° to 36° 30 latitd., its breadth to the Indian nations about 300 miles.] there are 32 Countys⁵⁸ in north Carolina, which are very large, they have Each their Court house, where they Assemble 4 times a year; the General Courts are held where the Governor resides.

aipl. 12. went to mr Brownriggs where I stayed three Days to strengthen two horsses that I was obliged to buy, tho in very bad order, as is all this Country Cattle in the winter time, haveing nothing Else to live on but the moss that grows on the trees in the woods.

april the 15th. Set out from mr Brownrigs, lay at mr Granburys,⁵⁹ to whom he gave me a letter; he is a farmer in good circumst's. this stage was 15 miles

the 16th. from mr Granburys to sufolk 18 miles, a small town on the head of Nanseum river.⁶⁰ non but small Craft can Come to it. I Crossed the Carolina and virginia bounds 8 miles from Granburys. there [are] 5 or 6 stores or properly speaking shops here, about 50 or 60 other houses, a prety Church, and Courthouse. this place is remarkable unhealthy in the sumer season, subject to feavors. the Country from mr. Granburys begins to look more inhabited.

april the 17th. Set out for portsmouth which is 30 miles. Dined at Robertses ordinary. arived at portsmouth at 6 in the Evening. the Country along something more open and Inhabited, but still very thick in wood. about 7 miles from Robertses Crossed the End of the Dismal swamp. this is a Considerable tract of land buried under water. there is a lake in the midle. this swamp is a harbour for all sorts of willd beasts, such as Bears, panthers, wolfs, and great quantity of serpents.

Portsmouth is situated on the west Side of Elizabeth river, oposite to Norfolk, which is on the East side and Capitale of a County of its name. Portsmouth is but lately settled. it has the advantage of norfolk haveing Deeper water of its side. ships of any Burden Can Come Close [to] the wharfs of which there are several very Convenient. norfolk on the other hand has been longer settled. it is the most Considerable town for trade and shiping In virginia. this harbour is very safe for ships of any Burthen. this is the only part of virginia where they build any thing of ships. the[y] have all the Conveniencies imaginable for that purpose. there is a fine ropery here, there are plenty of masts of all proportions to be had, and great quantitys are shiped of for all parts, Especially for the havana where they have a Contract for this article. there is a Smart trade Caried on from Norfolk to the wes[t] India Islands. their exports Consists in pork, Corn, flower, Butter, Cheese, Candles. hogs fat, tallow, ham, Bacon, lumber of all kinds, shingles, Masts, Yards, and naval stores; hemp is very much encouraged now, in virginia. and grows to great perfection. Iron they have great plenty of, it is brought Down here from maryland, and sold at the rate of 10 ps.⁶¹ p. tun.

⁵⁸ Twenty-six.

⁵⁹ Josiah Granberry, vestryman of St. Paul's parish. *N. C. Recs.*, VI. 241.

⁶⁰ Suffolk, Va., on Nansemond River, described in J. F. D. Smyth, *Tour*, II. 104-105, and in J. D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II. 96-98.

⁶¹ Pounds; its price in England at the time was about £7.

that is pig Iron. I look on this place to be one of the properest on the Continent for a King's port. as to the harbour non Can be beter, and the Country is well stoked with timber, they Can make their own Cordage, they have plenty of Iron and all Kinds of navall stores. this harbour is at the Entrance of the Bay, handy for all vessels going in or Comeing out, and Is a Centrical place on the Continent. the mouth of Elizabeth is on Jameses river, which gos very far in the Country (of this hereafter). Elizabeth river is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile broad betwixt the two towns (there is three fery boats Employed here) and seperates into Eastern branch, and Elizabeth. about two miles below Portsmouth on the Same side, is another branch Call'd the western branch, on which they build ships also. the water at Norfolk is bad, but very good at Portsmouth. both places are Chiefly Inhabited by scotch, all presbiterians and altho they are the most bigoted set of people in the world, they have no house of worship of their own. there is a Church in Each place, of the English Establishment;⁶² from hence I wrote to mr Mifflin in philadelphia⁶³ for a suply of money being short, and as I am obliged to weat his answer, I went to Different parts of the Country by way of amusement In the meantime.

april the 19th. Dined today with andrew sprowl Esqr. the headman of Portsmouth.⁶⁴ he lives in a pleasant place seperated by a Creek from the town, his house gos by the name of gasporte.⁶⁵ he has a very fine wharf before his Door where the Kings ships generally heave Down. this gentleman is a merchant of great reputation.

the 20th Do. Dined with mr Guilchrist⁶⁶ at norfolk, who Introduced me to all the people of note there, which are, Colonel tucker,⁶⁷ mr Muter. Doctor Campbel,⁶⁸ mr hutchison, mr Jameson,⁶⁹ and several others. all these gentlemen are In trade. there being a Court at williamsburg, which begun the 10th of aipril and holds 24 Days, I set out for thence.

aipril the 24th. Set out for williamsburg In Company with andrew

⁶² Trinity Church in Portsmouth, and St. Paul's in Norfolk.

⁶³ Samuel Mifflin, who figures more largely in later portions of this diary, was a merchant in Philadelphia, and a justice of the city court there; Governor Thomas Mifflin was his cousin's son.

⁶⁴ Some Tory letters, 1775, of Andrew Sprowel are in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XIV. 386-390.

⁶⁵ Gosport. In 1776 Gosport and all Sprowel's houses were burned by the Americans in retaliation for Lord Dunmore's burning of Norfolk. *William and Mary College Quarterly Magazine*, XV. 19. He and his family left Virginia in Dunmore's fleet. Force, *Am. Archives*, fifth ser., I. 152.

⁶⁶ John Gilchrist, merchant of Norfolk, accused of a bit of anti-British violence in 1766. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXI. 167.

⁶⁷ Col. Richard Tucker (d. 1767), member of the House of Burgesses in 1752 and 1753.

⁶⁸ Dr. Archibald Campbell, a Scotsman, afterward a Tory. There is an account of him and his Norfolk property in *Second Report of Archives of Ontario*, pp. 131-133. See also *Am. Archives*, fourth ser., IV. 86, 87, 105.

⁶⁹ Neil Jameson, a noted merchant and afterward a noted Tory, who went away with Dunmore in 1776. *Ibid.*, IV. 343-348 (letters from him), and fifth ser., I. 152; *American Manuscripts in Royal Institution*, I. 136. There is a full account of him and his property in *Second Report of Archives of Ontario*, pp. 630-634, 646, 721, 1311-1313.

sprowl Esqr. and several of the Norfolk Gentlemen. left my horses at the tavern where I lodge; we took boat and Crossed over to hampton where we Dined. this fery is 12 miles across. hampton is a small town of very litle trade, but the Navall and Colectors offices being here makes it more Considerable than it otherwise would be. it has no harbour. there is a bar Crosses it about 2 miles Dist. from the town, outside of which, ships that are bound up or Down Jameses river (on the North side of which this town is placed) Come to an anchor and take their Expeditions. small Craft Can go over this Bar and ly Close to the town.

from hampton to york 28 miles. here we lay. this is a fine situation and a very prety litle town Inhabited by some of the genteelst people In virginia, who have some very prety buildings here. it is on an Elevated spot of grownd by the side of the river to which it gives its name, on which it has a beautifull prospect. ships of any burthen Can Come here, and 40 miles farther up. there was at this time three large vessels rideing of here. this and hampton road are the general rendevous for the homeward bound ships. in war time there are on such occasions 100 sail of shiping to be seen here. the Country about here is very agreable. there is a small town on the oposite side of the river Called Gloster, of no great note. its situation is also very pleasant. there was a great Deal of Company at our tavern this night, several Capns. of ships, looking for freight, others gathering their funds.

april the 25th. set out Early for williamsburg, 12 miles Distn. fine road and pleasant Country. at 9 arived at this Capitol, which at a Distance looks like a large town, but it is far from it and very Iregular haveing only one street which Can be Called so, which makes a very good apearance. it is very s[p]acious, has at one End the Capitolle, a very good building in the form of an Each.⁷⁰ the Court is held in one wing on the first floor, the assembly room is in the other wing on the Same floor, the Councill and Comitee Chambers are upstairs on the first story. oposite to this building at the further End of the street Is a very fine Colege, which makes a grand apearance.⁷¹ halfway betwixt these Builds. is the Church on one side the street and the powder magazeen on the other. the Governors house is towards the Colege on its left a litle back from the main street. it is a Small but neat building, with a Cupula on the top.

on our arival we had great Difficulty to get lodgings but thanks to mr sprowl I got a room at mrs. vaubes's tavern,⁷² where all the best people resorted. I soon got acquainted with severals of them, but particularly with Colonel Burd,⁷³ sir peton skiper,⁷⁴ Capt. Russel,⁷⁵ Capt. le foré, and

⁷⁰ Meaning, an H.

⁷¹ The College of William and Mary.

⁷² The tavern kept by Mrs. Jane Vobe (information from Dr. Lyon G. Tyler).

⁷³ Col. William Byrd the third (1728-1777), on whose dissipated character see Anburey, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America*, II. 328-329, and Bassett (ed.), *Writings of Col. William Byrd*, pp. lxxxvii-lxxxviii.

⁷⁴ Sir Peyton Skipwith, seventh baronet (d. 1805), who spent his life in Virginia. A gay letter of his is in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV. 190.

⁷⁵ Either that Capt. William Russell, of the Fairfax County militia, of whose conduct in the French and Indian War Governor Dinwiddie speaks so ill (*Letters to Washington*, ed. S. M. Hamilton, I. 267), or Capt. William Russell

others, which I soon was like to have had reason to repent, for they are all professed gamesters, Especially Colonel Burd, who is never happy but when he has the box and Dices in hand. this Gentleman from a man of the greatest property of any in america has reduced himself to that Degree by gameing, that few or nobody will Credit him for Ever so small a sum of money. he was obliged to sel 400 fine Negroes a few Days before my arival. there were many sets made at me to get me in for the box but I had the good look⁷⁶ to Keep Clear of it, but Could not avoid playing some rubers at whist notwithstanding my aversion to it.

there are two generall Courts held at this Capital of virginia Yearly, the one beginning on the 10th aipril, and holds 24 Days, the other on the 10th octob'r and holds 24 Days also. at these Courts they take Cognisance of all Suits and Causes whatsoever; there are besides these two Courts of oyer and terminer at which Criminall affaires are Examined. the[y] have besides these, County and Burough Courts which hold monthly in the Dift. Countys and Bur's at the County Courts Examine all Causes and when the partys Dont agree they apeal to the General Court. the Burough Courts are for all affairs under 20 pounds value and Can go no farther. there Can be no Corporal punishment Inflicted on white people at any of the Inferior Courts. this is done by the superior Court at williamsburg.

aipril the 28th. I have been here three Days and am heartily sick of it. this morning hired a Chair and took a ride to Jameses City formerly the Capital of the province,⁷⁷ In Company with one mr Christy from baltymore In maryland who Is a looker on here as well as myself.⁷⁸ he is a merchant in the aforesaid place and Came to virginia to see the Country. Jamesestown is situated on a peninsula on the nort[h] side of Jameses or Powhatan river, 42 miles above its mouth; it Consists of about 70 houses. the Seat of government was here formely but was Caryed to willamsburg on account of the unhealthyness of this place. some ships anchor of the town. after Dinner we Came back to williamsburg; there was a great number of people from all parts of the province and also the adjoining provinces, for this is time for Caring on business and settling maters with Correspondents. I supose there might be 5 or 6000 people here Dureing the Courts. it is Computed that the province Contains at present 130,000 taxables, from 16 to 60, that is to say the white men and slaves, the white men amount to 60,000 which is the militia body. they are musterd four times yearly. those that are absent from the generall musters without a leagal Cause are fined 10 shs., from private musters 5 shs. these are the laws but seldom put in Execution. never was a more Disagreeable place than this at present. In the Day time people hurying back and forwards from the Capitoll to the taverns, of Fincastle, in 1776 colonel of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment. Afterward however he was colonel of the Fifth Virginia Regiment, served throughout the Revolution, and was made brigadier-general of Virginia militia. He married Patrick Henry's sister. Captain Le Foret seems to have been a connection of Colonel Byrd, and a Barbadian.

⁷⁶ Luck.

⁷⁷ Jamestown.

⁷⁸ Probably James Christie, whose prosecution for Toryism in 1775 is exhibited in *Maryland Archives*, XI. 44-52, and, under the name of "James C——", in Eddis's *Letters from America*, pp. 218, 228-229.

and at night, Carousing and Drinking In one Chamber and box and Dice in another, which Continues till morning Commonly. there is not a publick house in virginia but have their tables all bated with the boxes, which shews the Extravagant Disposition of the planters; there are many of them who have very great Estates, but are mostly at loss for Cash. they live very well haveing all the necessaries on their Estates in great plenty. Madeira wine and punch made with Jamaica rum Is their Chief Drink. there are no large towns in this province, by reason of the Convenience of its many navaiguable rivers, by which ships go up to all parts of it to the planters Doors: the Chief of those reside Mostly on the Borders of James and York rivers which is the best soil for tobacco Especially the Sweet sented which is so much Esteemed in England, where they keep it for their own use, or what they Call home Consumption. the other sort Called aranoacke, is Exported to holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany.

the Common way of traffic here, is by bartering one Commodity for another, for which reason Coin is scarce. their Common Curency is paper, which it has in Common with the other provinces.

Notwithstanding the Great plenty of Excelent timber and Naval stores in virginia, yet they build but very few ships, altho the Country is one Continued harbour after Enttring the Chessapeake Bay between the Capes henry and Charles.

the produce of the Soil is hemp, Indian Corn, flax, silk, Cotton, and great quanty of wild grapes, but tobacco is the staple Commodity of virginia; there is now a very Considerable bounty on hemp, from the Colonies, which makes many people quit the tobacco (which is now very low in England) to raise hemp. how that will answer time will tell.

the air in virginia Depending very much on the Winds is of various temperaments, for those from the North or N. W. are Extremely sharp and piercing while the S. and S. E. are hazy and sul[t]ry. the winter in this Country is Dry and Clear; the snow falls in great quantities, but seldom lies above a day or two; and the frost tho very keen is seldom of any long duration. the spring is something Earlyer than in England; may and June are pleasant; July and august sultry; September is noted for prodigious showers of rain.

towards the coast the land is low, and for an 100 m. back hardly a hill or stone to be seen. the Inhabitants are very Courteuous and hospitable. strangers are allways welcome and genteelly treated by them, which is a raison why the taverns are extravagantly Dear.

Virginia is Divided into 25 Counties and in these are 54 parishes,⁷⁹ 30 or 40 of which are suplyed with ministers and to each parish belongs a Church, with Chapels of Eas in such of them as are of large extent. In this Colony are only 2 presbyterian and 3 quaker meetings. the prevailing religion is the protestant, no romans allowed. the Countys are as follows, namely, Norfolk, princess Ann, Nansemond, Isle of Weight, Surry, henrico, Prince George, prince Charles, James County,^{79a} York, Warwick, Elizabeth, New Kent, King and Queens County, Midlessex, Essex or rapahanock, Richmond, Stafford, westmoreland, lancaster, Northumberland, Accomack, and Northampton.

⁷⁹ There were 55 counties in Virginia at this time, and about 80 parishes. The number of Presbyterian meetings was also, of course, greater than is stated below.

^{79a} Meaning, Charles City County and James City County.

the revenue from tobacco in Great Britain is esteemed to be about three hund'd thousand pd. sterling per annum. and the Greater part of the profits of exported tobacco Comes to the merchants, which brings nearly as great a sum every Year into the Kingdom, the whole weight falling on the planter, who is kept Down by the lowness of the original price and the Ext[r]avagance of the Charges.

how advantageous must this article be to Great Britain, for which the rest of Europe, Nearly, pays her ready money, besides 200 large vessels and a proportionable number of Seamen, which are occupied in this trade; from England, the virginians take every article for Convenience or ornament which they use, their own manufactures not being worth mentioning. this Colony has Exported some Years 63 th'd hhds. tobacco, which was the greatest, and at other times, not above 30 th'd has been exportd. the medium of the two, which is about 46 th'd hhds., is the quantity generally Exported. the number of Convicts and Indented servants imported to virginia [is] amazing, besides the numbers of Dutch and German which is also Considerable.

the Virginia Capes are the two headlands which form the Entrance of the great bay of Chesapeake, the Southern Cape henry and the northernmost Cape Charles. Chesapeake is a large Bay, along which both provinces of virginia and Maryland are situated. it begins at the above Capes and runs up 180 miles N. B. E. it is said to be 18 miles broad at the mouth, and 7 m. over at the bottom, which [is] above baltimore in Maryland. Into it fall several large naviguable rivers from the western shore, and a few smaller streams from the peninsula that Divides the Bay from the ocean, which is Commonly Called the Eastern shore.

Stayed at williamsburg until the 14th, when, mr. Christy and others, we set out to the Norfolk paket boat which lay oposite to hog Island on James river about 3 mile dist. from the City; here we all lay at a tavern, and next morning shiped our provisions, and bagage, and set sail.

May the 15th. the river is about 3 miles broad all along Down to Norfolk and several banks of sand here and which the pilots must be well acquainted with; large vessels can go up as far as City [Point(?)] where they generally ly. the general stores or ware houses are at petersbourg, where all the tobacco made up the Country is sent too, as also what is sent from the back parts of north Carolina. most of the great planters reside about Petersburg and blandford.⁸⁰

May the 16th. arrived at 4 in the morning at Norfolk. Could not See much of the river Coming, being night. there are two pakets, schooners of about 30 tuns, which go twice a week to Williamsburg and back to norfolk.

the 17th. Stayed at norfolk (my lodgings are in portsmouth the situation being more agreable, the water much beter,). Dined with Colonel tucker, a very Clever old Gentleman. went Down to the Bay side with a good Company of Gentlemen and Ladys a seine hawling, where we Caught a great quantity of fish. the[re] was a Kings fregat lying at anchor at Cape henry, Capt Morgan,⁸¹ who was stationed here to examin all vessels homward or outward, with an Entent to put a stop to their trade with highspaniola and all other french Islands. there are

⁸⁰ Close by Petersburg.

⁸¹ The *Hornet*, Capt. Jere. Morgan. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXI.

men of war and fregates stationed all along the Continent for the same purpose; it is said the government proposes to prohibit Distilling of molasses, which will be a great stroke [to] the Colonys if they really Do.

the 19th Do. went with another set of Company from portsmouth to see a ship launched on the western Branche. as we were going along, I in a single Chaire, my horse took fright at something and galoped of the road into a field where there was a quantity of stumps of trees one of which overturned my Chaire. the horse going as fast as his heels Could carry him, I was pitched head foremost on another stump, which Cut my head and bruised my left shoulder very much. the horse Continued until he Broke the Chair to pieces. one of the Company took me in a Chair and put me Down at my lodgings. was blooded twice that Evening, notwithstanding the fever took me and held me three days, but by Doctor Purssels help I was soon well.

May the 29th. havein[g] received two hundred pounds from Colonel tucker by order of mr. Mifflin, I set out for Williamsburg on my way to the Norward. as I was Crossing the ferry from Norfolk to hampton I Saw three large ships and a brig coming by fort George, which is on point Comfort 3 miles from hampton. this was a pretty good fort formerly, but is now quite abandoned, the walls all fallen to pieces and the guns buried in the sand. the ships that Come into James river stear from Cape henry for this point and Come Close to it, the Channel obliging them thertoo.

I was obliged to hire a Chair [at] hampton, not being able to ride, my left arm and shoullder paid me so. lay at a tavern half way to York.

May the 30th. Set out Early from halfway house in the Chair and broke fast at York, arrived at williamsburg at 12, where I saw three Negroes hanging at the galous for haveing robbed Mr. Waltho⁸² of 300 ps. I went immediately to the assembly which was seting, where I was entertained with very strong Debates Concerning Dutys that the parlement wants to lay on the american Colonys, which they Call or Stile stamp Dutys.⁸³ Shortly after I Came in one of the members stood up and said he had read that in former times tarquin and Julius had their Brutus, Charles had his Cromwell, and he Did not Doubt but some good american would stand up, in favour of his Country, but (says he) in a more moderate manner, and was going to Continue, when the speaker of the house rose and Said, he, the last that stood up had spoke treason, and was sorey to see that not one of the members of the house was loyal Enough to stop him, before he had gone so far. upon which the Same member stood up again (his name is henery) and said that if he had afronted the speaker, or the house, he was ready to ask pardon, and he would shew his loyalty to his majesty King G. the third, at the Expence of the last Drop of his blood, but what he had said must be attributed to the Interest of his Countrys Dying liberty which he had at heart, and the heat of passion might have lead him to have said something more than he intended, but, again, if he said any thing wrong, he begged the speaker and the houses pardon. some other Members stood up and backed him, on which that afaire was dropped.

May the 31th. I returned to the assembly today, and heard very hot

⁸² Nathaniel Walthoe, clerk of the council.

⁸³ Concerning Henry's celebrated speech here reported, see the introduction prefixed to this document.

Debates stil about the Stamp Dutys. the whole house was for Entering resolves on the records but they Differed much with regard the Contents or purport therof. some were for shewing their resentment to the highest. one of the resolves that these proposed, was that any person that would offer to sustain that the parlement of Engl'd had a right to impose or lay any tax or Dutys whats'r on the american Colonys, without the Consent of the inhabitants therof, Should be looked upon as a traitor, and Deemed an Enemy to his Country.⁸⁴ there were some others to the same purpose, and the majority was for Entring these resolves, upon which the Governor Dissolved the assembly, which hinderd their proceeding.

The Kings Berth Night⁸⁵ which was on the tuesday follow'g, was given by the lieutenant govenor mr. faquier.⁸⁶ I went there in Expectation of seeing a great Deal of Company, but was Disappointed for there was not above a Dozen of people. I came away before super.

wednesday June the 5th. Set out from williamsburg for Chiswels ord'y, Dist'n 15 miles,⁸⁷ the roads level but very Dusty and sandy. from hence to New Kent Courthouse, 12 miles. here I lay. there was a very heavy shower this afternoon which set all the tobacco planters to work planting. there had been no rain for three months before in this part of the Country.

Do. 6th. From New Ken[t] Court house to New Castle 22 ms..⁸⁸ on pamunky river, one of the branches of York river, which seperates into

⁸⁴ This was the resolve which we may call no. 7, reckoning all that are quoted in any of the authorities. There has been much confusion in the matter, but it is set forth correctly (unless there is doubt as to the authorship of nos. 6 and 7) in M. C. Tyler's *Patrick Henry*, p. 67. Henry's own manuscript (*Henry's Henry*, I. 80) gives nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 as the resolutions offered by him and passed. The journal (*Journal*, 1761-1765, p. 360) gives nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 as passed. Campbell, *History of Virginia*, pp. 540, 541, 543, gives nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 as offered by Henry and passed, and says that two others were offered but not by him, but did not pass, that no. 5 was expunged on May 31, and that the *Virginia Gazette* published nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 (*Henry's Henry*, I. 93, says nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7). Whether this last statement of Campbell is correct or not, the set published in the *Newport Mercury* of June 24 and the *Boston Gazette* of July 1 is 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7. Marshall, *Life of Washington* (1804), II., app., p. 26, gives (incorrectly) nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 as passed, and (correctly) nos. 6 and 7 as not passed; Burk, *History of Virginia* (1805), III. 306-307, does the same, both resting, apparently, on Almon's *Prior Documents*, pp. 6, 7. Almon says that nos. 6 and 7 "were not passed, but only drawn up by the committee", i.e., committee of the whole. Jefferson, in a letter to Wirt, Aug. 14, 1814 (MS. Lib. Cong., and *Writings*, ed. Ford, IX. 467-468), thinks that nos. 5 and 7 were disagreed to, no. 5 as tautologous, no. 7 as leading to individual persecution, "and that the 6th was the one passed by the House, by a majority of a single vote, and expunged from the Journals the next day". Our traveller, however, appears to have seen no. 7 under debate on the 31st. The dissolution occurred the next day, June 1.

⁸⁵ George III. was born June 4 (N. S.), 1738.

⁸⁶ Francis Fauquier.

⁸⁷ Up the Peninsula. Chiswell's ordinary was near the border between James City and New Kent.

⁸⁸ Now Pamunkey, Va.

this and matapony, Down at Delawar.⁸⁹ large ships come up this river as far as Cumberland, 20 miles below this place.⁹⁰ New Castle is in hanover County, where they make your fine sweet sented tobacco, as also in louisa County, litle mountain, and uper James river. the Nearer the mountains the beter the Soil. it is a Small town but prettyly situated; litle or no trade because small Crafts and ships long boats can go a good ways farther up the river to take their tobacco out of the ware houses that are for that purpose.

I lodge, here, at Colonel Johnsons who Keeps tavern, he is Colonel in the Militia, and likes well to be Called so. his Brother major Boswell, also in the Militia, was here, and retained as well as myself, by the rain four and twenty hours, dureing which time we had nothing talked of but the stamp Dutys. the major says freely he'l sooner Die than pay a farthing, and is shure that all his Countrymen will do the Same. there was a great deal said about the Noble Patriot Mr. henery, who lives in this County,⁹¹ the whole Inhabitants say publiqly that if the least Injury was ofered to him they'd stand by him to the last Drop of their blood. some of them muter betwixt their teeth, let the worst Come to the worst we'll Call the french to our sucour; and if they were in Canada the British parlem't would as soon be Dd. as to offer to do what they do now. the Country hereabouts is fine and pleas't.

June the 7th. Set out from New Castle, Crossed the river here on a wooden Bridge, arived at tods bridge⁹² on matapony river, 12 m. this is a Small place Consisting of three warehouses to lodge the tobacco that Comes Down the river in flats. Small ships Come up this river to Wakerton.⁹³ the large ships lye Down at Delawar.

June the 8th. from tods bridge to Sneads ordinary, 22 m. the Country very pleasant. from Sneads ordy. to port Royal, 12 m. this is a fine situation on Rapahanock river, a beautiful level Country about it. Ships of 400 hhds. come up to the town and brigs and large sloops Can go up to Frederiksburg, which is next to Norfolk and williamsburg the largest and most trading town in virginia. it has all the trade of the Back settlements who send Down here great quantitys of Butter, Chees, flax, hemp, flower, and some tobacco which they rol Down many miles. the large ships ride Down at tapahanock or hobses hole which is about 30 m. lower. frederiksb'g about 30 m. above.

⁸⁹ West Point.

⁹⁰ Cumberland Landing is on the Pamunkey, a few miles north of New Kent courthouse.

⁹¹ Since 1764, Henry had lived in Louisa County. Wirt, p. 37.

⁹² Now Aylett, Va.

⁹³ Walkerton.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Group Mind: a Sketch of the Principles of 'Collective Psychology, with Some Attempt to Apply them to the Interpretation of National Life and Character. By WILLIAM McDUGALL, F. R. S., Professor of Psychology at Harvard University. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1920. Pp. xxii, 418. \$5.00.)

THIS book is based upon the author's *Social Psychology* and assumes familiarity with it. Group psychology aims to discover the most general principles of group life and to apply these principles to particular groups—in this case the modern nation. Group life reacts on and modifies the lives of its members and so possesses properties which make it more than the lives of its constituents.

Part I. outlines the general principles of collective psychology. The hypotheses of telepathy and "collective consciousness" are examined and rejected as explanations of impulsive crowd behavior. The principle of sympathetic induction of emotion is a more satisfactory explanation. Crude emotions spread more rapidly than higher emotions because they do not imply the existence of refined sentiments which when present destroy the emotional homogeneity of the crowd. Crowds have a low order of intellectual process because the only ideas that can be collectively understood are those appreciated by their lower minded members. Increased suggestibility of the members reduces the level of intelligence. A sense of divided responsibility felt in the crowd also lowers its mental level. Moreover, the crowd has little self-consciousness and no self-regarding sentiment and hence feels little responsibility. The actions of the crowd are thus not volitional but simply impulsive.

In contrast to the simple crowd is the highly organized group. Five conditions raise collective mental life to a higher level: continuity of existence of the group; an idea of the group with a sentiment organized about it; interaction of the group with other different groups; a body of common habit, custom, and tradition; and the organization of the group by differentiation and specialization of function of its constituents. These criteria are applied to the analysis of the army as a highly organized group, and the author shows how the idea of the group becomes part of an extension of the self-regarding sentiment. Using the concept of group spirit in the sense of *esprit de corps*, the author shows how the group spirit raises the intellectual level of its members by an organization of the sentiment of admiration for the moral qualities of courage,

endurance, trustworthiness, and cheerful obedience. In this way the group spirit destroys opposition and conflict between crudely individualistic and primitive altruistic tendencies of our nature, thus realizing social harmony.

In part II, the nation is analyzed as a psychological group. National mind lies psychologically between the crowd and the highly organized group, although it is more complex than the latter. Its basis is a certain degree of mental homogeneity, native or acquired. National self-consciousness can develop only as a sentiment. Intercourse, conflict, and competition are necessary to bring out this common sentiment of patriotism. Psychological justification for patriotism lies in the moral value of the group spirit which raises the conduct of the mass of men above the plane of simple egoism or family self-consciousness. Loyalty to a nation is capable of exalting character and conduct in a higher degree than any other form of the group spirit.

Modern communication through the devices of representative government and a party system raises the level of collective mental life above that of the city-state because it permits deliberation without the emotional dangers of assembly.

Part III. deals with the development of national mind and character.

The volume contributes a valuable analysis of the mental life of the group in terms of organized affective dispositions. In applying these principles to the mental life of nations the author tends to glorify the nation without scientifically analyzing it. To scholars familiar with the author's *Social Psychology*, this book is a disappointment.

F. STUART CHAPIN.

Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence. By Sir PAUL VINOGRADOFF, F. B. A., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. Vol. I. *Introduction; Tribal Law.* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford. 1920. Pp. ix, 428. 21s.)

THIRTY years ago Edward A. Freeman wrote privately that he believed a Russian scholar—whom he was just attending on that person's first visit to a court of quarter sessions—was about to achieve remarkable success in the investigation of early English institutions. In 1892 the appearance of Vinogradoff's *Villainage in England* proved that the great historian's faith was well grounded. That masterpiece has been followed by three fruitful decades of special studies, decades which have brought to the sometime foreign student knighthood, an Oxford professorship, and leadership among the world's great juridical thinkers and writers. He now undertakes a much broader and an exceedingly difficult task.

The present volume is devoted to origins—to "Tribal Law"; but the subject is taken up only after an elaborate introduction comprising 160 pages, or more than two-fifths of the entire discussion. Throughout the

work the marginal notes reveal a thorough mastery of a very large though selected literature. English and especially German works are conspicuously cited; while, on some topics, important American contributions are as conspicuously omitted.

The introduction comprises two distinct lines of inquiry, each in four chapters. Part I., "Law and the Sciences", examines the relations of Law and Logic, Law and Psychology, Law and Social Science, and Law and Political Theory. Part II., devoted to "Methods and Schools of Jurisprudence", considers in turn the Rationalists, Nationalists, Evolutionists, and Modern Tendencies in Jurisprudence. The learned author's views and judgments on a great number of vital questions challenge the reader's attention; but lack of space here forbids more than a few brief comments.

The relations of law and logic, as they are exhibited in the rules of evidence and pleading, and the chief fallacies through which the minds of jurors are often ensnared, are set forth with citations of pertinent cases in a way to delight the lawyer and to instruct the layman. Admirable as is the author's analysis of the pervading interrelations of law and psychology, one could have desired a less conservative treatment. For instance, in considering the "modern aspects" of the theory of emotion and instinct, one misses any reference to Trotter's notable investigation of human herd-instinct; and while one is grateful for the helpful discussion of "stages in the development of criminal law", "anthropological researches in criminal law", and the "problems of the policy of punishment", one is disappointed that no direct mention occurs of the rising demand for a radical reform in judicial procedure in order to utilize the accumulating evidence that mental deficiency is the basic cause of a large part of so-called crime. Should not tests of amentia and the psychopathic clinic become the initial stage in trials for crimes? Well says Dr. Parmelee, the American scholar, when "criminal procedure is based on criminal anthropology and sociology, crime will no longer be treated merely as a juridical phenomenon but primarily as an anthropological and social phenomenon".

In his account of the relation of law and the social sciences, Sir Paul crosses ground often trod by writers in recent years, notably by American scholars. On the whole, it cannot be said that he has much broadened our horizon. In particular, his appreciation of recent progress in sociological science seems to be restricted. He appears still to be too much under the sway of Spencer and the "organicists". "In truth," he declares, "apart from the well-known achievements of the great pioneers of the study—A. Comte as to the classification of the sciences and Herbert Spencer as to the application of the principles of physical evolution to social life—the best contributions to general sociology have been obtained by applying purposely one-sided theories to the investigation of society."

To perceive no real advance in general sociology since Comte and Spencer is indeed surprising. Is not the following dictum a bit provincial? "The more or less paradoxical fancies of Lester Ward provide, perhaps, more interesting reading, but the thought which suggests itself forcibly in the perusal of this writer's volumes is that his excursions into all the sciences are the very reverse of careful scientific inquiry: why should such random disquisitions pretend to be contributions to a new science?" Yet, making all due allowance for faulty psychology, it is agreed by the majority of scholars competent to pass judgment that Ward's great achievement is the release of sociology from Spencer's hampering biological method of treatment, and the revelation of it as essentially a psychological study. Hence, more than to any other one writer, credit must be given to Ward for the present marvelous development of sociological thought and its resulting practical applications. He clarified the mental atmosphere which Spencer and the "organicists" had befogged, and disclosed the real contrast between physical and social evolution.

It would be hard to find anywhere so compact and yet so comprehensive an account of the methods and schools of jurisprudence as that which the author has given us. "On the whole," he summarizes, "there can be no doubt that the idea of evolution has had a potent influence on jurisprudential studies"; though he justly protests against the hasty assumption of universal stages of social progress through which all mankind has run, an assumption so often made by German writers. If it be true that "recent developments in the domain of jurisprudence have not yet assumed a sufficiently distinctive character to entitle them to rank as a new epoch in the history of that science", it is not less true that the growing tendency to demand a thorough "socialization" of law deserves more emphatic consideration than one finds in the text. Some recognition of the sociological school of interpretation, of which in the United States Roscoe Pound is leader, would have been appreciated. Witness the revolt against the common-law superstitions of Blackstone and his followers.

Holding that the treatment of the problems of early society is "bound to be *ideological* and not *chronological*", Professor Vinogradoff proceeds to study "*historical types* as the foundation of a theory of law". The development of tribal law is presented in three parts, comprising in all ten chapters. "The Elements of the Family", in three chapters, entitled respectively Selection of Mates, the Mother and the Father, and Relationship and Marriage, is the subject of part I.

In the outset, we are told that the "earliest tribal moulds of society are based on conceptions of relationship and are derived from some form of family organization." Hence the "survey has to start from a study of the *marital union* as the initial institution which brings together and provides for the growth of society". The principal forms of marriage

and the family and the resulting theories to explain them are critically tested, in particular the rival theories of promiscuity or pairing as the original sexual relation. Professor Vinogradoff is not inclined to adopt Westermarck's theory of the pairing family as of general application. "We grant that there is some evidence that the institution of marriage may start from isolated pairs"; but, "considering the immense variety of conditions in ancient times, it is improbable that any exclusive theory will be true in all cases". Dealing as he does in these and some other chapters with materials handled by a host of writers from Bachofen to Westermarck, the author's independent judgments will be received with keen interest by students of early social life. As examples may be mentioned his discussion of the "roots" of exogamous and epigamous unions, and his views on the social status of women under the matrilineal and patrilineal systems. Under the patriarchal system, the fatherhood principle "centres on property"; for the "law of marital union depends less on the law of relationship, not to speak of affection, than on the law of property and authority." In marriage rightly so-called there must be a "contractual element". Marital union is sharply distinguished from marriage. "It is a fundamental fact that there is inherent in our connotation of the term 'marriage' an idea of reciprocal obligation which is not implied in mating or marital union." This distinction gives us the clue to the interesting discussion presented in the chapter on Relationship and Marriage.

Part II., on "Aryan Culture", in four strong chapters, drawn from a wide selection of source-material, considers Aryan Origins, the Patriarchal Household, the Joint Family, and Succession and Inheritance. Here Sir Paul has had the advantage of some of his own earlier special studies. The same is true of the masterly treatment of "Clan and Tribe", to which part III. is devoted. In three chapters, based chiefly though not wholly on a comparison of Roman, Celtic, Teutonic, and especially Anglo-Saxon sources, the text reaches its climax of interest and power. They treat respectively of the Organization of Kinship, Land Tenure, and the Law of the Tribal Federation; but the enlightening discussion may not here be even briefly summarized,

Professor Vinogradoff's book is a notable contribution to juridical literature; and the second volume, on the *Jurisprudence of the Greek City*, will be eagerly awaited.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine. Par R. CAGNAT, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France, et V. CHAPOT, Docteur ès Lettres, Ancien Membre de l'École d'Athènes. Tome Deuxième. *Décoration des Monuments (suite): Peinture et Mosaïque; Instruments de la Vie Publique et Privée.* (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1920. Pp. vi, 574. 30 fr.)

IN this second and last volume of a Manual of Roman Archaeology are the second part of book II., with four chapters on painting and mosaic, and book III., with sixteen chapters on public and private life. The last fifty-one pages contain the list of illustrations and the table of contents of this volume, and the index to both volumes. The manual has 704 illustrations, fig. 372 being the first one in the second volume. It is of course to be regretted that the cost of color-printing is prohibitive, for the value of the chapters on painting and mosaic would have been enhanced decidedly could color have been used. *Die Hellenische* and *Die Hellenistisch-Röemische Kultur*, by Baumgarten, Poland, and Wagner, are the two competitive cases in point. However it must be said that in spite of the paper, which is none too good, the illustrations in the manual are very clear indeed.

The history, the technique, the celestial and realistic repertoire, of both painting and mosaic, are handled in a sympathetic and learned way. As might be expected, most of the references are to paintings in Pompeii, and to mosaics in France or French Tunis. There is no reference at all to some of the finest of Roman mosaics in Italy. In fact recent literature, *i.e.*, since 1910, is hardly quoted. It would not be fair to expect any mention of the latest published finds of painting and stucco, inasmuch as they are still under controversy, but the *Notizie degli Scavi* has been full of material for the past ten years, especially in the articles on Ostia, which has almost taken a rank alongside Pompeii in importance for the interpretation of Roman antiquity.

The chapters on public and private life contain material carefully enough chosen to give a student a good general knowledge of the field. The titles of the chapters will show that the manual is sound in its method: religion, theatres, industry, commerce, weights and measures, vehicles, ships, military equipment, costumes, furniture, cooking utensils, musical writing, medical instruments, etc. The twenty-five pages devoted to theatrical and athletic affairs make a poor showing alongside the 160 pages given to the same subjects in the ninth edition of Friedländer, which has come from the press under date of 1919. The three sections, covering only fourteen pages, on coins, medallions, and tesserae, leave very much to be desired. On the other hand, the sections which deal with food-stuffs, and especially all those which deal with the phases of military life, are exceedingly satisfactory. They are fairly short, yet at the same time complete.

The authors have given us our first Manual of Roman Archaeology. It does not include some of the things that later manuals will contain, and it does not treat certain phases of Roman antiquity in as much detail as has been done in the books by Tenney Frank, H. S. Jones, J. E. Sandys, H. Bluemner, and L. Friedländer, nor has it the incisive grace of interpretation found in books by F. F. Abbott or Warde Fowler. The authors have chosen to use the new material found and published by

French archaeologists, and all of it is splendid material; but in doing so they have left out, probably on purpose, many things which are found in the works of the men mentioned above.

This manual is timely and is an excellent piece of work. Its authors are epigraphists and archaeologists of note, and they make almost no mistakes of fact. Roman archaeology has not been welcomed too warmly by the classicists, but this manual gives it a definite and irreproachable standing.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Benedictine Monachism: Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule.

By the Right Rev. CUTHBERT BUTLER, Abbot of Downside Abbey. (London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1919. Pp. 387. 18s.)

THIS volume "consists of a connected series of essays covering the most important aspects of Benedictine life and activities. It is addressed, of course, primarily to Benedictines, but it should appeal . . . also, in a special way, to those scholars and students who hold the Benedictine name in veneration." These words from the author's preface may serve to indicate not the contents only but some of the limitations of this book. It is not an historical account of the black monks but a "systematic exposition of what may be called the philosophy, the theory, of the Benedictine rule and life". The historical element is not indeed lacking but it is subordinated to the main purpose of the work.

The chapters (IV.-VIII.) dealing with the spiritual life will be valuable to all who wish to gain an understanding of the dynamic of monachism; equally useful are the chapters on the Benedictine Vows, and Benedictine Poverty. The ninth chapter is an elaborate foot-note on the Rule. There follow five chapters on questions of government and organization, affording a convenient account of the Benedictine world to-day; a prosaic narrative or rather an elaborate time-table of the daily monastic round; and a hundred pages devoted to the history and influence of the black monks. This last part of the volume is the most sketchy and unsatisfactory.

Through the major part of the exposition runs a mildly polemic strain: the Abbot of Downside sets forth and defends his interpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict with particular reference to present-day conditions, and some of the manifestations of Benedictinism he considers contrary to the mind of the founder. Two ideas, broadly interpreted in the light of Newman's doctrine of development, are met with again and again: the conception of the monastic family, the autonomous and autocephalous community, is one, and that St. Benedict did not intend his spiritual sons to live lives of marked austerity, is the other. Of the

first Benedictines he says, "The general conditions of life were probably no harder or rougher than would have been the lot of most of them had they remained in the world", and he deprecates any tendency toward a greater asceticism; any "hankering after self-inflicted austerities". The Benedictine life should be one of moderation; the Rule must be liberally interpreted; and so Abbot Butler approves of smoking "at discretion" and does not censure the use of flesh meat, though the Rule enjoins abstinence therefrom.

The present pronounced tendency toward centralization, endangering the autonomy of the individual monastery and its family life, disturbs the author. Although he does not say so, this may well be one of the inevitable results of the workings of the papal system. That the religious orders aided the papacy in extending its authority is well known; it would be not unprofitable, perhaps, to trace the development of papal jurisdiction in terms of its increased control over the regular clergy.

As an interpretation of the Benedictine philosophy this book will be of service to all who are interested in ecclesiastical institutions; but if regarded as an historical work it must be used with caution. Its author relies entirely too much on secondary material — *e. g.*, Gasquet and Workman and Hannay — and leaves untouched all too many phases of Benedictine history for the book to be considered a thorough and scholarly contribution to historical literature. Of course, it is possible that the work was never intended to be so regarded. In that case, it is unfortunate that some chapters were not omitted. The index is sadly incomplete.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

French Civilization from its Origins to the Close of the Middle Ages. By ALBERT LÉON GUÉRARD. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. 328. \$5.00.)

It is increasingly obvious to students of French literature that more attention is now given to the background than used to be the case. Formerly teachers and students were satisfied with aesthetic appreciation. Then came the development of historical and biographical study as an explanation of masterpieces. Now the authors are being placed in their social setting, and are interpreted as facts or results of national development. Professor Guérard of Rice Institute is already favorably known by his two volumes, *French Prophets of Yesterday*, and *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century*. A Frenchman by birth, but one who has lived long enough in America to express himself as idiomatically and as vigorously in English as in his mother-tongue, he is performing the useful task of linking history and literature by works such as the present one. It should help to break down the water-tight compartments which too long in the universities of this country, as contrasted, for instance, with Oxford, have separated the historians from the students of letters.

The volume in question is based on lectures given at Stanford University, the Rice Institute, and the University of Chicago. It endeavors to survey, in the brief space of about three hundred pages, French civilization from its origins to the close of the Middle Ages, under such general headings as the Elements of French Nationality, Antiquity and the Dark Ages, the Christian Commonwealth, and Lay Society. The task is ambitiously inclusive, as the author does not wittingly neglect any aspect of his study and extends his narrative from an introductory survey of French geography, with the mountains and river basins, to the flowering of civilization in art, literature, and philosophy, as well as in the more concrete organisms of medieval society, such as the Church and the clergy; the feudal régime, with the fighting caste and the peasants; the urban civilization with the communes, commerce, and industry; the royal power in relation to Church and feudalism; the Parliament and the States-General. Professor Guérard even begins his account with the prehistoric dwellers on French soil, and supplies the current theories concerning the Neanderthal race and the Crô-Magnon race, which latter has left interesting traces in caverns of the Dordogne region.

It is thus obvious that Professor Guérard's book is a work of comprehensive popularization, covering a vast field and necessarily relying on secondary sources. To test the accuracy of all its statements, ranging from ethnology through economics to literature, philosophy, and government, would be a serious endeavor, and to apply the method of censorious faultfinding would be unfair. If, however, the reviewer asks whether the book justifies the author's labor, the answer is confidently affirmative. There are few brief works of its kind so helpful in giving a reader his bearings in an extraordinarily rich and varied field of study. The presentation is clear and systematic, and, though the numerous headings and subtitles break, in a certain sense, the continuity of the narrative, nevertheless the author's power of exposition and his sense of proportion make the work of interest to the general reader as well as to the student of a special subject. The book overlaps the fields of many of the courses in American universities, but can be the more helpful in supplying the background to them all. It is the more to be regretted, therefore, that the cost of the short volume, printed in Great Britain and merely reissued in this country with the imprint of its American publishers, makes it one that comparatively few will feel like buying. C. H. C. WRIGHT.

A History of Scotland from the Roman Evacuation to the Disruption, 1843. By CHARLES SANFORD TERRY, Litt.D. Cantab., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. (Cambridge: University Press. 1920. Pp. lv, 653. 20s.)

PROFESSOR C. S. TERRY is already well known among scholars for his

work on Scotch manuscripts and history. He has, thus, many qualifications for writing his latest book, which is intended to hold a place as a one-volumed history, between the longer histories of Brown and Lang and mere school text-books.

Throughout we find continual evidence of wide reading, of careful research, and of independent judgments. The prevailing note is also one of severe objectivity. At no point is it possible to find personal preferences coloring the narrative or making it dubious or suspect. Professor Terry moves with detached calm among the intricacies of such history as the Scotch Reformation, Jacobitism, and the Disruption; and he at once impresses his readers with the fact that he possesses a fine sense of historical justice and restraint.

In division of subject and in emphasis there is excellent discrimination. For example, a third of the book is taken up with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which took place the crystallization of many of those features which became pregnant with purpose in Scotch history. Stress is also continually laid on ecclesiastical and religious events and movements which are so remarkably interwoven with political development that it is impossible to separate them, as in the histories of other countries.

On the other hand, there are singular weaknesses. Mr. Terry is undoubtedly possessed by his subject—a qualification for writing briefly upon it—but he lacks other qualifications. The style is lifeless. His use of words is at times irritating, if not obscure. His sentences are frequently involved, in places ambiguous and perverse. I have been compelled to read some of them several times. Again, his narrative becomes often overcrowded with personages and events. The compression, which the nature of such a book demands, is frequently arrived at by the recital of names and facts, and not by broad views, masterful generalizations. A thousand years are crushed into the first hundred and fifty pages in a manner dear to the unimaginative heart of a medieval chronicler; while the history from 1745 to 1843—a period of few “facts”, but one rich for interpretative insight—occupies only seventy pages.

The general defect, indeed, is that Professor Terry's conception of history is largely one of kings and prelates and personages—and of them there is no fine drawing—of governments and laws. We wonder, after reading his book, if there are such things as a Scotch people, Scotch social interactions, Scotch economic forces—spheres, in a word, pedestrian if you like, of which historical characters are but the surface. Mr. Terry tells us in his preface of his intention to emphasize “genealogical illustration”. That intention he carries out on the whole successfully; but it also serves to illustrate the limitations of his idea of history.

These failings are all the more vital in a book written for the general public. It may be a matter for discussion whether the historian ought to write for them; but granted the validity of the purpose, Mr. Terry has, broadly speaking, failed.

In claiming, too, only to restate the history, Mr. Terry believes that the format of his book excludes reference to all authorities. I have already pointed out its general accuracy; but its value is discounted by the plan. Contemporary phrases and such like are worked in with uniform success (Burnet's words often appearing without quotation marks), and they often provide interest and color; but there is nothing to guide the reader or to encourage him to further study. If Mr. Terry does not like to burden his pages with foot-notes, authorities at the end of each chapter could easily be inserted. However, it is fair to add that for that aspect of the history on which he lays stress, he has provided over forty pages of excellent "Pedigree Tables" which have been revised by the Lyon-King-of-Arms.

There are several good maps, a good index, and an interesting portrait of James V. lately come into the possession of the University of Aberdeen and apparently not previously reproduced.

W. P. M. KENNEDY.

Rois et Serfs, un Chapitre d'Histoire Capétienne. Par MARC BLOCH, Chargé de Cours à l'Université de Strasbourg. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1920. Pp. 224. 2 fr.)

THIS study of the policy of the Capetian kings toward the serfs upon the royal domain covers the period from about the middle of the twelfth century to the accession of the house of Valois in 1328. The closing date is arbitrarily chosen for the purpose of limiting the scope of the investigation, and by no means marks the close of an epoch in the history of serfdom.

In so far as the author is able to throw light upon the progress and extent of the movement toward emancipation, his principal results may be summarized as follows. The first considerable demand on the part of the serfs for freedom—doubtless stimulated by the rise of the communes—arose in the closing years of Louis VI., and it continued to grow in volume through the reign of St. Louis. At first this demand was resisted by the kings, and the earliest victories of the peasants were won only after prolonged struggles. (The emancipation of the serfs of Orleans, *e. g.*, was accomplished only after forty-three years of effort, 1137-1180.) But presently the monarchy came to realize that enfranchisements could profitably be exploited as a source of revenue, and during the reign of St. Louis the royal opposition was withdrawn. The first groups of serfs to gain their freedom were, as one would expect, those of certain towns and their environs; but during the reign of St. Louis emancipations took place upon a large scale in rural districts, and the number of serfs who gained their freedom at this time must have been great. Owing to a change in administrative methods under the successors of St. Louis, records of but few enfranchisements were preserved in the archives of the central government, and it therefore be-

comes much more difficult to trace the further history of the emancipation movement. Apparently there was a falling off in the demand for freedom at this time. At any rate the needs of the treasury were such that offers of freedom by the government far outran the peasants' demands, and special commissioners were sent into the provinces to urge upon the royal serfs the purchase of manumissions. Traces of the activities of these commissioners have survived for the years 1291, 1296, 1299, 1302, 1315, and 1318; but to what extent the serfs availed themselves of these costly opportunities it is impossible to say. A venerable tradition credits Louis X. and Philip V. with having ordered a general enfranchisement of the serfs on all the royal domain in 1315 and 1318. The author demonstrates the falsity of this tradition. The operations of these monarchs in the matter of manumissions were confined to the two *bailliages* of Senlis and Vermandois; the celebrated "Ordonnances" of 1315 and 1318 were not general edicts of emancipation at all, but letters patent despatching royal commissioners into the two regions above mentioned for the sale of manumissions; and the fame of these documents is due solely to the literary fancies of the clerk who drafted their extraordinary preamble: "Sans l'éloquence intempestive d'un clerc, l'histoire se serait à peine souvenue de ce modeste épisode." It is impossible to draw conclusions as to the extent of the enfranchisements which took place during the reigns of Philip the Fair and his sons.

The Capetian kings, be it well understood, in granting freedom to their serfs were not moved by pious motives or by the vague, traditional notions of natural freedom which pervaded the atmosphere of the Middle Ages. Financial considerations alone determined their attitude toward their serfs. There is no reason to suppose that either the good St. Louis or any of his predecessors or successors were moved by other motives. Different methods of exploitation were practised at different periods. At one time the attempt was made to increase the income from servile dues by the more efficient collection of *mainmortes* and *formariages*, at another to reap greater, but more transient, profits from the sale of manumissions. The greatly increased needs of the treasury caused the government to redouble its efforts to profit by such sales at the opening of the fourteenth century. Considerations of space forbid us to dwell upon the author's admirable survey of the development of this aspect of royal financial policy, or to do more than mention the concise information which he has brought together concerning the numerous collectors of *mainmortes* and *formariages* and the commissioners for the sale of manumissions who served the Capetian kings. It is earnestly to be hoped that he will be able in the near future to complete the more comprehensive work upon *Les Populations Rurales de l'Île-de-France à l'Époque du Servage*, of which the present study is to form but a complement, *un chapitre détaché*.

Ireland under the Normans, 1216-1333. By GODDARD HENRY ORPEN, Member of the Royal Irish Academy. Volumes III. and IV. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920. Pp. 314; 343. 30s.)

THESE two volumes, which complete the survey of the Anglo-Norman age of Irish history begun by Mr. Orpen ten years ago,¹ show the same qualities that distinguished their predecessors: careful research, critical judgment, and an honest endeavor for historical truth. In a larger measure they are pioneer work, pieced together from isolated annalistic entries and from public records, without the aid of any such central body of chronicle as exists for contemporary England. Skeptical of well-known writers like Roger of Wendover (III. 66-72) and John Barbour (IV. 165 ff.), the author prefers to rely on documentary evidence, and he has utilized minutely the surviving rolls and calendars and inquisitions, unconscious records "not designed to influence posterity, but intended for immediate use in the ordinary course of administration or business".

A narrative built up in this way must suffer from lack of continuity, particularly in a period when Irish history is chiefly concerned with the doings of local families, with little in the way of common organization to give it unity or direction. It inheres in the subject that much of the space must be given to the partition of Leinster among the daughters of William Marshal, the deeds of the Fitzgeralds in Munster, the conquest of Connaught and the rivalries to which it gave rise, the more isolated story of the earldom of Ulster, and the deeds of native kings like Brian O'Neill and Aedh O'Connor, "the destroyer and improver of all Erin during the period of his own renown, dignity, and time".

In all this interplay of tribal chieftainship and Norman feudalism Mr. Orpen is not blind to the institutional side. "Whatever disadvantages were inherent in the devolution of a Celtic chieftainship—and from the point of view of social order and progress they were many and grave—the system was at least free from these evils of feudal succession", the division of a great fief "among female heirs whose husbands were absentees with greater interests elsewhere", and the long periods of administration by bailiffs of the crown who had no permanent interest in the welfare of the holding. So again the problem of Connaught was complicated by the fact that the first feoffees were already great feudal lords elsewhere.

As regards general policy, it appears that the weaknesses of Henry III., always "something of a spoilt child", counted for little in Ireland, unless it be his "political ineptitude" in dealing with the reserved cantreds of Connaught. The barons remained loyal, their local independence little restrained by the royal justiciars, and there was no barons' war here. By failing to visit Ireland in the course of his long reign, Henry

¹ See this *Review*, XVII. 361 ff.

set an example generally followed by his successors, though Edward III. went so far as to plan a visit in 1332. Edward I., both as prince and as king, was an absentee, and his high talents as a ruler had small effect in Ireland; yet his reign "was in fact the culminating period of the whole Anglo-Norman epoch", and the long decline began with the invasion of Edward Bruce in 1315. It was characteristic of Edward I. that he should seek to introduce English law into Ireland as into Wales, "because the laws which the Irish use are detestable to God, and so contrary to all law that they ought not to be deemed laws". The impracticability of such a measure is clearly recognized by Mr. Orpen, who points out that by the fourteenth century the question became rather how to prevent the resident English from adopting Irish law. In law, as in everything else, Ireland was but half conquered. The first parliament was held in 1297; that of 1310 passed many ordinances which, as an annalist remarks, "would have been very useful had they been observed".

Most readers will find the chief interest in the concluding chapter, where the author enlarges the survey of One Hundred and Sixty Years of Norman Rule which he began in the second volume and continued in an article in this *Review* (XIX. 245-256). It is illuminating to bring the Norman conquest of Ireland into the same perspective as the conquest of England and Sicily. While declaring that Henry II. "had a better title to Ireland than his great-grandfather had to England", Mr. Orpen has no illusions as to the "veneer of legality" which covered Norman self-seeking. Keeping strictly to the Middle Ages, he distinguishes sharply the indirect and remote consequences of Anglo-Norman domination from the more direct and immediate results, which he finds distinctly beneficent as contrasted with the "two centuries of retrogression, stagnation, and comparative anarchy" which followed. In particular the material progress of the country is shown by fresh evidence; even in a matter like coinage the absence of earlier Irish mints assured an advance over the earlier period which Professor Oman has denied to the Norman conquest of England. On the inherent weaknesses of the English occupation the author is less informing. The chief of these, as he sees it, was the persistence of Celtic tribalism alongside a decaying feudalism. But that is another story, which needs to be worked out for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in a continuation which Mr. Orpen is best qualified to write. Such a work will supply useful material for comparative study of the results of Norman conquest in general, as well as the indispensable background for Tudor policy in Ireland.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Weltgeschichte in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. In Verbindung mit . . . herausgegeben von LUDO MORITZ HARTMANN. Band V. *Das Späte Mittelalter.* Von KURT KASER. (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.-G. 1921. Pp. vi, 278. M. 24.)

THIS is the fifth volume of the Hartmann *Weltgeschichte*, twice be-

fore mentioned in these pages (XXV. 641; XXVI. 495). The volume now under consideration covers the period from the death of Frederick II. through the Renaissance, to about 1517, in six sections of several chapters each. The first section, on State and Church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, treats of the papal relations with France, England, and the Empire, the condition of the Empire, and the Italian political world from 1200 to 1400. This is succeeded by a section on economic developments—the commercial predominance of Italy, the growth of capitalistic enterprise there, the activities of the Germans in the field of world-trade to the close of the fourteenth century. Next comes a long section on the erection of strong monarchical states in Western Europe—two chapters each on France and England, one on the Hundred Years' War, and one on Spain, to about 1500. The fourth section deals with the sixteenth-century situation in Central and Eastern Europe, the Imperial and French rivalry for control of the Italian Peninsula, the Turks, and the foundation of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The fifth section, like the third, is entirely devoted to economic affairs: the loss of commercial supremacy by the Italians, capitalistic developments in Germany and in the Netherlands, capitalism in its wider aspects as a new force with profound effects on Church, State, and society, have a chapter each. The final section, given up to the Church at the close of the Middle Ages, sweeps the reader through the Babylonian Captivity, the schism, the councils, the situation of the papacy on the eve of the Reformation, and, somewhat out of breath, into eight pages on the Renaissance, where it leaves him wondering how much of the next volume, by the same author, will be devoted to the intellectual movement here so briefly discussed.

The bibliographical lists are even shorter than in the volume on the early Middle Ages by Hellmann. Preceding each section there is a short list of secondary authorities on that particular field. As for sources, the reader is rather curtly recommended to Herre and Hellmann-Waitz. A chronological table of important events covers two pages. There is no index.

As in Hellmann's volume, the broad currents only are emphasized, here with singularly successful freedom from detail and in the main with a sure hand. Quite the most admirable portions of the book are the two sections on economic conditions and progress. Suggestive, excellent in balance, they present not uncritically the conclusions of many specialists. These sections alone, if the work were in English, would place the volume in general use. There are other pages and passages of interpretation of a similarly striking character that should prove to be deeply interesting to a casual reader of history, if there be any by whom a work in German could be used. In any *Weltgeschichte* necessarily and intentionally compressed within very limited space, an author is bound here and there to make general statements of his point of view

without full opportunity of proof, perhaps even of discussion. Such statements are arresting, provocative, therefore valuable to the informed reader, and questionable, therefore often dangerous to the uninformed. The following quotations will illustrate: "Der Kapitalismus mit seiner ausgebildeten, harten Kreditwirtschaft, seinem rast- und grenzelosen Erwerbsstreben, ist ein Element jener geistigen Revolution, die sich im 13. Jahrhundert gegen die Kirche erhebt" (p. 57); "Ludwig XI. und Richard III. umgibt der Blutgeruch der italienischen Renaissance" (p. 270).

Both press-work and proof-reading are vastly better than in the preceding volume. Kaser has set a good standard for his own book on the period to 1789, probably now ready, and for the numerous other volumes projected for the series.

E. H. B.

Le Cardinal Nicholas de Cues, 1401-1464: l'Action, la Pensée.

Par EDMOND VANSTEENBERGHE, Docteur. ès Lettres et en Théologie. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1920. Pp. xix, 506. 35 fr.)

THIS biographical study of Nicholas of Cusa is of very timely interest to everyone who cares for historical analogies. Cusa's manifold activities were synchronous with the life of the Council of Basel and with the extraordinary reactions of European politics that followed it. The slower pace of political development as compared with the fevered rush of affairs to-day cannot conceal the striking similarities between that great Congress of Nations and the deliberations of the Powers since the armistice of 1918. Then as now there were vast programmes of reconstruction inspired by the loftiest idealism; there were prophets of a new time preaching the gospel of a triumphant democracy; and then as now there were the cruel facts of an unregenerate world blocking every specific reform and calling for "practical" measures of delay and compromise.

Nicholas of Cues, son of a Moselle bargeman, precocious scholar, Heidelberg student, doctor in canon law at Padua, secretary to a papal legate in Germany, ardent collector of classical manuscripts, and correspondent of all the chief Italian humanists, enthusiastic member of the Council of Basel and then its most determined opponent, finally cardinal of the reforming pope Nicholas V. and his most active agent in bringing the restless churches of the North into line with the papal policy—was the very embodiment of his time. Dr. Vansteenberghé has drawn for us a very attractive picture of his hero. It is sympathetic without being adulatory, critical in the best sense but not faultfinding. The book is divided into two main sections of almost precisely equal length, under the headings of "Action" and "Thought". In the former we are given a survey of Nicholas's course of life with especial emphasis upon those phases which distinctly characterize his relation to public events.

The central point of this presentation is, of course, the Council, Cusa's influence upon it, and its reaction upon his own views of polity both state and ecclesiastical. In the chapter headed the Programme of Action we have a very clever analysis of the famous treatise *De Concordantia Catholica*, probably the best known of Cusa's writings. Published in the second year of the Council and based upon the previous action of Constance, especially upon the principle there laid down that a general council is superior to a pope, this new presentation is made under the impression of the new difficulties that had arisen since the great peril of the Schism had been overcome. The war was over, the peace had been proclaimed; but how to apply the principles of 1415 to the actualities of 1431? It was in the effort to answer this question that Cusa found himself in a growing antagonism to the leaders at Basel, to the men with whom he had hoped to work in a permanent readjustment of European affairs.

He believed, as they did, in a reform of society from the bottom upward, but he was not prepared to go with them to the length of rejecting the sanctified authority of a divine head working from above downward. When it came to that, he and his Paduan master Caesarini could not hesitate. They threw over the Council and cast in their lot with the sorely pressed papal cause. Cusa became in truth the "Hercules of the Eugenists", laboring henceforth with unremitting zeal to bring back the wavering peoples of the North to their early loyalty.

As to the second, the intellectual side of Nicholas's activity, the interest of to-day is less vivid. If we seek for a word to classify him it would be, perhaps, "speculative physicist". His philosophy was that of unity in contradiction, and his present biographer has rather happily illustrated this by a continuous parallelism between his life of thought and his life of action. He sums it all up in the one characterization of his subject as above all else a "man of peace"—peace between the warring elements of human society, peace in the apparent conflicts of the world of phenomena and their reflection in the mind of man, and peace also in the individual soul between the allurements of passion and the highest leadings of the Christian intuition. Yet these various harmonies were to be attained only by unremitting warfare, and the heritage of Cusa was only a stimulation to renewed conflict leading on to the inevitable cleavage of the Protestant Revolution.

The value of Dr. Vansteenberghe's work is increased by several appendixes giving a very complete bibliography of Cusa's works, a chronological and topical index to his sermons, and an itinerary of his German legation.

E. EMERTON.

The Age of the Reformation. By PRESERVED SMITH, Ph.D. [American Historical Series.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1920. Pp. xii, 861. \$6.00.)

AMONG the many historians, some of them scholars of no mean capacity, who, in the course of the last quarter of a century, have attempted to analyze the nature and define the limits of the theological revolutions of the sixteenth century, and to give a general sketch of that age, no other writer has produced a work as useful, alike for the college student and the general public, as is the present volume by Dr. Preserved Smith. It would be idle to pretend entire agreement with all his ascriptions and conclusions. And, indeed, this was surely not among his expectations, for no poorer compliment could be paid to a suggestive writer than to intimate that he aroused in his readers nothing but monotonous assent. We may, however, assert with confidence that, for many years to come, no competent student of the period will henceforth pursue his labor without paying respectful attention to the present work.

There are fourteen chapters in the book. The first one sets the stage for the drama of revolt; and then six succeeding ones tell of the revolutions from the mother Church in the Germanic lands, in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland. This brings us to the middle of the volume. The remaining chapters are devoted to the Counter-Reformation, the Iberian Peninsula and the Expansion of Europe, Social Conditions, the Capitalistic Revolution, the Main Currents of Thought, the Temper of the Times, and the Reformation Interpreted.

The first chapter is necessarily highly condensed; but it is written clearly and is arranged effectively. Scattered throughout it, as through the other chapters, are many statements *ex authenticis fontibus*, and not infrequently there is evidence of original and enlightening reflection. In the midst of these excellencies are a few errors, such as the statement that without baptism "the unwashed soul, whether heathen or child of Christian parents, would go to eternal fire". The ancestral church was never so cruel. She was thoughtful and kindly enough to provide a harbor of refuge for those unhappy little ones, a pathetic dim-lighted place of lost possibilities, whose position as the vestibule to hell is indicated in the opening pages of the *Divine Comedy*. In the position, indeed, one finds the origin of the name Limbo. There the children dwell eternally, never to be disturbed even by the blast of the final archangelic trumpet. It remained for Calvin to condemn them to the awful and unremitting terrors of eternal fire. One must object, also, to the use of the phrase "the worship of the saints". Worship, in the teaching of the Church, was accorded only to God. The saints and angels were adored. There is a vital difference between the two words and the two ideas they represent. One of the finest things in the chapter is the exposition of the work of Lorenzo Valla. Nowhere else, as far as

the knowledge of the present writer goes, is there to be found in such brief compass so satisfactory a statement of the scope and significance of that keen-sighted and far-sighted humanist.

The explanation of the theory of indulgences is inadequate. Without other aid than that afforded by this book it would be impossible to arrive at a correct understanding of the subject. And the same defect is to be found in the exposition of Luther's central doctrine. Justification by faith alone? Yes. But faith in what? "Faith in the Redeemer", we are told. But one shall ask the great majority of college undergraduates to analyze that phrase correctly and ask in vain. And then when one goes a step further and asks how that faith was to be obtained, one is left waiting for the answer. It is no minor matter, for upon that answer depends the understanding of the fundamental dogma of Calvin. It is the theological point of departure for Protestantism.

When we come to the explanation of the origin of the name "Protestantism", another statement is found that may well be misleading. At the first Diet of Spire, which met in 1526, it was decided that until a general council should be held in a German city, each separate Germanic state should so conduct its religious affairs "as it hoped to answer for its conduct to God and the Emperor". This meant, of course, the control of religious affairs in the free cities by the magistrates, and in the provinces by the princes. At the second Diet of Spire, held three years later, this privilege of dictation was revoked. This revocation called forth the famous "protest". It was not a protest in behalf of the right of every individual man to choose his own religion; nor was it even a protest in behalf of the majority of the inhabitants of a particular city or province to choose the religion they desired. It was a protest on the part of the rulers against the revocation of the right, which three years previously they had acquired, arbitrarily to prescribe the religion of their subjects. How can we be sure, then, that the correct impression will be conveyed to the reader when he comes upon the statement that "the evangelical members of the Diet, much aggrieved at this blow to their faith, published a protest taking the ground that the recess of 1526 had been in the nature of a treaty and could not be abrogated without the consent of both parties to it"?

In the midst of an excellent chapter on Zwingli we are startled by the declaration that the Anabaptists were "an uncultured and ignorant group", that they were, indeed, the "Bolsheviki of the sixteenth century". Has our author, with all his wide and deep acquaintance with the historical literature of that time, not made himself familiar with the fast increasing mass of documents and secondary writings that makes such an opinion something less than just? In this new echo of an old hostility, which in the course of its reverberations has lost nothing of the original ignorance or narrowness, we seem to hear the voice of a prosecuting attorney rather than that of a judge. And when we read,

later on, that the Anabaptists added their voices to the prevailing "chorus of bibliolatry", the conclusion is irresistible that our author has never known these much maligned mystics, the majority of whom, at least before their leaders were exterminated, were not revolutionaries at all, but rather passive and recluse ascetics, in part exponents of the finest elements of humanism, and opponents of the crude literal creeds of the new theologies of the time.

The most central thought of our day is selfhood. It is a duty, we believe, as well as a right for each of us to lead his own life. Our cardinal virtues are self-control and self-reliance. Selfhood, self-help, self-reliance, self-respect, and self-realization—we hold them all to be undoubted virtues. And there were men of the sixteenth century who likewise esteemed them. This is made evident by our author in his exposition of many a thinker of that time, notably Rabelais and Montaigne. Why then does he ask us to believe that in the doctrine of predestination, in "the complete abandon to God and in the earnestness that was ready to sacrifice all to his will", there was "a certain moral grandeur"? The present writer, at least, can find in it nothing but moral abasement.

A regrettable defect is the ignoring, or inadequate treatment, of such leaders of liberal thought as Lelio Socini, Bernardino Ochino, Hans Denck, Sebastian Franck, and Caspar Schwenkfeld, in whom were embodied the profoundest aspirations, the most enduring hopes, the most generous and unselfish activities, and the most disinterested quest of truth of the time. It was they, together with some of the humanists, who more than any other men of the period strove to transform the slaves of compulsion into the children of freedom.

And now to speak of the merits of the book, for which we have left ourselves too small a space. The volume is admirably arranged, and the contents of each chapter are based upon an unusually wide knowledge of both original and secondary sources. There are few pages not rendered more valuable and interesting by the author's own thought, and vitalized by a marked power of telling statement. The interpretation of all the principal movements of the period is intelligent, liberal, and convincing, and entitles the author to be ranked with the best authorities upon the period in this, and in every other country. The book, necessarily, is compressed; but the disadvantage is overcome by a distinct gift of subordinating detail to main effects. It was a happy thought to devote a chapter to the interpretation of the Reformation by the writers who have made serious study of the period. With the aid of this chapter, the matter of which is arranged chronologically, but also with attention to the changing stream of thought, we can see, as nowhere else, what men of all confessions and schools of thought have had to say of the movement in the years that have intervened between the sixteenth century and our own day. It is a book of which the scholarship of our country may well be proud.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

Ireland in the European System. By JAMES HOGAN, Professor of History, University College, Cork. Volume I., 1500-1557. (London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xxx, 237. 12s. 6d.)

MR. H. G. WELLS in his *Outline of History* ventured the statement that Ireland contributed little or nothing to the general drama of European history before the nineteenth century. This volume is designed to prove the contrary. Strangely enough the author has chosen to begin his study with the year 1500. One would have thought that he could have refuted Mr. Wells far more convincingly had he begun ten centuries earlier. The reason why he did not do so becomes increasingly evident as his work proceeds. His real interest in Ireland lies in the development of her national consciousness and he finds the first expression of that consciousness in her revolt against Tudor despotism in the sixteenth century.

It is easy enough to agree with his denunciation of the Irish policy of the Tudors but not so easy to admit the national character of Irish resistance to it. Anyone familiar with the absolutely chaotic state of native Irish politics in the sixteenth century, and with the readiness of rival chieftains to court English assistance in their tribal quarrels, will demand far stronger proof than the author adduces for the existence of anything like a centralized national consciousness opposed to English rule, which he never tires of insisting upon. The fact is that the Tudors found it easy to tyrannize over Ireland for the simple reason that the Irish revealed practically no capacity for combined action against tyranny. It was not so much that they lacked leaders or organization. They lacked the essential spirit which would have provided both. On no other ground is it possible to explain the ability of Henry VIII., and particularly of Elizabeth, to maintain their policy in Ireland with the modest expenditure of blood and treasure which they were prepared to invest.

Professor Hogan is only indirectly concerned with this question, though his attitude toward it disposes him to regard every petty Irish refugee in Europe as a national ambassador and every cattle-raid as a national revolt. His main purpose is to disclose the position of Ireland in the European system. So far as this first volume goes he is chiefly concerned with the relations between Ireland and the French crown. It cannot be said that he throws any fresh light on this subject. His researches have evidently been confined to material accessible in French, and it is not always easy to gather from his references how much use he has made even of printed source material. One wonders for example what he means by such a reference as "*Domestic Calendar, Edward VI., volume III.*" (p. 83, nn. 1, 2.), when one recalls that the domestic calendars begin with the year 1547 and that the first volume of them covers the period 1547-1580; or to what he refers (p. 82, n. 1) when he cites

Irish MSS. State Papers, London. To secondary material he makes but slight reference and it is apparent from his text that he has ignored much of it. In fact as a piece of serious original research his work hardly deserves attention.

Of the general background of French history upon which his Irish facts and fancies are projected he reveals amazingly little knowledge. It is bad enough to have him maintain of Henry II. that few more honorable, generous, and accomplished kings have ever ruled France (p. 93). When he proclaims Catharine de Medici to have been "the animating spirit and the avenging fury of the Catholic party in France" (p. 95), he is about as wide of the mark as it is possible to be. It is hard to believe that he has even read Lavissee, letting alone the *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, which he cites in support of his statement.

In general the author would have us believe that the Irish situation played a part of first-rate importance in the calculations of the French crown when it was looking about for ways to do harm to England. But the facts do not bear him out, even if one confines one's attention to the facts as he presents them. With the splendid opportunities which Scotland presented, France had little need to think seriously of Ireland, though it was naturally the part of good policy to offer Irish rebels as much encouragement as could be cheaply given.

Professor Hogan is an ardent Irish nationalist. He is located at Cork. Probably, under these circumstances, he is not at present in the frame of mind to do serious historical research work. He is certainly not in the frame of mind to write judiciously about Irish history—even sixteenth-century Irish history.

CONYERS READ.

La Réforme en Italie. By E. RODOCANACHI. Part I. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1920. Pp. 465. 10 fr.)

THIS newest contribution to the history of the Reformation in the sixteenth century is at first an agreeable surprise. Since Thomas McCrie wrote, in 1827, to be translated then into German, French, and Italian, no comprehensive work has been offered us. Comba's *Storia della Riforma in Italia* never got beyond the first volume, and his *I nostri Protestanti*, like Cantù's *Gli Eretici d'Italia*, conforms to the exigencies of the title. Mrs. White, in 1860, attempted much the same thing under the guise of a biography of Aonio Paleario; but her studies, as well as the modern ones of Mrs. Andrews ("Christopher Hare"), on "Men and Women of the Italian Reformation", aim at a wider public. The present writer, author of several works on the antiquities of the city of Rome and on Renaissance life, who has made one creditable excursion into the field of Reformation studies with his *Renée de France*, has sought to avoid the biographical method and—at least in this first part—the geographical,

which was the defect of McCrie criticized in 1876 by Masi.¹ Moreover he abandons the usual prelude on reformers before the Reformation. He is concerned solely with the reform which was based on justification by faith, and barely mentions, at the outset of his first chapter, the followers of Arnold of Brescia, of Saint Francis, of Marsiglio of Padua. Even Savonarola gets scant place, and only as the one whose sermons prepared men's minds for the message that came later. The author's conception of his subject seems clear at the start. If, in the second part of his work, as is suggested by various hints in the course of this first part, he intends to devote separate headings to the local movements in the various cities, there is a prospect that he is not going to lose sight of his main thesis, for, where biographical sketches have been necessary, he has grouped them under a single heading, "*La Prédication—Les Principaux Apôtres de la Réforme*", and the sketches themselves are of the briefest.

The task is not easy, the old superstructure set aside—and failing a personality to champion a definite idea and command enthusiasm everywhere. Luther would have signified less to the Germans, as also Calvin to the Genevans, had they not served as the exponents of political as well as of religious independence of the foreigner. But in Italy, no one as yet dreamed of expelling the foreigner, but only of getting rid of his political enemies, and not one of the Italian reformers had the patriotic significance which would make more coherent a history of the Reformation in Italy. Juan Valdes, who above all influenced the thought of those who protested in Italy against the ecclesiastical abuses rampant everywhere, was himself of Spain, the foreign oppressor *par excellence* of Italy. At Naples, Valdes taught in the spirit of Erasmus; but contact with him was the turning-point for Ochino, Vermigli, and Giulio da Milano, to mention only the greatest names in his numerous circle, while Curione edited his *Cento e dieci Divine Considerazioni*, which Vergerio had carried out of Italy. From his circle, too, came the *Benefizio di Cristo Crocifisso*, which was to the Italian Reform what Calvin's *Institutes* were to the French. If the story of the Reformation in Italy is homogeneous and to be regarded as the development of the thought of Valdes—which seems to be the purpose of Rodocanachi—it needs also to be related to the political currents of the time, which might well be a chapter reserved for the second volume. But of this we can only divine that the author's conclusion is to be the old one as to the result of the movement. It has disappeared! He proposes to set forth "*les causes diverses qui amenèrent la disparition du protestantisme en Italie*" (p. 358).

¹ In his study on *I Burlamacchi*. But McCrie wrote at a time when it was more difficult than now to generalize on divided Italy, and Masi at a time when Italians were thinking of everything in terms of unity. 1876 was, in fact, the year which marked the downfall of the party of the Right, who, after Italy was made, set about to make the Italians.

It is with considerable disappointment that one lays down the thick volume, with its abundant if not particularly fresh material. The first chapter, "*Caractère de la Réforme en Italie*", characterizes the Italian Reformation as rather on discipline than on dogmas, and explains the fact, asserted without hesitation, that Luther found more followers in Italy than did Calvin, the reason being Luther's greater latitude on the matter of the will. Yet far more Italians found refuge at Geneva than elsewhere when the persecutions began, and the quarrel with the Reformers beyond the Alps came not on account of predestination. The only conspicuous Lutheran among the Italian leaders was Vergerio, and he would have been a Calvinistic leader had fortune thrown him into the Calvinistic camp. Whatever lay at the bottom of the Italian Reform—and the causes, on the evidence cited by Rodocanachi, were not here much different from elsewhere—the outcome was the sharpest contest on dogma which ever divided the ranks of the Reformed, that on the divine nature of Christ; the teaching of Italian reformers on this was, and is, their contribution to the history of religious thought during the Reformation. But the author so seldom ventures on a synthesis of the facts he has marshalled in order, that it seems ungrateful to carp at any of his excursions into generalization. Thus the greater part of the "*Causes qui Favorisent le Développement de la Réforme*" contains a wealth of illustration of clerical immorality and religious fervor and criticism of the pope, but it does not appear clearly just why attacks on discipline resulted in Protestant tracts instead of a peasants' rebellion or a schism in the papacy or a Utopia, if the Italian Reformation "*s'attaqua plutôt à la discipline qu'aux dogmes, aux représentants de l'Église qu'à l'Église elle-même*" (p. 1).

The account of the Academies, a subject which still remains to be estimated in its relation to heresy in Italy, is perfunctory, and there is not one reference to the idea developed by Wernle that the doctrine of justification came from the Platonic Academy at Florence, drawn through Plotinus and Augustine to St. Paul; and that Colet, Erasmus, and Lefèvre all imbibed it of Ficino. Most welcome is the evidence of acquaintance with original sources (though the chapter on the "*Moeurs du Clergé*" alone rests on unprinted matter); and intriguing is the printing in the appendix of a selection from Ochino's Dialogues—chosen on what basis the author does not say—followed by extracts from the printed treatises of Cardinal Contarini, and a catalogue, also accessible in print, of the library of Vermigli.² Timely, though not aspiring to be exhaustive or of more than casual satisfaction, are lists of the principal editions of the works of the propagators of the Reform.

Typographical errors are unpleasantly frequent.

FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

² With names of classic authors quoted now in French, now in Latin, just as happens.

A History of Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer. By WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Litt.D., Lieber Professor of History and Political Philosophy in Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. lx, 446. \$4.00.)

IN completing this, the third and last drama, as it were, of his trilogy, Professor Dunning may very well say, "Exegi monumentum", and his readers may very well add, "Bravo". He has traced the history of political theory "from the days of Socrates to those of Herbert Spencer", for twenty-three centuries, through seventy-seven generations of mortal men. It is hardly a history of progress (few would say that Spencer had gone beyond Socrates): it is rather, perhaps, a history of the wheel coming full circle—not indeed that Spencer is Socrates *redivivus*, but rather, as Professor Dunning says, that to-day's "nationalism is but the theory of the city-state writ large", while to-morrow's socialism may be Plato's republic, brought down from the heavens where he left it to our human earth. All manner of vicissitudes have filled the interval—city-states, world-states, nation-states; divine monarchies (from Alexander to the last of the German kaisers), sovereign parliaments, sovereign pontiffs, direct primaries. Facts, and the theories based on facts, have boxed the compass. And yet the state is still with us, and—unless syndicalists have their day—it will remain with us; and the popular structure it shows, and the broad functions it assumes to-day, are closer to Greek times than anything we have seen for centuries.

In this volume Professor Dunning covers some 120 years, from Rousseau's *Du Contrat Social* of 1762 to Spencer's *The Man versus the State* of 1884. There is hardly a thinker, American, English, French, Italian, or German, who is not treated, and treated adequately, so far as the scale of the volume permits. Personally, I am sorry that Mazzini and Carlyle are omitted: if they were not professional theorists of politics, they yet thought and wrote much about politics; and I should have been glad to see an appreciation of T. H. Green, one of the profoundest of the English theorists of the period. I am sorry, too, that Professor Dunning ends in 1880; for his *terminus ad quem* excludes Émile Durkheim, one of the most remarkable French thinkers of the period, as it also excludes Tarde and Duguit. Some of them might have been historically treated. I find, for instance, an excellent chapter on Durkheim and the sociological school in D. Parodi's *La Philosophie Contemporaine en France*. Among the Germans I should like to have seen some account of Jellinek's *Allgemeine Staatslehre*; it has long since, I fancy, displaced Bluntschli's books, and is the classical work in Central and Eastern Europe. But I am grateful for excellent accounts of other German thinkers, among which I should signal out, as especially suggestive and useful, the accounts of Fichte, and of Lorenz von Stein, a thinker who (Professor Dunning convinces me) deserves very close attention. On the other hand, Gierke's *Deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*

(with the all-important chapter II. of its third volume, published as long ago as 1881, and translated by Maitland under the title of *Political Theories of the Middle Age*—a translation which has had great influence), fails to find admission.

Perhaps the most serious defect in Professor Dunning's volume is his treatment of Rousseau. He does not seem to have used Professor Vaughan's monumental edition of Rousseau's political writings, and he has repeated some ancient errors from which a use of that edition would have saved him (as, for instance, the error that Rousseau believed in a return to "nature"), while he has not appreciated the curious and unreconciled mixture, in Rousseau's theory, of Locke's individualism and Plato's collectivism. One of the best elements in the volume is the account of nationalism, and of the various strands of thought which are woven together in nationalistic theory. Almost equally good is the account of what is called "Societarian" Political Theory, though this would have been still better if, in the first place, more had been said of the distinction between state and society (of which much has been written latterly), and, in the second place (as has already been suggested), some space had been given to recent sociological theory in France.

The end of all, however, is gratitude to a veteran in his subject for a work which shows that his hand has lost none of its cunning.

ERNEST BARKER.

Napoleon's Navigation System: a Study of Trade Control during the Continental Blockade. By FRANK EDGAR MELVIN, Ph.D. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 1919. Pp. xv, 449. \$2.50.)

THIS monograph, prepared under the auspices of Professor Lingelbach as a part of his general scheme for economic studies in the Revolutionary-Napoleonic time, is a notable contribution to the commercial and institutional history of the Napoleonic Era. The author's investigation has been unusually wide and deep. Practically unused economic and administrative cartons in the Archives Nationales were thoroughly combed, the Public Record Office searched as far as the state of classification permitted, the American diplomatic and consular archives dissected, and the private collections of American statesmen and diplomats used to an extent hardly indicated by the excellent bibliography, which, with the foot-notes, would make this work, if nothing else, a valuable guide-post for future investigation in the same general field.

The author has set himself the double task of tracing in every detail the evolution of the Continental blockade from the Berlin Decree to the downfall of the Grand Empire, with special reference to the system of licenses and permits; and of deducing the policy and meaning of this evolution, and, indeed, of the Continental blockade system itself. His "chief emphasis, therefore, is institutional" (p. xi). His vantage-

point is that of the imperial Secrétairerie d'État. Every decree has been pursued to its ultimate source. The system in actual operation is described at important points. The influence of military and naval events is somewhat neglected, but several new side-lights have been thrown on American diplomatic history; indeed no student of Jeffersonian and Madisonian diplomacy can afford to neglect a careful reading of this work. One finds, for instance, that Jefferson's Embargo was severely felt, not only in the French West Indies, but in the ports and textile centres of France.

Professor Melvin's challenging title suggests his conclusion. The Continental system began as a blockade against English industry and commerce. By the first half of 1810 what had so far been an *arrière pensée* became the dominant policy—to develop French navigation, commerce, and industry at the expense alike of vassals, neutrals, and enemies. The license system, which here finds its fullest treatment, arose from no crude lust for graft and plunder. It was a glut in French harvests, for the most part, which induced Napoleon to adopt the system of licensed trade with England at the very point when England was facing famine and bankruptcy. In the middle of 1810, Napoleon's tour of the northern industrial and commercial regions completed a change in his point of view. *Tout pour la France* was the motto of the revamped system. By tariffs and licensed navigation, Napoleon hoped to build up not only a French grand industry but a French merchant marine, to secure the monopoly of foreign and coasting trade, at expense of enemy vessel and neutral alike. The workings of this system, "a Colbertian programme upon a continental scale", through its central clearing-house, the new Conseil de Commerce, are related in detail by Professor Melvin for the first time. Of particular interest is his account of the American permit system.

The faults of the book are those of the class in which it stands high—the American doctoral dissertation. Although the author has reached definite conclusions, he lacks the artistry to press them home on the reader, who is wearied and confused by the welter of minutes, decrees, laws, and projects of laws. The style is subjective, addressed apparently to students who share the author's fresh and complete knowledge of the sources. Nothing stands out. Excessive quotation has been avoided, only to fall into that other pitfall, excessive detail without sufficient quotation to nail a conclusion. Where standard authorities like Henry Adams might have been demolished, they are only piqued by foot-notes. The dramatic possibilities of the subject have been neglected, or, as with the fateful thread of American relations, clumsily handled. Comparison with a French doctoral dissertation in an allied field, Guyot's *Le Directoire et la Paix*, is instructive. Melvin is the superior in the extent and depth of his research. He had plumbed depths even in the Archives Nationales unknown to Guyot; and the latter did not master even the printed material on the American side of his problem.

But Guyot has produced a readable book, whose characters are alive, whose complicated, involved subject-matter is made lucid, and whose conclusions are irresistible.

S. E. MORISON.

Germany and the French Revolution. By G. P. GOOCH. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. vii. 543. \$5.50.)

THIS book bravely attempts for the first time in any language a synthetic treatment of "the repercussion of the French Revolution on the mind of Germany". It is a great task, and one that much needed doing. Mr. Gooch has conceived it largely and if he has not achieved the high success of writing a definitive work he has written an exceedingly useful and necessary volume. What Cavaignac, Sorel, and Heigel have done in the field of politics and war for the history of the Revolution beyond the borders of France, he has sought to do for its influence on the writers of Germany in an age when it was truly a land of poets and thinkers. He is more dispassionate than Cavaignac, more limited and intensive in his field of interest than Sorel, less cautious and historical in his judgments than Heigel. He has read as widely in his chosen field as any of them but is less penetrating and analytical in his treatment.

Mr. Gooch's method evidently springs from the qualities that have made him so useful a guide in the field of historiography. He is an omnivorous reader with an intellectual digestion that does not require him to chew his food very fine. In this book he has presented, in their own words as freely as a good narrative style permits, the expressions of all types of German opinion on the Revolution, from fugitive pamphleteers to Goethe, Schiller, Fichte, and Hegel. He has harvested the field with chapters on the great writers and on groups or schools, and then has gleaned it by sweeping together the fugitive and unknown writers, state by state or section by section, from Hamburg to the Alps. Let me say at once that this method seems to me just the proper one for a path-breaking work. It gives, as no other work has done or attempted to do, the preliminary massing of material, the inclusiveness in mentioning writers unknown in English whose views must be considered if such a large and nebulous topic as public opinion and intellectual influence in any land touching or touched by the French Revolution is to be brought between the thumb and forefinger of historical judgment.

Not even Mr. Gooch could cover all that was written by such a nation of inveterate scribblers as Germany in the face of an event so great as the European revolution. No collection of contemporary German pamphlets is complete. None ever will be. The archives of every German state are filled with the reports that poured in from diplomatic representatives at other German courts, and these must be studied again from this new point of view as they have been for political and military

history. Enclosed with these reports are frequently pamphlets that no library contains and that are just as important as those they do contain. But counsels of perfection yield to the pleasure of seeing treated, even if briefly, scores of names that have been known only to special students within Germany itself—and many of them are men of real importance from the standpoint of the public opinion of their day and area. He passes over von Reden and von Dohm unmentioned, and certainly does not give Schön his due. Indeed one shortcoming of the book lies in the casual treatment of the men of action of the period, great and small, who were influenced by the French Revolution either through imitation or reaction. There is a probably intentional omission of the Corsican and American revolutions and the Polish struggle as backgrounds, though it must not be forgotten that Paoli and Washington were the early heroes of many who later sang the praises of Mirabeau and Mounier. As might be expected, Mr. Gooch's knowledge of the monographic literature is very satisfactory, although when he refers to Guglia as the best account of Gentz he is evidently unfamiliar with Reiff's penetrating monograph in the *University of Illinois Studies*, and he occasionally slips in the citations of German titles.

As an interpreter Mr. Gooch is not so sure a guide. This is partly because he has concentrated his efforts on the acquisition and presentation of masses of information, rather than on reflection about their implication and origin. The French Revolution is too simple a formula in explaining utterances concerning the French Revolution. The attitude of the mature leaders of German thought about an event so overwhelming even as the French Revolution was conditioned by a political philosophy, an interpretation of society and its structure and functions, that was based on German thought before 1789. In his treatment of the greater literary men at the close of the eighteenth century he too readily ascribes to the French Revolution what a nicer discrimination might have suggested as their heritage from English thought since the days of Bolingbroke. Cosmopolitanism in culture was an ideal of the eighteenth century, and in matters economic and political the influence of "the philosophers" and of Adam Smith had started currents of thought on the Continent that met and often reinforced the stream of ideas that flowed from or were started by the great French events of these decades. It was this interchange that increased likemindedness about political and social conditions which were different chiefly in degree from country to country. Mr. Gooch shares this accepted view and starts with Mallet du Pan's prescient remark that "Whoever regards this Revolution as exclusively French is incapable of pronouncing judgment upon it." In practice he finds it easier, however, to attribute opinions of complex origin to the single theme he has in mind. There is a certain inevitableness in this treatment against which the historian of thought needs to be *toujours en vedette*. Otherwise he will not rise above the current

journalism that attributes all radical or even progressive thought to Russian bolshevism.

His opening chapter on Germany in 1789 presents two contrasted views not wholly covered by "political decrepitude" and "intellectual rejuvenescence". The chapter on Goethe is only ordinary, that on Schiller good, and the treatment of Herder is perhaps the best of any individual writer in the front ranks. The chapter on the Romantic school is in leading-strings to older views. The concluding chapter is a tired *non sequitur* of three pages on the destruction of the old German Empire and eighteen pages on the political renaissance of Prussia after 1806. In this Mr. Gooch has done but scant justice to his own work in the preceding twenty chapters.

This review has missed its purpose if it has directed the reader's thought too exclusively to the author's method. Reviewers are likely to be reservationists. I should like, in this case (the inevitable reservation!), to ratify unqualifiedly the author's choice of a subject and express my appreciation of his sturdy effort to treat it adequately. He has produced a thoroughly useful volume. It should be the starting-point for a series of special studies in English upon which will rest ultimately the final synthetic historical judgment.

GUY STANTON FORD.

Europe, 1789-1920. By EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER, Ph.D., Professor of European History in the University of Michigan. (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1920. Pp. xii, 687. \$3.50.)

THIS book traces in broad outline the institutional life of Europe from the days of the Ancient Régime to the present time, narrates briefly the principal events during that period, and gives an account of international relations, with full attention to those in Europe after 1900. It preserves a due proportion and balance between political history on the one hand, and on the other, a description of social conditions, of institutions, and of progress in science, mechanical invention, the fine arts, and literature. It is thus a broadly inclusive treatment of all the chief phases of European life on a scale commensurate with a volume of 659 large pages.

The book is divided into two parts, the first of which extends from 1789 to 1871, and includes 291 pages, the second from 1871 to 1920, and includes 368 pages. The author thus has given due regard, not only to the demand that historical science shall not deal too largely with political phenomena, but also to the belief, not so generally accepted, that the most recent years of history should receive major consideration.

Any unfavorable criticism of so sound and substantial a piece of work as this book seems ungracious. Yet it contains occasional statements which will convey an erroneous impression, particularly to the

uninformed reader. In contrasting the British and American systems of government, for example, the author says: "In the American system the president is indeed dependent upon the people who elect him, but afterward, throughout his term, he is practically uncontrolled, save by public opinion" (p. 150). Ex-President Wilson could give some convincing testimony concerning the effectiveness of other agencies, which may control executive action. With regard to German legislation providing for sickness, old age, and accident insurance we find this sentence: "In effect he [Bismarck] went further than any statesman before him in establishing state socialism and so leaving the socialists with nothing to fight for" (p. 343). This is not intended to mean that after the enactment of the laws in question, the socialists ceased their struggle for economic and social reform, yet it probably would leave such an impression with the casual reader. In the author's opinion "it was an almost fortuitous combination of causes which brought the result" [the French Revolution] (p. 47), while concerning the Great War he writes: "... it is evident that certain great causes were tending almost irresistibly to the awful catastrophe that came" (p. 514). The French Revolution, on the contrary, possesses to an extraordinary degree the character of inevitability, while in causing the Great War human will and choice were the supreme factors. The author's own presentation of the causes of the war, in part II., chapter X., and statements which he makes elsewhere (as on pp. 495, 496, 499), afford evidence that the cataclysm could have been averted.

Several statements concerning the military history of the war are open to objection, as the following, for example: "... by the autumn of 1915 the Germans had definitely won the war on the Continent of Europe" (p. 548). And the following sentence also seems to require emendation: "In the course of three weeks almost by a miracle they [the French] accomplished the maneuver [of "shifting a large number of soldiers"], but by the end of September, when this had been done, the French armies had undergone a succession of disastrous defeats" (p. 543). The French troops were shifted to meet the German onslaught from the north long before the end of September; battles at Mülhausen, Virton, Neufchâteau, and Charleroi were indeed defeats for the French, though by no means disastrous, for the armies engaged were in no case disorganized, but were drawn back in good order to fight in the decisive battle on a more favorable ground; the defeats named all occurred in August; by the end of September the battle of the Marne had been fought and the Germans driven back from thirty to sixty miles on a front of about one hundred and thirty.

Omissions are always excusable because of limited space; yet it seems as if even a necessarily brief presentation of the events of the Twelve Days (pp. 528-530) ought to include a statement of the central and vital fact, of supreme significance in fixing responsibility for the war,

that Russia and Austria came to terms concerning Serbia by August 2, and that Austria did not declare war on Russia until August 5; and in explaining the entrance of the United States into the war (pp. 564-566), no mention is made of the killing of American citizens, the destruction of American property, or intrigues against our internal peace.

The treatise, however, in spite of minor blemishes, is a work of merit. It is well proportioned, authoritative, and comprehensive. The facts and views presented, the points of view and relative emphasis, are evidence that the author is in touch with the newest thought and information in the field of recent European history. From the great mass of material available his keen eye for the essential has enabled him to make a judicious and discriminating selection, and he has presented his facts in a compactly organized and coherent form.

The treatise, moreover, is unique. It covers a period which nowhere else is given unified treatment, and presents a great fund of information not found in any other single volume. It is not based on research, and so makes no addition to the sum of historical knowledge, but it is new in that it views European development since the French Revolution from the standpoint of the Great War and its results to date, and thus has a new perspective, and in consequence some new interpretations of events. It will make a superior text-book, because it deals with essentials, and is clear, coherent, concrete, and not overloaded with detail. It will also serve as a valuable introduction for the uninformed reader to that great period in the progress of European civilization since the French Revolution, a period which is given organic and vital unity by the stupendous extension of democracy and by the Industrial Revolution with its manifold results.

At the close of each chapter is a brief, classified, well-selected, and therefore useful bibliography. The thirty-two maps include four devoted to ethnology and economic resources, and five on Africa and Asia.

EARL E. SPERRY.

Freiherr vom Stein. Von MAX LEHMANN. Neue Ausgabe in einem Bande. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1921. Pp. 623. M. 60.)

BETWEEN 1902 and 1905, Max Lehmann, professor of history at Göttingen, published his chief work, a three-volume life of Baron Stein. The Prussian reformer had waited long for an adequate treatment. Pertz, his associate in publishing the *Monumenta*, had edited six volumes in which he combined in an indistinguishable and uncritical mass, excerpts from the Stein archives, comments of his own, and summaries of Stein's own comments and documents. The lesser biographies that followed, such as Neubauer, as well as limited biographical material in Seeley's *Life and Times of Stein*, were based on Pertz. A thorough study of the man, his period, and the old Prussian state on the eve of the reform era was much needed.

Professor Lehmann was equipped as are few men for the task of making such a study. He had long worked in archives and as a writer had contributed much to our knowledge of Prussia during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, chiefly in his excellent life of Scharnhorst. His biography of Stein was to crown his long life of productive scholarship and be a definitive treatment. It must be said that though it may have fallen short of this high aim, it was a very distinguished and illuminating biographical history.

Its reception was not one of unmixed commendation, for Lehmann's views of the *ancien régime* in Prussia were decidedly unfavorable and he attributed the spirit and even in a degree the form of Stein's measures distinctly to the influence of the French Revolution, especially during its early years under the Constituent Assembly. The latter view Lehmann unfortunately elevated to the position of a thesis and developed aggressively in his chapter on Stein's city ordinance of 1808, where some paragraphs originating in the draft of his subordinate Frey were translations from the French municipal law of 1791.

Such views, whether right or wrong, coming from a thoroughly bourgeois Prussian professor, steeped in, and expounding, the period of liberal dominance in Prussian history, were sure to arouse a typical German professorial *Federkrieg*—and a five-foot shelf of controversial literature resulted. The chief proponent of the Teutonism of Stein and his measures was Ernst von Meier, who was well qualified to take the field against such a practised and bitter controversialist as Lehmann. For the first time his own methods against Naudé were turned on him. Not only was his thesis repudiated, but his misuse of his sources in suppressing, misapplying, and glossing over Stein's essentially hostile attitude to everything French was hurled at him, and a steady barrage of *Gegenschriften* followed the heavy ordnance of Meier's two volumes on *Französische Einflüsse auf die Staats- und Rechtswicklung Preussens im XIX. Jahrhundert*.

It must be said that on the whole Lehmann and his chief supporter Delbrück came off second best. Hintze's adverse judgment is by no means to be quoted unreservedly, but more judicious writers like Otto Giercke felt that Lehmann had gone too far. At the same time no dispassionate critic called for a complete rewriting of the biography of Stein. The book was accepted for its real merits, and the first edition was practically exhausted by 1914.

Under present conditions a reprinting of three volumes was impossible. Lehmann has now compressed them, and by omitting all footnotes has in two-fifths as many pages given about one-half the material in the first edition. The special student will regret as keenly as does the author all the omitted parts, especially the survey of old Prussia in the second volume. If the first edition is not at hand this section may be found in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. XC.

In the view of the controversy over the first edition one turns most

eagerly to see what effect it has on Lehmann's choice of material to omit. So far as the reviewer has been able to determine, every controverted paragraph and sentence has been religiously reprinted in absolutely unmodified form. Indeed, in the abbreviation, they stand out all the more aggressively and disproportionately. Lehmann has evidently felt that his personal character was at stake in reasserting *verbatim et literatim* even the passages that a dispassionate observer must adjudge as discredited by hostile critics. Even a German professor ought to know when to retreat, and character in the world of scholarship is quite as often proved by the admission of mistakes as by their repetition.

The only essentially new sentence I have found in this edition is the cryptic conclusion: "Bedroht, fand sich Steins Ideenwelt erst, als abermals imperialistische Tendenzen emporkamen, durch die dann staats- und kulturfeindliche Mächte entfesselt wurden."

And yet it is not a lame conclusion to say that Lehmann's work is indispensable for any student of the man or period. Only the passages where he brings out Stein's debt to the German past and to the English institutions and ideas, and especially to Adam Smith, must be emphasized in the reading. The alternative is to wade through much still pertinent critical literature. Even if the validity of the thesis about French influence has been sadly riddled, the Prussian noble of Stein's day will find, as he deserves to find, few defenders as ardent as Ernst von Meier was before 1914.

GUY STANTON FORD.

A History of the British Army. By the Honorable JOHN W. FORTESCUE, LL.D., Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Volumes IX., 1813-1814, and X., 1814-1815. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1920. Pp. xxv, 534; xviii, 458; and separate volume containing thirty maps. £4 4s.)

THESE two volumes of Mr. Fortescue's excellent work, containing almost a thousand printed pages, deal with the events of only three years, but they were, indeed, three most memorable years in a military point of view. Beginning with the spring of 1813, the general situation in Europe is briefly but lucidly reviewed. The independent operations of the British troops on the east coast of Spain are necessarily treated apart. Their commander, Sir John Murray, whose failure was sufficiently discreditable, is bitterly denounced as a cowardly and dishonorable man, unworthy to hold a commission or wear a uniform. His successor, Lord William Bentinck, was not much more fortunate, and his liberal opinions excite Mr. Fortescue's strong displeasure. A taint of political prejudice, unfortunately, is evident in many passages, especially in several rather spiteful allusions and foot-notes referring to the real or imaginary errors of Sir William Napier, in his famous *History of the*

War in the Peninsula. Napier's radical views are genuinely abhorrent to Mr. Fortescue, and seem to obscure his merits as a historian. Besides, it is nothing short of astounding to find Lord Castlereagh described as "the ablest of our Ministers of War", and the Duke of York as "our best Commander-in-Chief" (X. 182).

The campaigns of the main British army in Spain and the south of France afford a much more congenial topic, as they were a succession of uninterrupted victories, with the exception of the first assault on San Sebastian. Still, the present narrative, meritorious and painstaking in its effort to ascertain and state the facts, is without a doubt commonplace and tame when compared with Napier's glowing pages, and possesses little of their picturesque charm. Comparison is unavoidable, in fact is challenged by frequent disparaging references, and when it is made, the present work must suffer. Mr. Fortescue has, he states, visited most of the principal battlefields, where probably the *terrain* is little altered, and has thus laudably endeavored to secure accuracy of description, and, perhaps, add touches of local color; but Napier had the inestimable advantage of being there when the battles were fought, and was besides endowed with remarkable gifts of keen observation and vivid narration, which have justly given his volumes a reputation not easily discredited.

The battle of Vitoria, as the climax of a very brilliant campaign, is carefully and well described at much length, in some thirty pages. The ground has been closely studied, with good results, as it has not materially changed. Yet the conduct of Joseph Bonaparte is handled with singular moderation and even tenderness throughout. Napier has asserted that the great results of this short campaign of six weeks, in which Wellington's army of one hundred thousand men marched six hundred miles through a difficult country, crossed six great rivers, gained a decisive victory, invested two strong fortresses, and drove a superior number of veteran troops from Spain, could not have been attained had Joseph obeyed Napoleon's instructions. This opinion is rudely challenged by Mr. Fortescue, who thinks that Napier "missed the essential truth that Wellington's triumph was one of organization rather than of strategy and tactics". "Joseph", he continues, "could neither halt nor concentrate, because he was unable to feed his troops. Wellington's supplies were always hunting for his army, Joseph's army was always hunting for its supplies; and thus, whereas to the Allies a halt signified replenishment, to their opponents it spelt starvation." There is, no doubt, much truth in these remarks, but Wellington's talents for organization would have counted for little had they not been combined with a great genius for strategy and tactics, never more signally demonstrated than by his mode of turning the line of the Ebro and the handling of his troops in the attack upon the French positions at Vitoria. Nor is there any real reason to believe that Napier in any way underrated Wellington's remarkable efficiency in organizing a special service of

supply and transport, without which his successful advance would have been clearly impossible.

A well-written chapter on the organization of the British army in Spain at this time, contains much information respecting the commissariat, medical service, military police, changes in equipment, and relations with the navy which cannot readily be found elsewhere.

In his account of the battles in the Pyrenees and in the south of France and the sieges of Pamplona and San Sebastian, the chief authorities cited by Mr. Fortescue are, on the British side, Wellington's despatches and Napier, although the latter is often flouted and unreasonably accused of concealment and misrepresentation; and on that of the French, the correspondence and documents lately published by Captain Vidal de Lablache of the historical section of the General Staff. In some cases at least, these seem to have been verified by comparison with their originals. He does not appear to have consulted the notable work of Lieut.-Col. J. B. Dumas, entitled *Neuf Mois de Campagnes à la Suite du Maréchal Soult*.

Soult, himself, for whom Napier had much respect, is rather unpleasantly described as "a big, rough, coarse man, vindictive in temperament, surly even to brutality in character, and above all things self-seeking and greedy of gain" (IX. 242). Yet it is admitted that he was "an extremely able administrator, acute of perception, keen of insight, swift and firm of decision. As a general his strategic gifts were remarkable" (*ibid.*).

Two chapters, containing some sixty-five pages, are devoted to Soult's desperate efforts to relieve the frontier fortresses. His eventual escape from the difficult situation in which his troops had become involved is ascribed to an unwise movement of retreat, which Hill had been ordered to make by Wellington, instead of the accidental capture of the three British marauding soldiers at San Estevan so strikingly described by Napier on Wellington's own authority, "as having deprived one consummate commander of the most splendid success, and saved another from the most terrible disaster".

The passage of the Bidassoa and the campaign ending at Toulouse are treated with great care and skill, yet it does seem that perhaps undue stress is laid upon Soult's alleged errors of judgment and vicious dispositions. Nor does Wellington escape adverse criticism. Mr. Fortescue is seldom altogether satisfied with his management of any battle, nor does he make sufficient allowance for defective intelligence as well as defective means for achieving victory. His criticisms are sometimes captious, at others plainly pedantic.

Nearly one-half of volume X. is devoted to the campaign in the Low Countries and the battle of Waterloo. It is doubtful whether justice is done either to Napoleon or to the Prussian generals, particularly Gneisenau, who is called timid, jealous, suspicious, and "ignorant of the meaning of good faith". Yet the latter are given credit for conducting

one of the most successful pursuits in military history (X. 413). The Belgian generals, Constant de Rebecque and Perponcher, are awarded a somewhat overstrained meed of praise.

Wellington's personal influence and dauntless example in inspiring his troops with confidence throughout the day at Waterloo are finely told. It is not too much to say that his presence and personality did accomplish miracles in heartening and rallying his sorely tried men whenever there appeared to be any danger of yielding.

Although he is not portrayed as an ideal leader, nor as a lovable character, "not without vanity, not without frailty, not without a certain conceit", yet there is little doubt that, as Mr. Fortescue writes, "His true title to fame is that he was the most industrious, the most patriotic, the most faithful, and the most single-hearted public servant that has ever toiled for the British nation" (X. 226).

In a chapter entitled Summary of the Period, 1803-1814, much information is marshalled, in an admirable manner, that can scarcely be found elsewhere. The functions of the different branches of the British War Office, as then organized, are reviewed concisely and much light is thrown on some obscure points.

One short chapter is given to the unsuccessful expedition led to Holland by Sir Thomas Graham in 1814, and three others of considerable length to the war with the United States, excluding the naval operations. These are not distinguished by the introduction of new material, nor by much originality of treatment. In the latter some rather astonishing inaccuracies occur. "Lieutenant" Oliver Perry is twice mentioned as having built and fitted out his squadron at *Fort Erie* (IX. 324, 327), and there is a reference to "Burlingham" Heights at the head of Lake Ontario (X. 124). Questionable liberties have been taken in altering the language of professed quotations from official despatches (IX. 323, and X. 124).

A well-reasoned plea is made for justice to the merits of Sir George Prevost, which is counterbalanced by a denunciation of amazing violence of Sir Alexander Cochrane, as being responsible for the failure of the expedition against New Orleans.

The maps and plans, thirty-one in number, besides ten insets, are of unusual excellence, and the author was undoubtedly well advised, in delaying the publication of these volumes for five years, as he states in his preface, to admit of their preparation.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK.

Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871. Von ALFRED STERN. Band VIII. Zweiter Band, Dritte Abteilung. *Geschichte Europas von 1848 bis 1871.* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1920. Pp. xviii, 563.)

THIS volume of the *Geschichte Europas* is perhaps less interesting

than its predecessor (see *Review*, XXIV. 680), for the period which it covers (1853-1862) was in large part one of *recueillement* after the revolutionary upheaval. But if the domestic history of these years is enshrined in the Bach "system" and the reaction under Manteuffel, the problems of international politics were of constant concern and their solutions reacted profoundly upon later events in Central Europe. Dr. Stern therefore writes his story around the Crimean War and the subsequent developments in Southeastern Europe, the Neuchâtel controversy, and the war of Italian independence. Only at the end does he turn to a systematic discussion of those fundamental issues which are nearest to his heart and upon which the fate of Europe depended—the struggle for constitutional government in Austria and Prussia. It is quite proper that the narrative should break off with the complete failure of Francis Joseph's first experiments and the entry of Bismarck into the Prussian ministry, but one is left none the less impatient to know how this German historian, ardent liberal and champion of nationality that he is, will react to Dualism and the policy of blood and iron. There is an exhaustive chapter on the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, as well as an adequate treatment of French politics and progress under the autocratic empire; but Garibaldi's exploits in the South and the later stages of Italian unification are, for some reason, not considered, while, in keeping with the general plan of the book, English affairs are treated only incidentally, as party politics affect the international situation. The final chapter, on Main Currents of Intellectual Life, provides a convenient summary of literary movements and the tendencies in historical writing in France, England, and Germany; particularly interesting is the appreciation of Taine.

As always, Dr. Stern is chary of interpretations and analyses, apart from his admirable thumb-nail sketches of the leading personalities. At the same time he never forgets his main cue, which is the elusive character and somewhat incalculable diplomacy of Napoleon III., for whom he has no great admiration; so much so, indeed, that the ultimate responsibility of the tsar for the Crimean War is only implicitly stated. Yet the French emperor had a policy, which was at all costs to march with Great Britain, and many quotations from unpublished reports of Persigny, the French ambassador in London, who was opposed to a policy of adventures, show how often the attitude of the Foreign Office was decisive. In the last analysis, Napoleon would not sacrifice the English alliance even for the support of Russia in his general continental policy.

The most illuminating chapter, especially in view of recent events, is that devoted to Austria. Hapsburg statesmanship was already bankrupt sixty years ago. We are shown an emperor irresolute save in his hostility to the democratic spirit, an unending succession of changing ministers, four of whom commit suicide, financial chaos, reluctant conces-

sions to this race or that class; in short, the sheerest opportunism in place of a constructive policy fair to all. According to a contemporary, whose opinion the author quotes with evident sorrow, at the end of 1862 even the German Liberals, the party of centralization who were the supposed beneficiaries of the February Patent, were disgusted with Schmerling, while his enemies had become more and more determined.

Meanwhile a similar opportunity was lost in Germany. Dr. Stern writes with restraint, but his sympathies clearly lie with the progressive party, whose programme for a liberal Germany under Hohenzollern leadership had aroused a rising enthusiasm far beyond the confines of Prussia. He does not, as it seems to the reviewer, emphasize sufficiently the economic factor in the growth of this sentiment, but he shows clearly the influence of the new school of historians, who may have gone too far in championing the Prussian cause but were at least liberal in their aspirations. Very aptly does Dr. Stern mark the coming of Bismarck as the "end of the new era". On the other hand, even liberal opinion, as indicated in scattered passages of the narrative, was not over-friendly to France, a fact of which Napoleon III. was all too unconscious.

An appendix contains some documents drawn from various archives. The most important are an autograph letter of Francis Joseph, practically an ultimatum, to the sultan in connection with the Montenegrin difficulty in January, 1853, and a report to Vienna of the special envoy sent to Berlin on the eve of the Italian war to beg for Prussian assistance. Apparently one more volume will complete this monumental work.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Ferdinand Gregorovius, der Geschichtschreiber der Stadt Rom, mit Briefen an Cotta, Franz Rühl, und Andere. Von JOHANNES HÖNIG. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1921. Pp. xi, 551. M. 55.)

THE month of January, 1921, saw the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ferdinand Gregorovius, and the house of Cotta in Stuttgart has appropriately celebrated that anniversary by the publication of his biography.

Only a third, however, of the substantial volume supplies the biography; the remainder is devoted to the publication of a large number of letters written by him to his publishers, the Cottas, and to his younger friend, the historian Franz Rühl, professor at Königsberg.

The reviewer cannot feel that the resulting expensive book will be of great interest to the historical world. The author and editor, Dr. Johannes Hönig, was first drawn to his subject by his doctoral dissertation on *Gregorovius as a Poet*, which appeared in 1914; and in the preface to the present volume he emphasizes the fact that he has written primarily a chapter in the history of literature. Henry Simonsfeld's short biography of Gregorovius in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* has not lost its value to the historical student.

The historian, for example, would expect to find in the life and letters of a distinguished scholar who lived in Rome almost without interruption from 1852 to 1874 a mass of interesting observations on contemporary conditions in Italy. He would be disappointed. There is, of course, in the present book something of that element; but, as a rule, the biographer has limited himself to Gregorovius's literary development. The published letters are strikingly devoid of political interest.

The reason is evident. This present collection of letters is chiefly concerned with the business relations of Gregorovius with his publishers, and with Rühl, who prepared his indexes. His really interesting private papers have long been in print—his *Roman Journals*, since 1893, his letters to Hermann von Thile, since 1894, and those to the Contessa Erisilia Caetani Lovatelli, since 1896.

I would not suggest that the book is of negligible interest to the historian. Dr. Hönig has with considerable success drawn the portrait of an enthusiastic Young German of 1848, who later became a sympathetic cosmopolitan gentleman of the old school, half historian, half aesthete, and who, in spite of constant references (by himself and his biographers) to his true German patriotism, was clearly far more at home in Italy than across the Alps. Particularly interesting is it to note the conflict in himself between the "liberal", on the one hand, who, identifying his liberalism with national patriotism and anti-clericalism, sympathized in theory with Young Italy, and the mediævally-minded aesthete, on the other hand, who deplored the passing of the old Rome of the popes. In 1859, the year the first volume of his history of the city appeared—and it is worthy of note that Gregorovius was prouder of his work on Lucrezia Borgia than of his *magnum opus*—he lamented the approaching end of the old city, and in November, 1870, he writes (p. 153), "while my work is ending, Rome is dying."

Of more present suggestiveness, perhaps, is it to note his attitude toward the newer Germany. In 1888, after Frederick III.'s death, which he lamented, he writes (p. 177), "The world, oppressed by militarism, sighs for a Messiah. . . . Perhaps Frederick III. could have brought disarmament nearer. . . . Germany's finest glory should be that men might say of her what Isocrates said of Greece, 'She is the school of nations'. But even if we proudly measure the heights and depths of German learning we . . . must not listen to those who prophecy the intellectual *Weltherrschaft* of Germany. No single nation can longer claim either political or intellectual supremacy. Let us see to it that in the new epoch of our political power, we do not lose that high idealism of the time of our political impotence. The true 'German idea' is to bring about the kingdom of moral freedom, of truth, of justice, of duty."

T. F. JONES.

La Fine dell'Esercito Pontificio. Per Colonnello ATTILIO VIGEVANO.

Con 37 illustrazioni e tavole a colori e 7 carte e piani topografici.

(Rome: Stabilimento Poligrafico per l'Amministrazione della Guerra. 1920. Pp. xix, 864. 100 lire.)

THIS ponderous work could not have been written before the Great War. So long as imperial, reactionary Austria threatened Italy from the summits of the Alps, the question of the restoration of the temporal power of the papacy in Rome was still open; and while this question was open, and while papal opposition continued against the participation of the faithful in the elections of modern Italy ("neither electors nor elected"), an impartial study of the organization and operations of the extinct papal army that had been created to prevent the completion of Italian unity was not to be expected.

Colonel Vigeveno has long been occupied in the study of the last years of the papal army, and has published other important military studies of the Risorgimento period in the *Memorie Storiche Militari* of the Italian General Staff, in *La Nuova Rivista di Fanteria*, and in other reviews. His studies have always evinced sound historical method, and in the present volume, dealing with events which have hitherto formed the subject only of polemics and of biassed history, his critical work is so nicely balanced as to satisfy only the open-minded.

The volume contains much technical detail and many tables upon military organization, but the body of the work is of great interest also to the general historian; it is prefaced by a sketch of papal military institutions from 1849 till 1870, and concludes with a brief study of the subsequent adventures of the French papal zouaves in the Franco-German War. A great number of documents are given in the text, many of them previously published in Cadorna's *La Liberazione di Roma*, in Bonetti's *La Liberazione di Roma*, and in de Beauffort's *Histoire de l'Invasion des États Pontificaux*, but many are here published for the first time from the Regio Archivio di Stato di Roma, Ministero, Armi Pontificie, and other archives; unfortunately the other archives are not indicated, and bibliographical references after the first chapters leave much to be desired.

The document which offers the most important historical contribution is the original text of the famous letter (until now only known in an altered version) addressed by Pope Pius IX. to his commander-in-chief and acting war minister, General Hermann Kanzler, on September 19, 1870. In an audience of September 10, upon which Vigeveno gives entirely new information, the pope had informed his general that he must offer only such resistance to the Italian army in its operations for the occupation of Rome, as should be necessary to prove to the world that the papacy was a victim of aggression. "We ask you to surrender, not to die; that is to say, we ask of you the greater sacrifice." The pope's letter upon the same subject, as now published by Vigeveno, di-

rects: "That negotiations for surrender shall be opened as soon as the cannon shall have opened fire . . . ; never let it be said that the Vicar of Christ, however unjustly assailed, has given his consent to any shedding of blood."

The order to cede thus without offering a resistance was altogether distasteful to General Kanzler, a German soldier who cared more for his military reputation than for the saving of Italian blood. He therefore chose to disobey his sovereign, neglecting to issue the orders required; he allowed resistance to be protracted for more than four hours after the cannon opened fire, and raised the white flag only when a breach had been made in the city walls and nearly three hundred men had been killed or wounded. The pope was greatly grieved at the prolonged fighting, believing at the moment that it was due to unwillingness on the part of the Italians to desist from firing, and learning only later that it was due to failure on the part of his own commander to carry out sovereign orders. A few hours later Kanzler had a private audience with His Holiness. What transpired at it has remained a complete secret to this day. But when, on September 21, the pope's letter of the 19th was given to the *Civiltà Cattolica* for publication, two phrases in it were altered so as to cover the general's disobedience; the pope was made to order "that negotiations for surrender shall be opened as soon as a breach shall have been made", instead of, *as soon as the cannon shall have opened fire*; and the words "great shedding of blood" were substituted for, *shedding of blood*. To avoid an exhibition of insubordination in the last hour of the temporal power, Pius IX. thus preferred to assume before the world a responsibility for bloodshed that was not his; and all historians, both clerical and Italian, have until now quoted the substituted text of the papal letter of September 19, which indicated this responsibility.

From documents given it is clear that both Pius IX., and at the last Kanzler also, were convinced that the Italian troops would not actually attack Rome; on the morning of September 19, the latter said to His Holiness, "The King of Sardinia will never risk the using of violence against the representative of God in his own residence." And it is equally evident that the Italians did everything possible to enter Rome without bloodshed.

Vigevano may be criticized as being too severe in his condemnation of the papal colonel Serra for having surrendered Civitavecchia, on September 16, without offering resistance to the Italian fleet and army. Serra was an Italian, however, and in avoiding bloodshed at Civitavecchia and the damaging of the city, he did only what the pope wished to have done at Rome. Nor has Vigevano succeeded in always avoiding errors of fact, as when he states the surprise of Kanzler at finding in the conditions for surrender offered by Cadorna that the pope was to be left in full possession of the Leonine City with Castel S. Angelo.

The truth was that, so long before as August 29, the Italian government had promised this in a memorandum sent to the various powers of Europe, and this promise must have been known in Rome.

The writer, while free in his criticisms, treats the papal army always with respect, and his words in summarizing the papal operations of September 1870 are: "*Pallida fine d'un buon esercito.*"

H. NELSON GAY.

The Memoirs of Count Witte. Translated from the Original Russian Manuscript and edited by ABRAHAM YARMOLINSKY. (Garden City, N. Y., and Toronto: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1921. Pp. xi, 445. \$5.00.)

THIS is a notable and highly interesting book, written we are told while the author was abroad, where he could keep his manuscript from the curiosity of the too inquisitive police of his own country. He has given us not so much a systematic biography as a running commentary on events with which he was connected and people with whom he was brought into contact. It is the story of a strong, rough man who fought his way to greatness and played a leading part on the European stage during the last years of the nineteenth century and the first of the present one. Throughout these years Witte stands forth as unquestionably the foremost man in Russia, head and shoulders above those about him, most of whom hated him and whom he in turn despised. We can see him as he was, direct, incisive, contemptuous of all who disagreed with him—and most people did—and we can admire his enterprise, his tireless energy, his sane judgment, and his astonishing fertility of resource. As for his judgment of men and things, though he was an avowed conservative, his criticisms of the old régime are severe enough to satisfy any radical, and his remarks about the people he dealt with are nothing if not pungent.

On the other hand we do not get a pleasant idea of his own personality. His book is one long paean on his faultless achievements, for which others get little credit. For instance, he ascribes entirely to his efforts the concession by China to Russia of the prolongation of the trans-Siberian railway line through Manchuria. One would never imagine from his words that the arrangement had already been discussed, and was supposed to have been practically agreed to, before Li Hung Chang came to St. Petersburg, and that it is still generally known as the Cassini Convention. Witte never mentions the name of Cassini; if he had done so it would probably have been in disparagement. The one man that he speaks of in terms of admiration and reverence is Tsar Alexander III. For Nicholas II. he can have had little but contempt, which, however, is decently expressed; in fact he probably disliked the tsar less than the tsar disliked him. His last chapter, *My Impressions of the Kaiser*, makes good reading and though hostile is not grossly un-

fair; but in the previous one, Stolypin's Reactionary Régime, the violence of Witte's language betrays his hatred of a rival and a successor. Thus from first to last his memoirs are marred by his lack of generosity in his appreciation of others, as well as by his egotism and his continual boasting about his own accomplishments. As a supplement and corrective to the picture that he gives of himself one may recommend the keen and not unkindly study of him in the recently published *Memoirs* of Isvolski.

Nevertheless few would deny that Witte's achievements in the fields of both domestic and foreign politics were very notable. His chief accomplishments were as a financier, though it is an open question whether his economic policy was sound, and was not productive of more evil than good. He put Russia on a gold basis, he accumulated a reserve which enabled her to meet the strain of the disastrous war with Japan, he built up great modern industries and he enormously increased her revenues, he successfully engineered a whole series of gigantic loans, thanks to which he was enabled to carry out his projects of railway-building and of developing the natural resources of the empire and later to restore its status after the war. To this his critics reply that the whole burden of this one-sided progress fell on the unfortunate peasantry, the class which of all others was in the sorest need of assistance, and on whom the permanent welfare of Russia must eventually rest, that the industrial development fostered by the government was an unhealthy, artificial creation, and that already in 1904 the country was in the throes of a severe economic crisis (which characteristically Witte does not refer to in his book). This dispute will never be settled. The convulsions Russia has passed through since have so changed everything, that none can say what would have been the outcome of Witte's system if it had been able to follow a normal course. At its height it was impressive, indeed the all-powerful minister created a whole administration dependent on him alone, which occupied itself with many things besides finance. In regard to the one of his creations which has been universally condemned, the famous vodka monopoly, which did such tremendous harm to the peasantry and whose repeal he later advocated, he defends himself by saying that the evils came in only after the law was carried out by his successors, from the sole point of view of the benefit of the treasury and not in the spirit of moderation in which he had conceived it. This is hardly convincing or in strict accordance with the facts.

Apart from financial questions, Witte's attitude was frankly conservative. Although full of scorn for the officials and even more for the aristocracy in Russia, he had no sympathy for democratic aspirations. What he believed in was an efficient despotism. That of Nicholas II. having proved inefficient, Witte was in favor of making such concessions to popular government as would prevent revolution and might produce reform. He claims no credit for the liberal manifesto of Oc-

tober 17, but does for the constitutional provisions issued just before the meeting of the first Duma.

In foreign politics Witte seems to have regarded England as the natural rival of Russia. For the United States and for President Roosevelt he felt little sympathy, as is evident by his ill-natured remarks about his visit here. The political combination that he would have preferred, and that he thought possible if rightly managed, was an alliance between Russia, Germany, and France; none the less, as soon as he learned the real nature of the Björkö treaty, of which he had approved in ignorance of its contents, he exerted himself strenuously to have it cancelled. Incidentally he claims to have played a decisive part in bringing about the Algeciras Conference and thus settling the first Franco-German Morocco dispute. In the Far East, besides being instrumental in making the Manchurian railway agreement, he founded the Russo-Chinese Bank, which was the chief agent of the aggressive Russian policy of penetration. On the other hand, he condemned the acquisition of Port Arthur both on moral grounds and as leading to the war with Japan; but his own policy toward China had much the same ends in view. If gentler, it was hardly more moral, and was equally likely to alarm the Japanese. In the hour of defeat and the painful negotiations for the Treaty of Portsmouth he showed skill and firmness, even if his triumph was due less to his abilities than to the strong desire of the Japanese to make peace for reasons not then known to him.

When all is said and done, the *Memoirs* of Count Witte are the record of a very remarkable man who, whatever his faults, deserved well of his country and under more favorable circumstances might have ranked among the great statesmen of the age.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

The Strategy on the Western Front (1914-1918). By HERBERT HOWLAND SARGENT, Lieut.-Col., U. S. A., retired. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. 1920. Pp. vi, 263. \$2.50.)

THE author, who had retired from the army in 1911, was recalled to active service in 1917 and attached to the War Department General Staff. As one of the group detailed to study the progress of the war and advise the War Department in strategy and kindred matters, it is evident that he enjoyed exceptional opportunities for a detailed and progressive examination of the situation on all fronts.

In memoranda prepared during the war for the information of the Chief of Staff, Colonel Sargent persisted in the view that the war could not be won on the Western front, and advocated the concentration of a large American army in the Balkans for a deep thrust northwards, to destroy Germany's allies and eventually to compel a decision with Germany on the Eastern front. The book now under review is given over largely to a reiteration and defense of the views set forth in these memoranda.

This contention shakes our confidence in the author's understanding and judgment. It was on the Western front that Germany, strongly reinforced, sought a decision before America could duplicate the British success in raising a large army and placing it on the Continent. Events proved that the Allies, who had no choice but to meet the attack, were none too strong when the successive blows of 1918 came. The decision of the Allies to launch a counter-offensive when the German armies were fairly exhausted was unquestionably good strategy. The need for a timely and powerful counter-offensive could be foreseen by all except those who were willing to concede defeat, and for this operation the Allies needed all the troops America could send overseas. Armistice Day would not have seen two million Americans in Europe if the Balkans had been selected as the field for our main effort. In 1918 the decision lay on the Western front, and luckily this was the flank that America could reach most quickly and with the greatest strength.

So much of Colonel Sargent's book as deals with the advantage of a main American effort in the Balkans is a brief in behalf of his war-time memoranda, rather than an impartial study in the light of established facts, and on that account its value to the military student is seriously impaired.

In the leading chapters Colonel Sargent discusses Germany's "three great mistakes". The alleged mistakes were the decision to attack France first, in 1914, the offensive on the Western front in 1916, and the final offensive in the spring of 1918. In each instance the author contends that Germany's proper field of effort at the time lay on the Eastern front. His reasons are wholly inadequate. It is difficult, for example, to credit his assertion that Great Britain would have remained neutral if Germany merely had stood on the defensive on her western frontier in 1914, and had concentrated to destroy her enemies in the East, leaving France to be disposed of later. Competent French, British, and American military minds are substantially agreed that the three offensives were sound in conception and purpose. Failure in execution is not the final test.

In spite of the advantages that the author enjoyed during the war, it must be said that he appears to be uninformed and biased. There is no justification for his sweeping condemnation of Allied and German strategy. One receives the impression that Colonel Sargent is learned in books on strategy, but lacks the information, imagination, and judgment of an instructive critic. His book is a collection of revised memoranda and magazine articles, of limited value or interest to the student of history or strategy.

A. W. B.

Von Kiel bis Kapp: zur Geschichte der Deutschen Revolution.

Von GUSTAV NOSKE. (Berlin: Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft. 1920. Pp. 211. M. 25.)

THIS is a comprehensive and important book by the socialist author of *Kolonialpolitik und Sozialdemokratie*. It covers the period of Noske's career from his appointment as revolutionary governor of Kiel, in November, 1918, until his dismissal as minister of national defense after the Kapp rebellion of March, 1920. The book, which is written in picturesque German, is packed with facts concerning the great personalities and the principal economic, political, and military events of the revolution, and explains with frankness and sincerity the important decisions of the Ebert government.

The chapters devoted to Noske's activities in the Kiel naval district form the first accurate account of that revolt of eighty thousand sailors, which was the prelude to the November revolution. The author is not certain that the German admiralty planned in October, 1918, to attack the British fleet. However, Admiral Scheer states in his memoirs that the fleet was ordered to proceed to the Belgian coast. In the Reinhardt controversy, Noske denies that the Prussian Minister of War saved Berlin from the Spartacans in January, 1919. He gives the credit to the troops with which he, as a People's Commissioner and commander-in-chief in the Marks, entered the capital on the morning of January 11. As Colonel Reinhardt had the day before stormed the *Vorwaerts* stronghold, he is undoubtedly entitled to the credit of holding the Spartacans at bay, until Noske marched from Dahlem. The author fails to mention that during the March rebellion he issued a false report of a massacre in Lichtenberg, which he used to justify his order of March 7, 1919, to exterminate the Spartacans (p. 109). He does not explain his order of June 21, 1919, prohibiting the railway strike, which was disavowed by the government. Although Scheidemann in *Der Zusammenbruch* has severely criticized Noske's drastic expressions in favor of peace, the author's arguments for accepting the terms of the Treaty of Versailles seem convincing.

Noske's account of the Bermont-Awaloff campaign illustrates the Russian policy of the German Republic. In this affair, the reactionary German officers were able to conceal their real plans from the socialist minister. Noske admits that he learned many of the details only after Bermont's failure (p. 180). Documents of Bermont, now in the Hoover War Collection, prove the duplicity of these Prussian militarists. The reviewer notes that Noske does not even mention the allied control of the Russian prisoner-of-war camps in Germany, which had an important effect upon the course of the revolution. The author asserts that after the armistice the socialist government enforced the old imperial law for universal military service in the eastern provinces in order to raise fresh troops (p. 113). The German

army numbered four hundred thousand men at the conclusion of peace (p. 167).

Noske quotes many of the attacks against his policies and denounces his opponents with extreme bitterness (p. 204). He exposes with equal fearlessness the corruption within the Social Democratic party. His analysis of the economic collapse of Germany is masterly. In his exposure of the conditions in the government factories of Kiel and Spandau, he shows the effects of the doctrine of socialization upon the German proletariat.

As a contribution to the history of the German revolution, the book of Gustav Noske is of immense value. It is a convincing account of the progress of the revolution in the face of attacks by Independents and Spartacans as well as by monarchists and reactionaries. The tragedy revealed by this memoir, is that the socialist deputy Noske believed in the *rocher de bronze* of Prussian militarism, but was deceived in the end by the very generals whom he had saved from the mob.

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ.

History of South Africa from 1873 to 1884: Twelve Eventful Years.

By GEORGE MCCALL THEAL, Litt.D., LL.D. In two volumes. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1919. Pp. xvi, 352; xi, 312. 17s.)

THE labors of the indefatigable chronicler of South Africa have now reached a period "within the memory of men now living". The latest volumes, covering the period from 1873 to 1884, "twelve eventful years", as the subtitle announces, "with continuation of the history of Galekaland, Tembuland, Pondoland, and Bethsuanaland until the annexation of those territories to the Cape Colony, and of Zululand until its annexation to Natal", bring his monumental work with its extraordinary collection of series A, B, C, and now D, with their many editions and reissues to series D, volumes 10 and 11, the whole forming a veritable library in themselves. It is needless to say that all this represents an extraordinary amount of industry on the part of their author, and that it provides an immense mass of material relating to the history of South Africa. But it is only fair to say that in some important particulars these latest volumes, like their predecessors, with all their value, leave something to be desired as history. They are, in effect, rather chronicles than history in the modern sense. They have neither foot-notes nor references, and one searches in vain for the authorities for what are, especially in these present volumes, matters of high controversy, both political and historical. That lack is not greatly offset by the inclusion of tables of statistics, like those on the Revenue of Natal (II. 230-231), with similar data scattered through the books. For, especially in the years covered by these vol-

umes, there is a mass of material, histories, biographies, memoirs, state papers, and the like, to which undoubtedly Mr. Theal had access, and which he used for his narrative, but of which he gives no hint in his pages.

And that, in so controversial a period as the epoch of the Zulu War and the Boer War of 1880, is a distinct misfortune. Mr. Theal tells the story of Rorke's Drift, of Laing's Nek, and Majuba Hill, with the negotiations which preceded and followed, the annexation of territory, the war for independence and what came of it, of Mr. Gladstone's "surrender", clearly and intelligibly, if not forcefully. It is a fascinating chapter of history. Doubtless, in the main, things happened as he describes them. He does not seem to have added much that is new to the story or to our knowledge of the subject. But there remains a suspicion that while this is the truth, and perhaps nothing but the truth, it is not—possibly at this time it could not be—the whole truth. For truth in this period of South African history is not, so far as one can judge, entirely drawn up from the bottom of the well. And were it known, it might be highly embarrassing at such a time as this to present it without some decent garb. No one could imagine Mr. Theal suppressing any facts relevant to his story. His work has always been transparently honest, conscientious, and informed with a painstaking spirit of fairness to all sides in the many controversies which fill especially the nineteenth century.

And when all is said and done, he deserves much of his countrymen. He introduced South Africa to the community of historical nations. He blazed a broad trail through what was before his time not much more than a wilderness. It may remain for later comers to make highways and cross-roads, to divide the land into cultivated fields, to bring forth unsuspected treasures from its soil. But that is not the task of the pioneer. And no one, not Garneau, nor Bourinot, nor the historians of Australasia, has done more to bring his land within the circle of historical interest than Theal. With these volumes his work concludes. There is scarcely anywhere a more touching account of a historian's last hours than is afforded by the note at the end of these volumes. It is reminiscent of a similar passage in the life of Green. Any review of this his last, as well as his latest, work would not be complete without some tribute to one who for half a century had devoted a great part of his energy and time to such a task as his. And one may well echo the sentiment of the Senate of the University of South Africa and share the hope of those who "look forward with confidence to the establishment of a South Africa school of historians who must always regard him as their founder". From them we may look forward also to the next chapter of this history, the Boer War, whose complexities may task even the judicial impartiality of the followers of Theal, but whose history is worthy of the best efforts of such a school.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

A Hidden Phase of American History: Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty. By MICHAEL J. O'BRIEN, Historiographer, American Irish Historical Society. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1920. Pp. xv, 533. \$5.00.)

THE racial or linguistic composition of the American nation in 1776, or of the Revolutionary army, is an important and interesting subject. Mr. O'Brien has taken up one section of the problem, the Irish, and, working with great industry and energetic research, has compiled a book of real value and importance, marred by some serious faults. No one could read any five pages of the book without perceiving that the author has undertaken his task in the spirit of an advocate. This has been the custom of almost all who have written about the national or linguistic elements in America to which they have themselves belonged, and there has been so much disposition to minimize the importance and influence of the Irish element that a certain degree of warmth of advocacy on Mr. O'Brien's part is only natural. It does not, however, form the best temper for securing permanent results of the first value in historical writing. Not only does it weary the reader to encounter, over and over again, these phrases about "gross libel", "gross injustice", "damning proofs of the apparently deliberate attempts of these historians to hide the truth"; but it has also had a strong effect upon the author's estimates of the value of evidence. His chief merit lies in having accumulated so great a mass of evidence that no just reader, paying due attention to that portion of the evidence which is solid, will fail to admit that the Irish element in the Revolutionary army, and in the American population of that time, must have been greater than is commonly supposed. But Mr. O'Brien himself is far from being sufficiently critical as to his evidences. All is fish that comes to his net, and he often lays a maximum of emphasis on testimonies that have no value at all.

A striking instance of this defect is his treatment of the well-known remark of Joseph Galloway about Irish troops in his examination before the House of Commons. To this "remarkable utterance", which has no probative value at all, he devotes a dozen pages, and even prints a facsimile of a passage in it, as he finds it in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*. At another place, Mr. O'Brien thinks it worth while to publish a facsimile of an item in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 1773 regarding the statement of a sea-captain who left Dublin about the first of June, declaring that upward of 18,000 people had left Ireland for America since January. Have we not figures of emigration from Ireland for that year, from one of the best statistical authorities of the time, that show such a statement to be but a sea-captain's yarn?

Mr. O'Brien's accumulation of facts and instances is impressive,

and rightly so, but when it comes to dealing with statistics his method is amateurish and uncritical, though what a careful reader would most desire is a body of well-based percentages. When Mr. O'Brien comes to that point, he contents himself with saying (pp. 134, 135) that after careful calculation he has determined that 35.83 per cent. of the soldiers of the Revolutionary army were Irish. He has reached these results mainly, it appears, by counting Irish names. He shows impressive totals of such numbers, and does not seem always to see that what the reader most wishes is ratios. He finds (p. 222) that "on the Revolutionary muster-rolls of Massachusetts there are approximately three thousand Irish names." That sounds large, but if one observes the composition of the volumes entitled *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors*, one finds that it is 3000 out of 190,000, so extensive is the duplication, the habit of that compilation being to make separate entries of the same name found in different muster-rolls unless there is certain evidence that they represent the same person. His 2083 names in New York lists, 4000 in those of Maryland, and 3000 in the two Virginia volumes, are taken from books that list, respectively, 44,000 and 20,000 and 44,000 names. If this were all, the Irish element in the Revolutionary army would not have risen above four or five per cent. Now, in the two large lists of Loyalist claimants that give the country of birth, the Ontario list and Mr. Egerton's, out of 1358 claimants, 146, or eleven per cent., say that they were born in Ireland (more than in England). But if a good computation for Pennsylvania could be made, it would raise considerably the percentage of Irish in the Revolutionary army. Of the bravery of that element, and the value of its achievement, there is no question.

In later chapters Mr. O'Brien goes into the further question, how largely this Irish element in the army or nation was "Scotch-Irish", or rather, he scouts the whole notion of a distinct Scotch-Irish element as mythical. He is quite right in saying that the usual habit of the eighteenth century was to give simply the name Irish to all who came from Ireland, and certainly the Scotch-Irish writers in the United States have been as prone to "claim everything" as Mr. O'Brien himself. Certainly, however, there is a broad distinction between Presbyterian and Catholic Irish, though the problem of their relative proportions in the American population of that time is excessively difficult. Arthur Young, a far better authority than most of those whom our author quotes, and one whom he is well content to cite in other connections, says strongly, in various passages of his *Tour*, that nearly all Irish emigration to America was Presbyterian, and Sir Thomas Newenham, a high authority, indicates that nearly all of them came from the North of Ireland ports. On the other hand, Mr. O'Brien says (p. 287) that of the 576 vessels sailing from and to Ireland registered at the New York or Philadelphia custom-houses, as an-

nounced in the newspapers of 1771-1774, when Irish emigration was especially abundant, 329, or 57 per cent., sailed from or to Cork, Dublin, and other southern ports. And he seems to be an honest calculator, if not always critical. By accumulation of instances he indicates the presence of many thousands of Irish in Massachusetts before 1790; and yet the *Boston Directory* of 1789, among its 1300 or 1400 names, contains not forty of those that Mr. O'Brien lists as peculiarly Irish—not an O, and only three Mac's that are not plainly Scottish. All these questions are more difficult than he seems to think, and what is said about them in the Census Bureau volume, *A Century of Population Growth*, though naturally quoted by many as authoritative, is in reality fundamentally erroneous.

An appendix contains a list of 1500 Revolutionary officers of Irish birth or descent that Mr. O'Brien says he has found. The list is not carefully composed and it is subject to a good deal of reduction; 73 of them were in the French-Irish regiments, 80 were "officers" on privateers, 70 or more seem to be pretty certainly duplicates. Mr. O'Brien will hardly maintain that "James Mease, Commissary, Penna. Troops", and "James Mease, Paymaster and Treasurer, Continental Army", are two distinct persons, or that the officers of the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot all became new persons when its name is changed to Thirteenth Pennsylvania. As to establishing any ratio, the reviewer knows of no complete list of officers in the Revolutionary army, but of commissioned officers who served in the United States navy and marine corps in the Revolutionary War there are authoritative lists. These officers number 304, and only five of them are in Mr. O'Brien's list of officers. Another long appendix lists all the non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, of the twelve chief Irish names, that Mr. O'Brien has found in the Revolutionary army and navy. He says (p. 218) that no individual name has been repeated; but this, for reasons indicated above, cannot be true.

To sum up: Mr. O'Brien has produced a book of considerable value, but if his object is not simply to edify the Irish-American, but to convince thoughtful persons not Irish, he would have assured a more permanent position to his book by sifting his evidence more carefully and not claiming so much.

J. F. JAMESON.

The Last of the "Mayflower". By RENDEL HARRIS. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. 122. 5s.)

The Finding of the "Mayflower". By RENDEL HARRIS. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. v, 58. 4s. 6d.)

THESE two books, written by a distinguished scholar, showing an extraordinary amount of research and study on the interesting problem

of what became of the Pilgrims' ship, the *Mayflower*, and both published in the same year, illustrate in a curious way how conjecture and probabilities can be used to supply the place of definitive evidence.

In the volume first printed, *The Last of the Mayflower*, Dr. Harris claims to have established that among the ships which sailed for New England in 1629 and again in 1630 was the *Mayflower* of 1620, and that as late as 1653 the same ship was employed in carrying to Boston goods for John Eliot. He submits letters from John Eliot and a bill of lading of 1653, described as "Invoyce of Goods Sente on the May Flower of Boston (Master Thos. Webber) for Boston in New England consigned unto Mr. John Elliott Paster the Church of Roxbury", etc., and devotes nearly sixty pages to prove that the *Mayflower* is also the ship of Thomas Horth of Yarmouth and engaged in the Greenland whale-fishery, and is also the ship whose owner and master in her last days was Thomas Webber of Boston. He states his conclusion: "It is very doubtful if anything more is to be said as to the fate of the *Mayflower*. We traced her to Boston and to the year 1654. . . . Most likely she was broken up in Boston or perhaps in the Thames on her last voyage to London."

In the *English Historical Review* for October, 1904, in an article entitled "The *Mayflower*", by R. G. Marsden, it is shown with many illustrative references that the name *Mayflower* was a very common name in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. "There could not have been fewer than forty or fifty *Mayflowers* existing between 1550 and 1700, and some of the larger ports of the Kingdom of England possessed two or even several *Mayflowers* apiece."

The most satisfactory evidence as to the fate of the *Mayflower* is found in an application made to the Admiralty Court on May 4, 1624, by the owners of three-fourths of the *Mayflower*, including the widow of Christopher Jones, for her appraisal. The appraisal was made by two mariners and two shipwrights, and the basis of the application for the appraisal of the *Mayflower* was the fact the she was "in ruinis".

Dr. Harris disposes of that appraisal upon an explanation which to him seems very simple, that the appraisal is for the widow's fourth part and not for the whole ship; but an examination of the appraisal indicates conclusively that the valuation of fifty pounds which the appraisers fixed was for the whole ship, for they say in terms that "having viewed and seene the Hull, mastes yardes boate Winles and capstan of and belonging to the said shipp", they do estimate the same at fifty pounds. They also estimate the value of the five anchors, one suite of sails, three cables, two hawsers, shrouds, and stays, with all the other rigging. That clearly is not a valuation of the widow Jones's fourth of the vessel but the valuation of the entire ship, a ship whose usefulness was ended and beyond repair, a ship "in ruinis".

Until some further evidence is introduced which overturns this record, it seems to be clearly established that the year 1624 saw the last

of the *Mayflower*. The interesting speculations then as to whether the *Mayflower* was in the East Indies or later a whaler, or whether it could be identified with Mr. Webber's *Mayflower* or Mr. Vassal's *Mayflower*, are of little real importance.

It is unnecessary to discuss the meaning and effect of the appraisement of the *Mayflower*, and whether the allegation in the petition for appraisement that the *Mayflower* is "in ruinis" means that the vessel is already broken up and never again to sail the seas, for in *The Finding of the "Mayflower"*, Dr. Harris bases his argument in support of the discovery of the timbers of the *Mayflower* upon the fact that the *Mayflower* was broken up in 1624. The earlier book rests on the author's assumption that the "appraisement is for the widow's fourth part and not for the whole ship", and the later book, upon the undoubted and admitted fact that the appraisement is for the entire ship.

In *The Finding of the "Mayflower"*, which volume he describes "as the culmination and crown of my researches into the story of the Pilgrim Fathers", his thesis is to establish that the timbers of the *Mayflower* now form part of the timbers of an old barn at Jordans in the county of Bucks. The direct evidence in support of his conclusions may be briefly summarized: (1) that the *Mayflower* was broken up in 1624; (2) that at that date the barn was built; (3) that the timbers of the barn are ship-timbers; (4) that the timbers are timbers of the ship *Mayflower* because, (a) the cracked mainbeam of the barn "is the cracked beam of the original *Mayflower*", (b) the inscription on a beam in the wall of the barn contains the letters—R. H A R—I C—which he interprets to have originally been MAYFLOWER, HARWICH, and (c) the carvings on an old door in the house "of what appears to be a rose".

If we take these claims in their order it will be easily seen that on the evidence submitted they rest on conjecture and hope, not on real proof. No evidence is furnished to show the date when the barn was built except the opinion of a Thames shipbuilder that it was built "more than two hundred years ago", and the fact that the bricks in the foundation measure $8\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ inches, which do not correspond to the regulation size of bricks in the seventeenth century, and which discrepancy he explains by the suggestion that these bricks "are earlier in date than the operating control" or were "imported bricks, say from Holland". The same shipbuilder is relied on as a witness to establish the fact that the timbers and beams are from "old ships' beams and frames", and he estimates the dimensions of the "Schooner" from which the timber came to be "about 90 ft. long, 22 ft. wide and 10 ft. deep and would carry about 150 tons". The testimony of his expert seems to dispose of the theory that the cracked beam "is the great beam in the *Mayflower*". His conclusion is that the crack "is a natural 'windshake'", and "must have been put on at the time of the construction of the barn". Dr. Harris

frankly recognizes the weight of the expert's opinion and states that "we must not too hastily identify the crossbeam of the barn with the great beam amidship of the *Mayflower*".

The inscription has little persuasive force. His photographer, "a man of very quick vision", who was with him at the time of the discovery of the inscription, quickly read it as R. HARRIS. It might be a fair inference that the photographer was also somewhat of a joker, but Dr. Harris takes him seriously, and at a "somewhat later date" Dr. Harris determines the letters of the mysterious alphabetic sign to be R. HAR*I* and then cheerfully expands it into the necessary lettering for his purpose by adding before the R. the letters MAYFLOWE and in the second word placing the letters W and CH, and the puzzle is solved and we have the hoped-for and looked-for name MAYFLOWER, HARWICH. But the doctor frankly says, "On closer investigation I begin to be sceptical of the letter R which we have suggested to be the terminal of the *Mayflower*."

Nothing material remains to support his hope that he has discovered the timbers of the *Mayflower* except the carvings of a flower on the old door. The photograph of the door which he gives in his book goes far to support the doctor's statement that the carving "is clearly conventional". There is no evidence offered that the door ever came from a ship, and the author's argument is best stated by himself. "If it came from a ship . . . we should expect . . . that the flower had something to do with the ship or her owners. She should be the *Mayflower* or the *Mary Rose* or the *Marigold*."

There is little presented to justify the widely heralded announcement that the timbers of the *Mayflower* have been found in an old English barn. The real value of the book lies in the investigation, very carefully made, which tend to show that one of the owners of the *Mayflower*, Robert Child, lived only a few miles from Jordans, and that Richard Gardiner, a *Mayflower* passenger, may be traced to the same neighborhood.

The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies. By BEVERLEY W. BOND, jr., Associate Professor of History in Purdue University. With an Introduction by CHARLES M. ANDREWS. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1919. Pp. 492. \$3.00.)

DR. BOND has singled out for fullness of treatment the whole matter of the quit-rent as one item in the colonial land-system. It is a subject which justifies the exhaustive and careful study which he has given to it. The greater portion of colonial lands were held by feudal tenure, and the quit-rent, the chief bond between lord and tenant, was a payment which reached down and affected the lives of most men. It is a study which goes to the bottom of things. It is comprehensive

in time and place, dealing with the subject through the whole course of colonial history and through all the colonies, mainland as well as islands. Students welcome this scholarly work because for the first time there is made known the origin, place, and importance of an obscure and seemingly trivial payment, in a book which is scholarly, logical, and comprehensive.

The first chapter gives a concise account of the English origins of the rent. Feudalism in England was an evolution, having a long history and deep legality behind it. In America a feudal and aristocratic system was supported by neither. The quit-rent in England was a release from burdensome services, in America it was an additional burden upon a debtor class. And the staple of the history of the rent in the colonies is the persistent opposition of the New World to a system of control and vassalage transferred from the Old. The quit-rent played its part in Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, in the Revolution of 1689 in Massachusetts, in the overthrow of the proprietary régime in South Carolina, and in the agrarian riots in East Jersey and other places. It is to be numbered among the contributory causes of the American discontent after 1765. It was opposed not only by the farmers, but also by land-speculators. The collection and enforcement of the rent furnished a subject of bitter dispute between the popular assemblies and the proprietary or royal officials. It involved the question of payment in specie when the colonies lacked hard money. The history of the rent throws light on the character and personnel of English colonial administration. All these matters, and many others, are fully and clearly explained and described by the author.

Dr. Bond published a preliminary study of the subject in the pages of the *Review* for April, 1912 (XVII. 496-516). This book is the result of great labor and search among additional sources both here and abroad. The book is based upon a wide and careful examination of all discoverable material, printed and manuscript, as is evidenced by copious foot-notes and the bibliography. Indeed the use of unpublished sources found in England, and in collections of historical societies and state archives in this country, would alone entitle the book to a large place in the literature of the colonial era. The author has not only discovered the facts exhaustively, he also explains them logically and clearly in a concrete and rather sober style, and he does not hesitate to pass judgment on the facts.

In one sense the subject is narrow, as dealing with only one item in the colonial land-system. In another sense the study is broad. The manner in which Dr. Bond treats the subject is a good illustration of the large degree of unity in colonial evolution. He treats each colony or feudal area separately, but at the same time he brings out the fact that the quit-rent was a problem common to almost all of the colonies and that the attitude of one colony toward the rent

was of considerable influence on the conduct of other colonies. His study reveals colonial unity in another way, the common relations of the colonies to the home government. Dr. Bond's book about closes the chapter on the quit-rent and hereafter one who wishes to know anything about the matter will refer to this work. No scholar or student of the period can afford to neglect this work, and none but scholars or students will read it.

Professor C. M. Andrews contributes an admirable introduction, setting forth in general terms the importance of the subject, and at the same time pointing out the need of approaching the study of colonial history in a more rational manner than was the case with the older generation of historians.

W. T. ROOT.

The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783 to 1785, being the Notes of Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, M. P., one of the Commissioners during that Period. Edited by HUGH EDWARD EGERTON, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. (Oxford: Printed for presentation to the Members of the Roxburghe Club. 1915. Pp. lv, 422.)

THIS handsome and carefully edited volume, which forms a valuable addition to the materials for the history of the American Loyalists, was printed on behalf and in memory of Mr. Whitelaw Reid, late United States ambassador to the court of St. James. As it had been the custom in the Roxburghe Club for each member to bear the cost of publication of a small edition of a single work for distribution among his fellow-members, Mrs. Reid arranged with the president of the club, the Earl of Rosebery, to determine the nature of the volume to be issued as a memorial of her husband as the one American member in this notable little group of Englishmen. Happily Lord Rosebery selected the Coke Papers, which came into the possession of Mrs. Reid on the dispersion of the Phillipps manuscripts, of which they had formed a part, and Professor Egerton was persuaded to undertake the task of editing the papers and of writing the introduction to the volume.

After the distribution of the book in England the surplus copies were sent aboard the steamship *Arabic* for shipment to the donor in America, but were lost when that vessel was torpedoed by a German submarine. The volume has since been reprinted and presented to certain libraries and individuals on this side of the Atlantic.

The Coke Papers comprise the memoranda taken by Mr. Daniel Parker Coke of the evidence presented before the Royal Commission on the claims of the American Loyalists during the time of his connection with that body. In part this evidence consists of 395 memorials, a few of these being joint memorials of two or more claimants, and in part of

the testimony of the memorialists and of witnesses more or less conversant with their circumstances, losses, and loyalty to the king during the American War. Professor Egerton is careful to explain that the papers have not been published in their entirety, on account of the necessity of keeping them within the limits of a single volume; but he has sought to include all the evidence which bears upon the social and economic history of the time, including the price of land and of slaves, professional earnings, etc., and he has taken pains to give us the exact language of the witness in every case. The partizan activities, or services to the British cause, of the more prominent Loyalists, are usually disclosed at some length.

In his introduction the editor first discusses, in the light not only of the Coke Papers but also of a mass of printed material, contemporaneous and modern, why the Loyalists, who were numerous and in official control at the beginning of the Revolution, failed to influence the course of events in the American colonies. He finds the explanation of this failure in their tardiness in organizing for aggressive action, in their undue reliance on the measures and military commanders of the mother country, in the disregard of the Tory regiments by Generals Howe and Clinton, in the unpopularity of the British cause in Virginia on account of Lord Dunmore's blundering operations, in the upsetting of Col. John Connolly's plan to sever the Northern from the Southern colonies, in the premature action of the Loyalists of North Carolina, in the attachment of the Indians to the British and the indiscriminate massacres by the former in South Carolina, and in the disgust inspired in the better element of all parties in the Southern districts by the excesses and depredations of the British and Hessian troops.

After noticing the strength of loyalism in the South from Maryland to eastern Georgia, Professor Egerton gives examples of the bitterness which characterized the mutual relations of Whig and Tory in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, where the king's friends were strong enough to be greatly feared. Nor does he overlook the fact that this bitterness continued when the struggle was over, filling the Loyalists with panic and despair upon their realizing that peace was to be made, and with a feeling of betrayal by the home government when the peace terms were published.

The procedure and eminent qualifications of the commissioners on Loyalist claims are next considered, the editor defending the Commission against the charge of "culpable dilatoriness" in conducting their investigations made by the well-known Canadian historian Dr. William Kingsford, and explaining that the great majority of the claimants were "receiving a subsistence allowance" from the British treasury during the protracted period of these investigations. The restrictions under which the commissioners labored and the difficulties they had to contend with are noted, and the claims for losses of property under the acts of 1783 and 1785 and losses of income are tabulated.

The concluding paragraphs of the introduction deal with the character and the differences in social status and occupation of the memorialists, concerning whom Mr. Coke confessed that at the outset he entertained an antipathy, which was transformed into the most favorable sentiments by his discovery in the course of his inquiries of the merit, sufferings, and fidelity to the government of these claimants.

Thirteen states are represented in the Coke Papers. Of the New England group Massachusetts (including Maine) has seventy representatives, among these being Sir William Pepperrell, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver, Attorney General Jonathan Sewell, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, and many other prominent refugees. Rhode Island supplies fifteen claimants; Connecticut, eleven; New Hampshire, four, including Capt. John Fenton; and Vermont, one. Of the Middle States New York leads with thirty-nine, of whom the most noted Loyalists are Gen. Oliver DeLancey; Lieut.-Col. John Harris Cruger, a member of the council and chamberlain of the city of New York; George Duncan Ludlow, a member of the supreme court; Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., and David Mathews, mayor of New York. Pennsylvania counts among its twenty-seven claimants Joseph Galloway, Lieut.-Col. John Connolly, Rev. Jacob Duché, and Samuel Shoemaker. New Jersey follows with twenty-six, including Brig.-Gen. Cortland Skinner; David Ogden, a member of the council and of the supreme court; Lieut. James Moody, and Daniel Coxe. Of the Southern States Virginia has twenty-three, of whom we mention only Lord Dunmore and Lieut.-Col. Jacob Ellegood. Maryland's list comprises seventeen, and is distinguished by the names of Lieut.-Col. James Chalmers and Dr. Alexander Stenhouse. Among the fifty-three memorialists from North Carolina are Governor Josiah Martin; Col. James Cotton, a holder of numerous offices, and William Pennington, one of the chief revenue officers of the province. South Carolina, with sixty-seven claimants, surpasses any other Southern state in number, but not in distinction. Thus, for example, Georgia, whose list is confined to twenty-eight names, has Governor Sir James Wright, Lieutenant-Governor John Graham, Sir James Wallace, William Knox, and Lewis Johnston, sr., a member of the council, in its roll of claimants.

The memorials of many of these claimants throw rays of light into some of the dark places of our Revolutionary history and supplement what is already known of the activities and sufferings of the American Loyalists. The whole collection is worthy of the care which is manifest in the publication before us, a publication testifying amply to the good judgment and admirable taste of those who have been concerned with it. The editor has been generous in his supply of notes and in furnishing a bibliography of ninety or more titles, which could easily have been extended and classified as primary and secondary works.

WILBUR H. SIEBERT.

Jared Ingersoll: a Study of American Loyatism in relation to British Colonial Government. By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science, Wabash College. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. 432. \$3.75.)

It has been some twenty-five years since Moses Coit Tyler elucidated his views of the significance of the Loyalists of the American Revolution in the first number of this *Review*; and since that time much work has been done to elaborate and define this point of view by such men as Ellis, Gilbert, Flick, and Van Tyne. Yet, if one excepts Hosmer's biography of Hutchinson and Baldwin's monograph on Galloway, little or nothing has been done to supply intimate studies of the leaders among the Loyalists. In the case of Jared Ingersoll this neglect is now atoned for by the excellent volume written by Professor Gipson.

For the ordinary student this work rescues Ingersoll from the ignominy which alone distinguished him—that arising from his activities as stamp-distributor in Connecticut. Ingersoll is shown to have been a native American of conservative temperament, possessed of considerable wealth, a lawyer by profession, and actively interested in the economic development of Connecticut. Perhaps no passages are more illuminating than those describing his activities as promoter of the mast industry in Connecticut and his conflict with the Wentworth interests of Portsmouth. Such influences served to give Ingersoll the temperate outlook of a man of property although the author suggests, somewhat unkindly, that Ingersoll may have also been affected in his political opinions by his familiarity with the books in the Yale library.

The peculiar quality of Ingersoll's Toryism is shown by the fact that he was a consistent believer in colonial home rule, though as a measure of enlightened statecraft rather than as a matter of right. He counselled against the removal of the Sugar Act at the old rates; he worked against the passage of the Stamp Act and secured a reduction of some of the more onerous duties. Then, becoming a belated convert to the measure, he accepted appointment as stamp-distributor, convinced that the tax should be administered by friends to the colonies. When he returned to Connecticut to take up his duties, he discovered that his fellow-colonists had no inclination to follow him in his change of opinion. His conduct in this crisis was dignified and courageous, and not unduly offensive to his fellow-citizens.

The author leaves us somewhat in the dark as to Ingersoll's attitude toward the Townshend programme. Ingersoll appears to have been chiefly engaged at this period in seeking compensation for his Stamp Act sufferings in the form of a colonial appointment, a rôle which reveals him in a less favorable light. His reward came in his appointment as admiralty judge in Philadelphia, in which office he

remained until the outbreak of hostilities. Meantime he continued his Connecticut connections, always using his influence for moderation. During most of the war he was a prisoner on parole in Connecticut. His son Jared joined the revolutionists; and before his death in 1781 the father himself had become reconciled to the idea of American independence.

The author devotes three-fifths of his volume to Ingersoll's career prior to the Townshend acts, an undue proportion in view of the crowding events of the later period. The author, however, has used this space to give an account of the early stages of the Revolutionary movement in Connecticut that is by far the best that we have. With Ingersoll's removal to Philadelphia, Connecticut events sink into the background. Nevertheless the peculiar relationship of New Haven to the Revolutionary movement is always kept clearly before the reader.

The volume maintains the high standards of the *Yale Historical Publications*. Professor Gipson's style is unhurried and attractive; and his scholarship is convincing. The bibliographical essay at the close of the volume shows wide researches, and is to be commended to authors who desire to have their bibliographies actually read. Evidences of carelessness are few; and such slips as "John D. Bassett", "Charles Tompson" (in the index), and Rivington's "New York Gazette" will mislead no one.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER.

History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919. By PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE. In four volumes. Volumes I. and II. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 376; 395. \$9.00.)

THIS first installment of Dr. Bruce's exhaustive work is, in substance and style, thoroughly worthy both of the subject and of the reputation of the author as an accomplished historian. The volumes naturally make their main appeal to the alumni of the institution dealt with and to natives of Virginia; but, although the scale on which the undertaking is planned will probably seem unduly formidable to the general reader, that personage, if he be not mythical, will do well in my judgment to give these pages a fair test, and the number of special students who may find their account in them appears to be exceptionally large.

To anyone interested in Jefferson the earlier sections of the book would seem to be well-nigh indispensable, and there is much that should not be overlooked by those concerned with the history of education and with American architecture. Light is thrown also on the political and social life of Virginia in the first decades of the last century, and there are some well-drawn portraits of interesting characters, especially of coadjutors of Jefferson in the last great achievement of his life, whose names the close student of our culture should not willingly

let die. Last, but to me personally by no means least, Dr. Bruce, by drawing liberally upon the papers in the proctor's office, has been able to give a detailed and highly informative account of the construction, under many difficulties, of one of the most significant groups of buildings ever erected in this country—an account which investigators of our early economic history may peruse with profit.

The period of slightly more than a century covered by the work is treated in nine chronological divisions, four of which are represented in these two volumes. After an introductory chapter devoted to Jefferson, the opening periods describe the struggle for a university, and the germination of the institution in the Albemarle Academy and in Central College. The third period, in twenty-three sections—an indication of the magnitude of the work—treats of the building of the university, and includes a readable sketch of the fight for the new institution conducted in the Virginia legislature by Jefferson's able lieutenant Joseph C. Cabell, whom Washington Irving's recently published *Journals* agreeably mention, as well as an account of the mission of the ill-fated Francis Walker Gilmer to England for the purpose of securing professors, a pilgrimage not viewed with favor by the super-patriots of those ebullient days. The fourth period describes the "formative and experimental stage, 1825-1842", and discusses such topics as "how the university was reached", "origin and number of students", the several schools of instruction, the successors to the first professors, the formation of the library, the hotel-keepers—an interesting but parlous set, one gathers—the discipline, or rather the lack of discipline, and the like.

The topic last named has furnished one elderly alumnus with matter for reflection. Some of the pranks and follies of those students of the thirties were not untried by the students of the early eighties, but there had been a distinct toning down, just as there has doubtless been in the forty years that have succeeded. Certainly no professor has been killed by a student since November, 1840, when the second professor of law, John A. G. Davis, was shot on attempting to remove a mask worn by a rioting young man. This tragedy, with the sinister light it throws on the turbulence of the period, suggests the fact that the academic career of the university's most distinguished alumnus, Edgar Allan Poe, although it was not thus stained and officially passed muster, was none the less clouded and illustrative of the dissipations of the time. Poe, however, finds no place in these volumes. He is reserved for the fifth period, and doubtless Dr. Bruce in his treatment of this phase of the poet's life will place students under obligations.

Of the interesting men who, after Jefferson and Cabell, figure in the opening years of the university, no one stands out more saliently than Gen. John Hartwell Cocke, to whom a section of the first volume

is assigned. In his support of the cause of education, in his conciliatory attitude toward the North, in his advocacy of universal prohibition, in his discouragement of the planting of tobacco, in his condemnation of duelling, in his efforts for the peaceable abolition of slavery, he was surely, in the words of one historian, "in power of foresight . . . the most remarkable of all his Virginia contemporaries of his own generation".

In conclusion, it is a pleasure to praise, not only the thorough and the attractive manner in which Dr. Bruce has treated his subject, but also the discrimination he continually displays. His attitude toward the great founder and father of the institution whose fortunes he is tracing is throughout highly appreciative and respectful, but it is never marred by subservience or by uncritical extravagance of laudation. In the matter, for example, of Jefferson's stand in relation to the proposed removal of William and Mary College to Richmond, Dr. Bruce's own unpartizan bearing demands nothing but praise. He is ready also to point out firmly the meretriciousness of Jefferson's taste in English literature (I. 30), going farther than I myself should be willing to do, if he means to cite as illustrative the old statesman and philosopher's preference for Homer over Milton. The proof-reading has been good, but, as is to be expected in a work of such scope, not impeccable. For example, Nimes (I. 36) has loaned "salons" (I. 57) its circumflex; the poet Praed appears as "William Mackworth" instead of Winthrop Mackworth (I. 362); we read of *De Arta Poetica* (II. 86); and at more than one place we encounter the strange noun "doctrinate".

W. P. TRENT.

The Papers of Thomas Ruffin. Collected and edited by J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON, Alumni Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. Volume III. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh: the Commission. 1920. Pp. 464.)

THE third volume of *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, like the preceding volumes, contains very few letters of the North Carolina chief justice himself; but the letters of other leaders of importance tend to give the work great value to students of American history. The period covered by these letters is 1859-1865. The men whose names appear most frequently in the book are Weldon Edwards, Paul Cameron, David L. Swain, Kenneth Rayner, and others then well known in all that region of the country.

A significant note may be seen in the following quotation from a letter of the ex-Governor, Charles Manly, a Whig of the best traditions:

I want to knock down a John Browner so bad I *dunno* what to do. I don't think the country will *bust up* yet. The people will save it in spite of the politicians, demagogues and fanatics. It can't be possible that the advocates of treason, murder and stealing can overturn and destroy this great Confederacy (p. 59).

An even more suggestive line of thought may be seen in the following (December, 1861) from Kenneth Rayner, one of the important national Democratic leaders during the Clay and Polk days:

I tried to sound public opinion as it exists among plain country people. I was mortified to find, as far as I could ascertain, that the feeling in that section . . . was in a great measure in favor of "the Union at all hazards"—in other words, unqualified submission. I heard from several sources that the people who did not own slaves were swearing that they "would not lift a finger to protect rich men's negroes". You may depend on it, my dear Judge, that this feeling prevails to an extent you do not imagine (p. 109).

One of the wisest bits of advice in the volume is to be found in a letter (February 4, 1861) from Thomas P. Devereaux, a Federalist of the old school, a great planter, and chairman of the county court of Halifax:

It seems to me now that the difference between the right of secession and of revolutionary resistance is merely nominal, revolution is implied in secession and in the reverse. . . . A spirit is abroad which I fear will sooner or later destroy our Union and that spirit is mainly evidenced by [the] declaration that obedience to the Federal powers, allegiance to the Union, is subordinate to that due the individual states (pp. 118-119).

Ruffin was a respected and thoughtful moderate Unionist who served his state in the Peace Conference, not one who believed too strongly in democracy or the wisdom of common men, and to him, apparently, the best men of North Carolina wrote their hopes and their fears. All finally went into the revolution of which Devereaux spoke, and all of them lost about all the property they had accumulated through the toil of half a century. But the old judge bore his disasters as became a philosopher. Devereaux lost a great plantation and his little army of slaves. Manly, the hot-tempered Whig, likewise lost his all; and poor Rayner, who hated Yankees as Frenchmen hate Germans, emigrated to start afresh in Alabama, and thence found his way to Washington to take a subordinate place under President Grant! But it is never given to contemporaries to know what will be the consequences of given lines of action, and the historian dares not condemn in others what he, as a citizen, probably would have approved.

Messrs. Hamilton and Connor have done a good thing in bringing out these instructive evidences of the thought of a sorely tried commonwealth in 1861.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The Cambridge History of American Literature. Edited by WILLIAM P. TRENT, JOHN ERSKINE, STUART P. SHERMAN, and CARL VAN DOREN. Volumes III. and IV. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; Cambridge, England: University Press. 1921. Pp. x, 424; vi, 425-872. \$5.00 each.)

THESE volumes cover mainly the last half-century of American literature. Less than half of the chapters deal with literature in the narrower sense of the word—Mark Twain, minor humorists, later poets, essayists, and novelists, the drama, patriotic songs and hymns, ballads, and writings in German, French, Yiddish, and Indian; the other chapters are upon travels, history, theology, philosophy, magazines and newspapers, political writings, Lincoln, education, economics, scholarship, popular bibles, book publishing, and the English language in America. This second group not only increases the value of the work as a record of American culture, but also contains some of the most interesting material. The first group, on the other hand, has historical as well as literary significance, presenting the literature in its relations to the life of the times.

The chapter on Mark Twain portrays him justly as a writer of original and versatile gifts, who pictured with much power certain phases of American life and temperament; but it sensibly resists a present tendency to put him among the world's "literary Titans" in native endowment. The critic deals too gently, perhaps, with Twain's crass blindness to some of the finest things in the culture of the past, and makes too little of the agnostic pessimism which found imaginative expression in his posthumous story, *The Mysterious Stranger*. Howells is truly said to have "produced in his fourscore books the most considerable transcript of American life yet made by one man", although his typically American realism is well described as "a kind of selective realism", the novelist "choosing his material as a sage chooses his words, decently"; due emphasis is also laid upon his preference for the commonplaces of life, and the writer hints that in spite of Howells's neat style and true pictures of contemporary conditions his work may fail of full permanence because it has neither supreme fineness nor supreme power. The treatment of Henry James, although marred by sudden drops in style, as a whole is well poised and penetrating; it admits the faults of his later manner, but insists upon the truth and subtlety of his insight, and, while granting his debt to Europe, picks out as a distinctive quality that he not only portrays American types but unites "new-world faith and old-world culture". The pages given to minor authors and movements also combine study of literary art with study of historical and social setting. Thus the treatment of the drama since 1860 dwells upon the rise of plays American in subject and spirit, and upon the struggle between commercialism and art for control of the theatre, ending with a hopeful view of

the effect of recent amateur play-writing and acting upon the future of American drama. The chapter on Oral Literature gives a broad view, but with some detail, of the fortunes of English and Scottish ballads in the United States, and sketches briefly the making of new ballads by cowboys and others. The last chapter, on Indian oratory and poems, embodies the results of modern research, and shows fine artistic feeling in tracing the mode by which primitive poetry develops.

Among the chapters on subjects not purely literary, that on American English is one of the best; temperate and judicial in tone, yet giving occasional keen thrusts, the writer argues for recognition of the American form of English as one of several varieties due to sociological conditions, like Scottish English and South-England English, while urging reasonable restraint of extremes in pronunciation and idiom in North, South, and West. The development of magazines and newspapers is admirably told in two chapters which fearlessly point out the growth of debasing elements but duly appraise the relation of these publications to modern life and literature. The chapter on Lincoln, like that on Webster in volume II., is chiefly a study of style; and although it is a far more vital study, relating Lincoln's style, early, middle, and late, to the unfolding of his personality, one must regret that somewhere in the volume there is not an adequate presentation of Lincoln's political thought as expressed in his writings. The treatment of historians, theologians, philosophers, economists, and political writers, although necessarily brief, is fair in its exposition of the characteristics of various schools. The chapter on Scholars gives vivid glimpses into the personalities of Ticknor, Whitney, Gildersleeve, Child, White, and other students of ancient and modern languages and literatures, in addition to succinct but definite accounts of their work. The bibliographies are very full and valuable, as in the previous volumes, filling nearly 200 pages; and the name-and-title index to the two volumes (which are really one, divided for convenience in handling) occupies forty-four pages.

In spite of defects of method and execution in these volumes and their predecessors, it would be ungenerous, upon a survey of the now completed task, not to express agreement with the modest belief uttered by the editors in their last preface, "that the work as a whole furnishes a new and important basis for the understanding of American life and culture".

WALTER C. BRONSON.

A History of the Transport Service: Adventures and Experiences of United States Transports and Cruisers in the World War. By Vice-Admiral ALBERT GLEAVES, U. S. N., Commander of Convoy Operations in the Atlantic, 1917-1919. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1921. Pp. xviii, 284. \$6.00.)

EVERYTHING in this excellent and stirring account of the manner in

which our navy carried over the Atlantic two million American soldiers is so matter-of-fact, so humanly modern in spirit, that one is apt to lose sight of the heroic in the mighty operation. But what a theme for a future epic poet! For from the wanderings of the fabled Argo and the warlike expeditions of the classic nations of the Mediterranean to the bold overseas forays of the Northmen and the Danes the theme has ever been dear to the epic muse. But all these ancient movements of troops, wonderful as they were for their times and circumstances, and also the more modern oversea expeditions, sink into insignificance when compared with the titanic accomplishments of the Americans and British described by Admiral Gleaves.

The greatest feat of the kind before the World War was the transportation to South Africa, during the last Boer War, of some 432,000 British soldiers and 353,000 horses, but this of course was simply a problem of logistics, unhampered by any opposition of the enemy.

The operation under Gleaves will undoubtedly remain one of the astounding features of the war, and was the more remarkable because it was carried out with uncanny smoothness and precision, but no publicity. The admiral himself describes his mission as "the task of breaking the U-boat blockade in the Atlantic", and how well this mission was accomplished is best appreciated by a comparison of its complete success with the uniform confidence of the German military authorities in the ability of the submarines to prevent it. General Ludendorff hoped in 1918 for the success of his next offensive "if the submarines had by that time been able to reduce enemy tonnage at least to such an extent as to render the quick transport of the new American armies impossible, or even to sink only a certain proportion of the transports. The Navy counted upon being able to do this." And again: "From our previous experience of the submarine war I expected strong forces of Americans to come. But the rapidity with which they actually did arrive proved surprising." As a matter of fact no American transport was sunk while proceeding eastward. Little wonder, in view of this feat of carrying two millions of men across the ocean with practically no loss of life, that the French Minister of Marine, as he hung about Admiral Gleaves's neck the cross of a commander of the Legion of Honor (the first American officer, by the way, to be thus publicly honored since Paul Jones), remarked, "I constantly point to the American Navy as an example to be followed by the French Navy. When the war came you did not find it necessary to change a single one of your admirals afloat." Or that the French Minister of War said to him, "You have accomplished more than if you had won a great victory."

Admiral Gleaves's volume solves well the difficult problem of writing popular history; for it is frankly a book for the man in the street, whose interest will be held to the end and who cannot fail to acquire an accurate knowledge, not only of how the great American host was carried over-

seas with almost no loss of life and brought back again within an astonishingly short period of time, but also of the whole important convoy system, of the complicated naval situation in 1917-1918, and of the uniformly excellent and often heroic conduct of the officers and men under his supreme command. The book is profusely illustrated, and contains a valuable appendix giving all necessary data concerning the cruiser and transport force.

EDWARD BRECK.

The Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt. By OSCAR DOUGLAS SKELTON. (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. 586. \$6.50.)

THIS volume is a very important contribution to Canadian political biography, although the purely biographic element occupies a somewhat secondary place. The title indeed promises both "Life and Times", but the "Times" quite absorb the "Life", so that apart from glimpses of Galt's personal characteristics in the few semi-domestic letters reproduced, the volume reveals him chiefly as engaged in the political and financial affairs of the country.

The book opens with a sketch of his father, John Galt, known to the world at large as a literary character, but to Canadian history as the founder and early manager of the Canada Land Company. After breaking with the Canada Company, whose activities were confined to Upper Canada, the elder Galt turned his attention to the formation of a new Canada Land Company with Lower Canada as its field of operations. It was as a junior officer of the new British American Land Company that the son, A. T. Galt, came to Canada in 1835. Although the affairs of this corporation, in which he rose to be chief commissioner, absorbed his activities for twenty years, and although its fortunes were greatly affected by the most fundamental of all Canadian political and economic struggles, that between the French and English races, yet only the vaguest references are made to these important factors in this biography of Galt. The French Canadians resented very much the influx of immigrants, and especially of British immigrants, foreseeing that this might lead to the overthrow of their supremacy in what they regarded as their own country. Naturally, therefore, their attitude toward the new Land Company was one of steady hostility, which, but for the activities of Galt, would doubtless have resulted in starving out the company. But if our author has prudently refrained from following the subject of his biography into regions still beset by many explosives, he at least makes ample amends by treating very fully, and from first-hand sources, the less inflammable interests in which Galt spent his mature years. Thus we have two admirable chapters, the third and fourth, in which the early railroad history of Canada and the Maritime Provinces is very clearly presented, although only parts of it have a direct connection with

Galt. It is, indeed, characteristic of the general plan of the volume that Galt's connection with an important subject determines the fact of its treatment, but not the range of the treatment. Once a subject is entered upon it is treated in a full and independent manner, while the sections in which Galt figures are simply dealt with somewhat more fully, and his special connection with them clearly brought out.

The same method is followed in the larger field of politics, from the Union of the Canadas in 1840 down to the putting of the Confederation on its feet. The political history of this period is dealt with quite independently of the circumstance that Galt was sometimes an important factor and at others only an interested spectator. When he is an active participant the part he played is quite fully brought out, but when he is not, the play still goes on with more general but no less faithful attention to the development of the plot and the parts played by the other actors. Thus when Galt reappears on the stage no explanation is necessary as to what has happened in the interval, or how his part is related to the whole drama. This political presentation occupies the body of the book, including chapters five to fourteen. Here we find Galt much more interested in the achievement of concrete results than in the more or less strenuous political process through which they were achieved or defeated. Some of his colleagues, notably the resourceful John A. Macdonald, were much more interested in the game for its own sake.

Apart from his important services in the government as Minister of Finance, Galt made two important contributions to Canadian national development. The first and most important was his comprehensive draft of the general plan and essential conditions for the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. So thoroughly had he grasped the essential elements of such a measure, that, although rejected more than once, it ultimately prevailed, and, with very slight alteration in essentials, became the framework of the British North America Act. The other was his successful presentation and defense of the indispensable constitutional independence of Canada in fiscal and trade matters in relation not only to foreign countries but to Great Britain itself. His general attitude toward political and financial problems exhibited that rare combination of the practical statesman meeting the indispensable requirements of the present, and the man of vision providing for the expanding requirements of an indefinite future. All these features are very naturally and skilfully developed in the work before us.

Galt's thorough acquaintance with Canadian affairs, and the wider possibilities of the country after Confederation, naturally marked him as the most suitable representative of the new Dominion as High Commissioner, at the seat of empire in London. He was already well known to many of the leading financial and political personalities of Britain, while his knowledge of conditions in the United States, and his services as representative of Canada on the Halifax Fisheries Commission, naturally contributed materially to his success in this new position. He was able

both to guard and promote Canada's expanding interests, particularly in foreign trade and the negotiations incidental thereto.

The volume closes with a chapter on Galt's share, through his interest in his family, in opening up the Canadian Northwest, especially in the development of the coal mines at Lethbridge. This brought him back to his earlier railroad interests and financial operations, and the practical results showed that he had not lost his skill in such matters.

As already indicated, apart from the interest in Galt as one of the outstanding personalities in the history of Canada, the method of treatment adopted renders the volume an exceptionally valuable contribution to general Canadian history.

ADAM SHORTT.

Mexico and the Caribbean. Clark University Addresses. Edited by GEORGE H. FLAKESLEE, Professor of History and International Relations, Clark University. (New York: G. E. Stechert and Company. 1920. Pp. x, 363. \$4.00.)

MEXICO and the Caribbean countries have at various times reacted heavily upon our history. Historians have been slow to appraise the true force of these reactions. Clark University has rendered a service through having brought together a number of men who are interested in the problems of the Latin American world. These men have discussed various questions about which there are controversies, and nothing could more clearly indicate the diversity of opinion existing than these very addresses themselves.

They vary greatly in quality. As a matter of fact one can but express surprise at the inclusion of some of them, as for instance, "A Constructive Policy for Mexico" by Roger W. Babson. It should be characterized as the merest twaddle. By way of contrast it is a pleasure to refer to "The Caribbean Policy of the United States" by Professor William R. Shepherd, who has dealt exhaustively with the facts.

T. Esquivel Obregón has presented an interesting argument in support of the proposition that the Mexican people are capable of governing themselves, and yet his argument is specious in that it is universally admitted that the Mexican people, as such, have never exercised a voice in their governmental affairs. The only governments which have survived in Mexico have been despotisms or benevolent autocracies such as Diaz set up during his reign. In this connection Professor Frederick Starr in his discussion of the Mexican People falls into a fundamental blunder when he criticizes Diaz (p. 27) for having failed in his long rule to develop "those Indians—those fellows in the mountains, talking their languages, living in their little villages—into citizens of the Republic". As though under any circumstances Indians of the type he refers to could be developed into citizens of an enlightened republic in one generation! It will take a hundred, or a thousand, perhaps.

The question of health as affecting Mexican character is discussed by Ellsworth Huntington, but health can be said only in a minor sense to have modified the political aspects of the Mexican problem. Some fairly startling statistics are set out, showing alarming mortality ratios as compared with the United States.

A vivid review of the Mexican oil situation as affecting the Mexican case is presented by Frederick R. Kellogg. There can be no controverting the position he takes that Carranza's constitution of 1917 completely overthrew the bases on which foreign investments were called into Mexico.

It is astonishing to read in "Reconstruction Problems in Mexico", by E. D. Trowbridge (p. 115), "With the exception of the railway investment the large units of capital in Mexico suffered comparatively little damage during the revolution." Such a statement could have emanated only from uninformed sources. Many of the important mining properties have been partially or totally destroyed; utility, industrial, and railroad companies have suffered desperate impairments; banking institutions have been almost wholly destroyed; and agricultural enterprises have been completely prostrated. Only the oil interests, which during the revolution were practically under the domination of the United States and allied forces, escaped unscathed and even they were prevented from developing their properties.

The general article on "Common Sense in Foreign Policy", by Professor Edwin M. Borchard, carries a deal of common-sense, indeed, and raises some questions which are not likely to be settled in this chaotic age, such as, for example, the matter of the confiscation of private enemy property and investments (p. 178).

Referring to the Caribbean Policy of the United States, Professor Shepherd (p. 192) states the case when he says: "Whatever the characteristics of thought and deed, there has been nothing deliberate and systematic about our course of action in the Caribbean." It is only another admission of the blundering way in which states move through their courses. Shepherd's fearless discussion of the facts touching the whole of the experience of the United States in the Caribbean is much to be applauded, although occasionally a little shadow of splenetic quality will steal across his pages.

The partizan views of Judge Otto Schoenrich in his "The Present American Intervention in Santo Domingo and Haiti" are not the views of an interested observer only. He criticizes freely the policy of the United States, affirming that "a review of developments in Santo Domingo and Haiti in the last five years is not gratifying to our national pride" (p. 222). Another inane and careless article is contributed by Samuel Guy Inman, "The Present Situation in the Caribbean". When such writers set themselves up for wiseacres, we can have small surprise that there should remain for us vast ignorance of the real conditions existing in the Caribbean.

Another partizan criticism of the policy of the United States in the Caribbean is contributed by Jacinto López—he scores bitterly the general course the United States has taken in Santo Domingo and in the other countries of the Caribbean and Gulf. The question of Porto Rico as a National Problem is discussed with candor by Pedro Capó Rodríguez. There is, of course, a problem in the matter of colonial establishments; but colonies have brought problems since first the Greeks and Carthaginians planted theirs, and the time will not come when problems, political and social, shall not exist.

WALTER F. McCaleb.

MINOR NOTICES

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, fourth series, volume III. (London, the Society, 1920, pp. 229.) Sir Charles Oman's presidential address, with which this volume begins, is entitled "East and West", and treats of the campaigns of the Crusaders in Palestine, and of the parallels and contrasts between these and the campaign of the Allies in 1916-1918. The series of communications relating to the national archives of the British Empire and some of the allied states, presented in the preceding volume of the *Transactions*, is now continued with a further installment of statements respecting the history, during the war, of the archives of France and Belgium, the system followed by Canada and Australia in respect to war records, and the present condition of the archives of the Union of South Africa—all these obtained from official writers. Five essays constitute the remainder of the volume. In the first, the Rev. Dr. George Edmundson describes from new sources, chiefly Spanish and Portuguese, the Voyage of Pedro Teixeira on the Amazon from Pará to Quito and back in 1637-1639. Miss Mildred Wretts-Smith gives an account from printed sources, the State Papers, Domestic, and other manuscripts, of the life and doings of the English in Russia during the second half of the sixteenth century. Miss M. Dormer Harris sets forth the contents of two volumes of correspondence from royal and private persons belonging to the city of Coventry, and the diary of one who was mayor in 1655, illustrating town life in various periods. Dr. William Rees contributes a thoroughgoing study of the Black Death in Wales; Mr. J. E. Neale, the Alexander Prize Essay for 1919, on the character of the Commons' Journals of the Tudor period.

Freedom of Speech. By Zechariah Chafee, jr., Professor of Law, Harvard University. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1920, pp. vii, 431, \$3.00.) The law and the gospel of liberty in the expression of opinion are both set forth in this book with an amplitude that leaves nothing to be desired. In his doctrine Professor Chafee is of the lineage of Milton and John Stuart Mill, of John Morley and Justice

Holmes. His searching legal analysis covers every important juristic utterance from Blackstone's misrepresentation of the English common-law doctrine to the latest decision of the American courts, and every violation from the unlawful raid on Wilkes's newspaper office in 1763 to the expulsion of the New York socialist members in 1920. Being himself an adherent "to traditional political and economic views", a convinced supporter of the government in the war, and "thoroughly" detesting "the attitude of Berger", the author writes without passion though with a genuine warmth in his devotion to the American principle of liberty of utterance. His historical outline dissipates the common notion that there is a clear tradition of freedom of speech flowing down undefiled from the springs of English history. He shows, on the contrary, that the right has been a growth out of alien soil, contested at every stage and hampered by a common law of sedition which was with difficulty uprooted from our American law and finally "repealed" by the First Amendment to the Constitution. The grievance of his tolerant spirit is that this repeal has been whittled away by loose construction under the influence of passion—the intolerance of the war-spirit and the new-born fear of revolution.

Briefly summarized, the argument is that it is not the possible nor even the probable tendency of an expression of opinion, nor yet its harmful purpose, that renders it obnoxious to the principle embodied in the First Amendment, but only its immediate and dangerous effect; that recent decisions have made the innocent and harmless expression of seditious opinion a crime; that this dangerous doctrine has even been extended in certain cases to opinion that has found no overt expression in word or deed; and that these decisions have left to the First Amendment no function but the protection of such expressions of opinion as are not abhorrent to those who make and enforce the laws.

All of these contentions may stand unchallenged except the first. Here, in defining the exact limits to which a not unlimited liberty of speech may be pushed, concededly "a difference of degree", there is room for difference of opinion. Even Justice Holmes, who never put his great powers to better use than in these days of doubt and confusion, held in the Debs case that the "clear and present danger" of an utterance might be inferred from its "natural tendency and reasonably probable effect".

Here then we must leave "the American doctrine" of freedom of speech, sorely wounded in the house of its friends but still with sufficient vitality to regain its ancient vigor in a better time when the humane spirit of tolerance and a more vital faith in popular government shall come to prevail. It is not too much to say that this spirited work of Professor Chafee, with its fine faith in the saving power of free discussion to make the truth prevail, will prove a notable contribution to that much-to-be-desired consummation.

G. W. K.

The Early History of the Monastery of Cluny. By L. M. Smith, Somerville College, Oxford. (London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. x, 225, \$7.20, 6s.) The early history of Cluny is in large measure the story of its abbots, and it is to the first five abbots that the greater part of this volume is devoted, from the rather shadowy figure of Berno who won from William of Aquitaine a somewhat reluctant consent to convert a hunting-lodge into a monastery—"Drive out the dogs and put monks in their place, for thou canst well think what reward God will give thee for dogs and what for monks"—to Odilo under whom Cluny may be said to have reached her culmination.

The historical importance of the monastery more than justifies an account of its early years. But one wishes that the story, embodying as this does the results of a detailed study of the *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, were better told. The indiscriminating recital of miracles is wearisome; the pious motives that actuated donors—motives that are commonplace enough in chartularies—are too often quoted. One wonders at times whether Miss Smith wrote for scholars or for readers who might be amused by medievalisms.

The avowed purpose of the book is to combat two theories: that the Cluniacs were highly ascetic and uncompromising Benedictines, and that the Gregorian tenets originated at Cluny and were promulgated by the Cluniacs. The present writer was unaware that these theories were now generally accepted. He feels, too, that the author underestimates the influence of Cluny outside its dependencies. The Cluniac revival was a healing of the whole body, and its indirect results were perchance other and greater than can be immediately attributed to the abbots of Cluny.

The author seems to accept the exploded myth of the year 1000. A passage on page 155 implies that the grant of papal protection was equivalent to exemption. Familiar allusions appear in unfamiliar guise, as, for instance, on page 163, the phrase "a mercenary rather than the shepherd", where one would expect "an hireling".

The bibliography is in fact merely a list of books cited; place and date of publication are in no case given. In the index of over 350 entries just twenty are other than names of persons or places; and, opening the book at random, the writer found in three consecutive pages four place-names and one personal name which are not in the index. It is an added misfortune that the author occasionally disregards the customary rules of English syntax.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

Norges Bønder: Utsyn over den Norske Bondestands Historie. Av Oscar Albert Johnsen. (Kristiania, H. Aschehoug and Company, 1919, pp. xiii, 463.) In a convenient and attractive volume Professor Oscar Albert Johnsen here presents a history of Norwegian agriculture and of the agricultural classes from the earliest times to the present. The sagas, the old Norse laws, and the excavations of recent years, par-

ticularly the rich Oseberg find, have furnished abundant material for this study.

Norwegian farmers of the early Middle Ages used manure as fertilizer, rotated their crops, and possessed farm implements that compared favorably with those in use a generation ago. The author is however especially interested in the political, social, and economic position of the peasant through changing epochs. We find described the peasant's daily life, "his dwelling, food, and dress, his craft and art, his social life and his pleasures."

The typical Norwegian peasant is a freeholder. His right to the land has always been carefully guarded. In the oldest collection of laws, those of Gulathing, it is provided that a farm must have been in the possession of the family for five generations and passed into the hands of the sixth before undisputed title, the *odel*, can be secured. Traces of this remain in the present laws regarding landholding. At the close of the viking period probably one-half of the peasants were freeholders. In 1816 two-thirds of the farmers were proprietors. Serfdom never gained a foothold. It was foreign to the law and social customs of Norway. Tenants' rights have always been recognized and protected.

Through the *things* the freeholders exercised great political influence during the Middle Ages. This was largely lost when church and monarchy grew strong and the national militia was discontinued. Remarkable advances had also been made in social and economic co-operation. Peasant guilds of the eleventh and twelfth centuries served as mutual fire-insurance societies. When slavery disappeared the farmers could not compete with the foreign grain-growers. Weakened by the political and economic decline of the free peasantry, the nation failed to withstand the disastrous effects of the Hanseatic commercial monopoly, the Black Death, and the union, first with Sweden and then with Denmark. In vain did the last Catholic primate, Archbishop Olav Engelbrektsson, attempt to save both church and national autonomy.

Self-government was lost, but the free peasants kept alive the national spirit. If the foreign officials became too rapacious they were clubbed to death. Resisting the special tax of 1762 a peasant, Trond Lauperak in Bjerkreim, said, "Frederik is king in Denmark, but I am king in Bjerkreim" (p. 303). The freeholders continued to have a voice in the government. At the meeting of the estates in 1661 there were 408 peasants, 36 burghers, 14 noblemen, and 85 representatives of the clergy.

Peasant leaders took a prominent part in the national awakening of the eighteenth century. Their influence in the Storting, particularly after 1830, contributed powerfully to the triumph of political democracy.

The author looks upon the landholding class as the backbone of the nation. He urges this class to assume the leadership in resisting the disintegrating tendencies of modern radicalism and guide the future development along safe progressive lines. He has a strong bias in favor of his subject, but this has not dulled his critical faculty. The book is

original, scholarly, and contains a wealth of information. Excellent illustrations, thirty pages of notes, and a good index enhance its value. It should also be mentioned that the author, unlike so many Norwegian writers of to-day, does not experiment in orthography and in the use of words.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

Saint Grégoire VII. Par Augustin Fliche. ["Les Saints".] (Paris, Victor Lecoffre, 1920, pp. x, 191, 3.50 fr.) Some fifty volumes have already appeared in this series of popular lives of the saints, some dealing with little known figures like St. Radegonde, the Blessed Postel, or St. Colette, while others treat of the leading characters of church history such as St. Athanasius, St. Patrick, St. Columban, or St. Thomas Becket. The saints of the latter category have been assigned to very able scholars, among whom none is better qualified to prepare a popular but scholarly study of Gregory VII. than M. Fliche, who has already made important contributions to the literature dealing with the church reform of the eleventh century. The plan of the series precludes the citation of copious authorities but every page indicates the author's intimate acquaintance with the sources of the period. No novel views are expressed as to Gregory's work and significance, nor are the problems connected with his earlier career discussed. The author assumes the view expressed in an earlier work, that Gregory exercised little influence on papal policy prior to the pontificate of Alexander II. and that his real significance begins only with his elevation to the papacy. His first pre-occupation was the suppression of simony and marriage among the clergy and the reunion of the Eastern and Western churches. On the early failure of the latter plan he devotes himself to the work of reform and is convinced that success can be obtained only by the weakening of the authority of primates and metropolitans, the lessening of episcopal independence, and the concentration of ecclesiastical control in the hands of the pope. This leads to the attack on lay investiture and the struggle with Henry IV., in the course of which Gregory is led to the formulation of his views as to the superiority of the Church to the State. An excellent chapter is devoted to the theory of the theocratic government of the world as found in Gregory's writings. The book is distinctly a historical biography and not a mere work of edification, and Gregory's shortcomings as a diplomatist and political strategist are clearly indicated. M. Fliche has, however, failed to do full justice to the imperial side of the case in the investiture controversy, and his final judgment as to the influence of the papal reforms on the moral life of the Church in the following centuries seems exaggerated.

A. C. H.

Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland, A. D. 1230-1450. Collected and edited by the late Rev. Father E. B.

Fitzmaurice, O. F. M., and A. G. Little. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol. IX.] (Manchester, University Press, 1920, pp. xxxviii, 235, 10s. 6d.) At the request of the British Society of Franciscan Studies the late Father Fitzmaurice of Drogheda undertook to prepare a volume of extracts on the history of the Irish Franciscan province during the Middle Ages. The work was to be in annalistic form and to be based, so far as possible, on original sources. Father Fitzmaurice had brought the work down to the year 1447, when in 1913 death ended his labors. The materials he left behind have been revised and edited by Mr. A. G. Little, who is responsible for the final form in which they now appear.

As regards the disputed date of the coming of the Franciscans to Ireland, the traditions so long current to the effect that the Order was founded there during the lifetime of St. Francis (who died in 1226) are not confirmed, it would seem, by any extant medieval sources. It now appears to be evident that the earliest convent granted to the Franciscans in Ireland was that of Youghal, the foundation of which dates from 1231, or about that year. The existence before 1250 of other houses at Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, Cork, Athlone, Kilkenny, Carrickfergus, Downpatrick, Dundalk, and Tristeldermot is proved from contemporary records.

A remarkable feature of these first Franciscan foundations is the great preponderance of seaport towns in which the friars established themselves. Moreover, a glance at the map, which the editor furnishes, of the different Franciscan houses in Ireland founded between 1230 and 1450, goes to show that prior to the latter date most of these houses were in the Anglo-Norman areas, and other indications are not lacking that the Order there was dominated by the Pale influences until the fifteenth century.

Perhaps the chief importance of the volume under review lies in the light it tends to throw on the state of religion in Ireland down to this great turning-point in the history of the Irish Franciscans. And we cannot imagine anyone, after reading these selections, not wishing, with Mr. Little, that some other Franciscan of the Irish Province will edit the materials for the subsequent period of its history—a period during which the Franciscans became so active in Gaelic Ulster and so prominent in the national and literary movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Meanwhile, the British Society of Franciscan Studies have rendered a real service to the cause of Irish history and of Franciscan literature in giving us this authoritative volume.

PASCHAL ROBINSON.

The Burford Records: a Study in Minor Town Government. By R. H. Gretton, M.A., M.B.E. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920, pp. xx, 736, 42s.) This is a stately and elegant volume of nearly 750 pages. Upwards of 300 are contributed by the author, already well known from his sprightly and informing *Modern History of the English*

People. His narrative is divided into two parts. Part I., consisting of five short chapters—some eighty pages in all—is devoted to a history of the Corporation of Burford, while part II., entitled “Studies in the History of Burford”, contains contributions on: the Lordship of the Manor and Town; Officers of the Town, the Gild and Corporation; the Church of St. John the Baptist; the Topography and Population; the Levellers; and the History of Burford Priory. The chapter on the parish church, so the author informs us, was partially written by W. C. Emeris, vicar and rural dean. Part III., comprising more than half the volume, is made up of a calendar of records relating to Burford, including charters, records preserved in the town, and extracts from others in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, Brasenose College, and the Bodleian Library. The usefulness and beauty of the book is greatly enhanced by nearly a score of fine illustrations.

Mr. Gretton describes his work as a study in minor town government. As a matter of fact, Burford never had more than 1500 inhabitants; moreover, the borough corporation was, from the earliest times to its dissolution in 1861, subject to a manorial lord—indeed, for a considerable period it formed an outlying portion of the honor of Gloucester. Consequently, while the corporation for a long time “administered the Borough Court, the markets and the fairs, maintained a gallows and pillory, made by-laws and punished by fine and imprisonment any breaches of the by-laws”, it acted in reality only as the agent of the lord of this manor; hence, when one of the lords finally chose to assert himself, the former governing body was reduced merely to an administrator of certain charitable trusts. Among Burford’s manorial lords have been men of note in English history, including Odo of Bayeux, Robert of Gloucester, the Despensers, Warwick the “King-Maker”, and John Lenthall. Another notable fact about the town is that its original grant of liberties, issued between 1088 and 1107, appears to provide “the earliest dated instance of the establishment of a Gild Merchant”, and the author seeks to show that the borough corporation derived its organization from that body, a course of development which the late Charles Gross, our great authority on British gilds and municipal origins, was never inclined to accept. Unfortunately, only a few fragmentary records of the borough court have survived, and most of the sources have to do mainly with the “administration of certain public property mainly for charitable purposes”. In general, the author has made the most of his not altogether satisfying materials, and while—except for the struggle with the manorial lord—he has given us little that is strikingly important or even picturesque, he has added another sound and not unuseful contribution to English municipal history.

The Livingstons of Callendar and their Principal Cadets: the History of an Old Stirlingshire Family. By Edwin Brockholst Livingston. (Edinburgh, the Author, 1920, pp. xix, 511.) There are more readers in the genealogical section of some of our large libraries than there are in any other section, but each reader is investigating the history of his own family. You will rarely find him investigating any other family, unless he is being paid to do it. Nevertheless, to some extent American history is the history of families. Pinckneys, Carrolls, Lees, Biddles, Ingersolls, Chiltons, Livingstons are names which arise again and again in our political annals, and the genealogy of such families has a general historical interest. Mr. Edwin Brockholst Livingston's book, therefore, has value to other people than members of the Livingston family. It is a companion work to *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor*, which had a great deal of American history in it.

The family name is of territorial origin—de Levingstoun, derived from the lands of Levings-tun or Levingstoun in West Lothian, now the village of Livingston, Linlithgowshire, Scotland. The correct spelling of the name is Livingston, not Livingstone, the addition of the final *e* changing the correct meaning of the name. It is Saxon, and occurred long before the Norman Conquest, as early as the ninth century. The founder of the house of Callendar, from whom the American family descended, was William, second son of Sir William de Livingston, knight banneret. He received the charter to the lands of Callendar in Stirlingshire from King David II. in 1345. Skipping several generations we come to Sir Alexander de Livingston, lord of Callendar, with whom the boy-king, James II., crowned at Holyrood May 25, 1437, found refuge and who became his sole guardian. The times were troublous—"widows, bairns, and infants seeking redress for their husbands, kindred, and friends that were cruelly slain by wicked, bloody murderers", as the chronicle relates. Some of the Livingstons of this period died in their beds, but many were carried off by violent casualties. By 1561 we come to the Rev. Alexander Livingston, the great-grandfather of Robert Livingston, the founder of the New York lordship and manor of Livingston.

The seventh Lord Livingston of Callendar, Alexander, was created Earl of Linlithgow by James VI. in 1592. He married "a malicious Papist", Helenor Hay, daughter of the Earl of Erroll. She was much harassed by the Kirk and accused among other crimes of having dealings with "the midsummer fairies". In 1715 the Earl of Linlithgow became a fugitive in consequence of his complicity in the plot to put James VIII. on the throne. The Callendar estates were sold and passed out of the Livingstons' hands. The titles Earl of Newburgh, Viscount of Kynnaired, and Lord Livingston of Flacraig, in the peerage of Scotland, are now held by an Italian subject by descent through the female line.

Mr. Brockholst Livingston has spent an enormous amount of re-

search in compiling this book and his facts are buttressed by exhaustive lists of authorities. The illustrations include nine colored plates of arms, a facsimile of the agreement of 1439 between the queen-mother and Alexander Livingston, portraits, and pictures of ancient castles. The paper, printing, and binding are all that could be desired. The book will take a prominent place among American genealogies.

G. H.

Bibliografia della Storia della Riforma Religiosa in Italia. Per Piero Chiminelli. (Rome, Casa Editrice Bilychnis, 1921.) Pastor Chiminelli offers us the first work of this kind on the Reformation in Italy, and, allowing for repetitions of works cited twice under different headings, gives us the authors, titles and dates of publication, of some 2500 works in twenty-nine chapters in which he has divided the subject. He begins with the precursors and the primitive Inquisition, and abandons the old thesis that the Reformation has come to an end in Italy by devoting a good third of the book to Italian Protestantism since the *Statuto* established toleration for all creeds. The delimitation of the subject and the names of the chapters show clearly that in the mind of the compiler the phases of the national movement stand out clearly, as distinguished from the general current of the Reform. The work is but modest, as the writer freely confesses in his introduction, but it is well mapped-out, and one feels that the ground has been broken. Omissions of course are the most conspicuous shortcomings, and are sometimes surprising. The chapter on *I Libri Celebri della Riforma Italiana* omits all mention of the *Tragedia del Libero Arbitrio* and of the *Pasquino in Estasi*. One suspects that the list is made up of the books which were to be found in the catalogue of one of the libraries on which the compiler has drawn; it is only a pity that he has apparently not availed himself of the British Museum catalogue, in that case. Naturally his acquaintance is largest with Italian literature, but German books are cited frequently with Italian titles, though they do not exist in Italian translations; thus nos. 634, 633, 775, 1586. For the relations between the Renaissance and the Reformation are cited the text-books of Hollings and of Tanner, while one looks in vain for the work of Hulme, of which the framework was furnished by Professor Burr. The tenth chapter "I Principali Riformisti Italiani nei Secoli XVI. e XVII." might well be begun with works which comprise biographies of several reformers, and so spared the repetition under the successive names; so Gerdesius, Mazzuchelli, Comba, Cantù, Trechsel, Sandius, Young, Herzog, Hare. Under the name of each reformer it would be well to list his works.

Signor Chiminelli is preparing a second book on the Manuscripts and the Codices of the Italian Reformation.

FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

The Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring. Edited by G. E. Manwaring. Volume I. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. LIV.] (London, the Society, 1920, pp. xxii, 375.) This volume contains the life of Sir Henry Mainwaring. His works, presumably, are to follow in a second volume not yet published. The biographer has done his work with care. It is possible that he might have garnered a few more facts about his hero if he had exploited the Spanish and Venetian archives, but he has evidently left few stones unturned in England. No doubt the job was worth doing. Sir Henry Mainwaring was one of the most notable of English seamen in the early Stuart period, yet he has barely escaped oblivion. There is not even a note on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

The fact is that Mainwaring fell upon evil days. Had he been a generation earlier he might have shared the fame of John Hawkins and Francis Drake. A generation later he might have been numbered among the great captains who sailed with Blake. As it was, he was caught in the doldrums of the early Stuarts, when the greatest achievements of the English navy consisted in the peddling of fishing licenses to reluctant Dutchmen. Born the year before the Armada, Mainwaring carried through his young manhood something of the fine, lawless spirit of the men of Devon. When he was barely twenty-five he set forth on a career of piracy which for five years made his name a terrible thing in Mediterranean waters. But he forsook his evil courses before he was thirty, and when he was thirty-one was appointed a gentleman of the bedchamber by that tame pedant, James I. Thereafter his career was as unheroic as it might well be. With luck he might have carved a name for himself in the service of Venice, but luck was against him. He became a useful advisor on naval affairs and wrote some useful books on naval problems. He conducted the young Prince Charles on his memorable visit to Spain. He sailed with the ship-money fleets in their ineffectual demonstrations of the sovereignty of the seas. Disappointed in his suit for the hand of a wealthy widow, he later took a wife in a rather unconventional fashion at the "Toppe of Paules". But it is not easy to construct a naval hero out of such stuff as this, and with the best intentions in the world his biographer fails to accomplish the feat. Nevertheless, the life of a man who was an Oxford graduate, a pirate, a member of the Virginia Company, and a friend of that rare gentleman, Sir Henry Wotton, ought to make more engaging reading than this volume affords.

Possibly, after all, Sir Henry Mainwaring will prove to be more important historically as a writer than as a man of action. It will be easier to judge of that when the volume of his collected works appears. Meanwhile, this painstaking biography is chiefly to be commended to the attention of students by reason of the fresh light which it throws upon the defects of the early Stuart navy.

A sentence in one of Mainwaring's letters will be interesting also to students of literature because of its reference to the time and place of composition of that most delicious of all the Cavalier lyrics, Sir Henry Wotton's poem "To the Queen of Bohemia".

CONYERS READ.

Captain Bligh's Second Voyage to the South Sea. By Ida Lee [Mrs. Charles Bruce Marriott], F. R. G. S., Hon. F. R. A. H. S. (London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1920, pp. xviii, 290, \$5.00.) Captain William Bligh, R. N., was a well-known character in the days when adventure-loving boys read with avidity the story of the mutiny of the *Bounty*. That famous voyage to the South Seas, to secure breadfruit trees for propagation in the West Indies, took place in 1787-1790, and after Bligh and some of his faithful officers and men were cast adrift by the mutineers the skilful mariner guided them for 3618 miles in an open boat to the nearest European settlement, at Coupang in Timor. Bligh's reputation was enhanced by this remarkable exhibition of seamanship, and in 1791 King George directed him to make a second attempt to secure the breadfruit and other desirable tropical plants. The log-books of this voyage, in the *Providence* accompanied by the *Assistant* in command of Lieutenant Portlock, were lost for many years, but recently were recovered. Mrs. Marriott has used them as the basis of the present narrative, which consists largely of extracts from the log, with occasional summaries and editorial notes. A chapter gives an account of the earlier voyage of the *Bounty* and of the fate of the mutineers. In addition, use has been made of the journal of Lieutenant Portlock. Ten maps are included, as well as five reproductions of drawings by Lieutenant Tobin.

Bligh sailed for Tahiti by the way of the Cape of Good Hope and Tasmania. He spent over three months in Matavia Bay gathering the desired plants, and then sailed west through the Tonga Islands, Fiji, where he added much to the hazy knowledge of those islands, then to the New Hebrides, the Banks Group, through Torres Strait, where great difficulties in navigation were experienced, and then on to Coupang. From there the voyage across the Indian and South Atlantic oceans was uneventful. Some of the plants were left at St. Helena, and more at St. Vincent, and a considerable number were safely landed at Jamaica. "Unhappily there was only a small practical result of the voyage as far as the plants were concerned, as we are told that the West Indians disliked the flavour of the breadfruit, and preferred the plantain."

While Bligh's journal contains much material of interest to anyone engaged in tracing the progress of discovery in the South Seas, it will not be considered entertaining reading even in these days of the vogue of that region. As early as 1792 Bligh reported that the Tahitians had been contaminated by European intercourse. "It is difficult to get them

to speak their own language without mixing a jargon of English with it, and they are so altered that I believe in future no Europeans will ever know what their ancient customs of receiving strangers were."

Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française. Par Alphonse Aulard, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. Huitième série. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1921, pp. 182, 6 fr.) It is nearly eight years since the previous volume of *Études et Leçons* appeared. The war accounts for the delay, and at the same time furnishes the subjects of the new series of lectures. The question of the northeastern frontier of France is the subject of perhaps the most interesting study, which is entitled "Landau et Saarlouis, Villes Françaises". This originally appeared in the *Revue de Paris* while the Peace Conference was in session. It is an argument for the restitution of that part of the Saar Valley which had belonged to France since the time of Louis XIV., which remained French in 1814, and was taken away only in 1815. The same reasoning is applied to the case of Landau. Professor Aulard agrees that there should be a statute of limitations in such matters. He does not propose to redress all the wrongs done to France since the reign of Charles the Bald. The basis of his statute of limitations is found in the principle of the Revolution. Accordingly, he would not go back of the time when French territory ceased to be an agglomeration of semi-feudal entities and became the abode of a people voluntarily associating itself. His second study, on "Hoche et la République Rhénane", gains its interest from the contemporary schemes to set up, west of the Rhine, a republic dependent on France. It is in part a review of Professor Sagnac's *Le Rhin Français*, and of previous discussions of the subject. Two of the other lectures are concerned with the relations of the American and French revolutions, and were suggested by the sympathies of the two countries revived by our entry into the war. In dealing with the influence of Locke the author confuses Virginia and the Carolinas, for he ascribes to Locke the constitution of Virginia. Certain of the similarities between the two revolutions appear superficial. It is hard to believe, without more evidence than is offered here, that American paper money had any influence, other than as a warning, upon the inception of the plan for assignats, for the supporters of the original measure denied that the issue would be attended by the evils characteristic of paper money. A later lecture gives the versions of the scheme of a Société des Nations which were brought forward during the French Revolution.

H. E. B.

L'Affaire de la Compagnie des Indes: un Procès de Corruption sous la Terreur. Par Albert Mathiez, Professeur d'Histoire Moderne à l'Université de Dijon. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1920, pp. 399, 12 fr.) In the second chapter of his *La Conspiration de l'Étranger* (noticed here, XXIV. 724) Professor Mathiez undertook to prove the guilt of Fabre

d'Eglantine in the falsification of the decree of October 8, 1793, by which the East India Company was suppressed and the liquidation of its affairs was ordered. In the present volume he offers the documents in the case, with brief explanatory notes and statements of the inferences which he feels justified in drawing. Two essential documents he has been unable to find. One is the interrogatory of the deputies Delaunay d'Angers, Bazire, and Chabot, accused with Fabre. This, according to an official record, was a document of 133 pages. The report of Amar, the member of the Committee of General Security entrusted with the investigation of the case, has also disappeared. The strangest lack is not due to the mischances from which collections of papers often suffer, but to the curious failure of the authorities to bring the administrators of the East India Company into court or to search their books for evidence of the use of monies or shares in procuring the falsification of the decree. Professor Mathiez explains this by the fact that the political aspects of the trial of Fabre, grouped as he was with the Indulgents, overshadowed the question of financial corruption.

Those familiar with the controversy will recall that the text of the decree was referred for its final form to a committee of which Fabre was a member, in order that an amendment, which he had urged and which was hostile to the interests of the company, might be incorporated. Three weeks later, when the text of the decree appeared in the official *Bulletin*, the amendment had vanished and words had been introduced which seemed to offer the company a loophole of escape. On the manuscript text of the decree, of which Professor Mathiez gives a photograph, Fabre's signature appears with the others. His enemies asserted that the company had offered him an enormous bribe. He said he had signed *de confiance*, and that his colleagues were responsible for the changes. The probabilities are against him, especially in view of his bad reputation, but the gaps in the evidence are such that the case cannot be considered to be closed. Indeed, Professor Mathiez does not contend that his demonstration is complete.

It should be added that the documents are of wider interest than the guilt or innocence of Fabre, and throw much light upon the crooked paths of Revolutionary politics, particularly upon the connection of certain deputies with the stock-gambling of the period.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Due dell'Estrema, il Guerrazzi e il Brofferio: Carteggi Inediti, 1859-1866. Per Ferdinando Martini. (Florence, Felice Le Monnier, 1920, pp. xii, 185, 12 lire.). A volume from the pen of Ferdinando Martini never fails to command the instant attention of students of modern Italy—it is certain to be literature as well as a real contribution to historical studies.

Thirty years have passed since Martini edited the first volume of Guerrazzi's *Lettere* (1827-1853), in the preparation of which a great

quantity of unpublished correspondence was brought together in the editor's hands; one of the most important sections of this correspondence, comprising nearly one hundred letters exchanged between Guerrazzi and Brofferio during the period 1859-1866, constitutes the principal original source of the present volume.

"The history of our political Risorgimento is not waiting to be written, it is waiting to be re-written", declares Martini; he goes on to say that "passions having burned themselves out, and the modicum of lies essential to all revolutions, and benevolently termed legends, having been dissipated, the time has arrived to prepare history." That when the vital documents have been fully published, monuments to certain Risorgimento figures may have to come down, need not preoccupy the historian. In this last declaration the writer has particularly in mind, it is clear, the monument erected to the memory of Angelo Brofferio before the citadel of Turin in 1871, for in the first chapter he produces from his own private archives an unpublished letter of Bianchi Giovini addressed to Brofferio under date of August 19, 1849, which menaced the latter with revelation of treachery to his fellow political prisoners in 1831, a charge brought against him as a delator by Bersani, at whose expense Brofferio was said to have secured his own freedom. The accusation is not new. During Brofferio's lifetime it was often whispered, and an unfortunate Doctor Poeti of Milan was even brought to trial and condemned by the court for slander for having published it. Martini does not put forward the letter here as absolute proof, but as important evidence; he believes that the accusation was exaggerated, but that there was some foundation in truth for it. Certainly the archives of Turin and Rome might as well reveal to-day the relative police and court documents and throw full light upon this badly damaged reputation.

Brofferio was an eloquent, unscrupulous, ambitious demagogue, and Guerrazzi was another quick-witted politician of the same stripe. Their friendship, which dated from 1848, found its strongest bond in their common, obstinate, screeching opposition to the great policy of Cavour—and similarly reckless opposition to those who carried on the work after him. For Guerrazzi, Cavour was "the primary root of all Italy's misfortunes", while Ricasoli was "Judas"; for Brofferio, Cavour was a "quack" whose "infamous methods were indescribable". No irresponsible extremists of to-day can surpass in their attacks upon government the virulence and misjudgment of this pair of blatant agitators. And yet both men were at heart patriots; Brofferio had preceded Balbo, Gioberti, and d'Azeglio in urging upon Charles Albert his mission to free Italy from foreign domination; and the work of Guerrazzi in 1848 and 1849 had been courageous and inspired by sincere love of liberty.

The greatness of the triumph of Cavour's international programme is indeed augmented in the light of this unmeasured parliamentary opposition. And the historian is strengthened in his belief in the future

of democracy and of civilization by documentary evidence that a nation can be created and become strong in the face of such persistent internal political strife.

Martini's historical narrative, into which the letters are set, is confined principally to such description of men and events as seemed necessary to a clear understanding of the correspondence; but it abounds in keen, judicious criticism. Wide historical study and long personal parliamentary experience have united to give high value to his work.

H. NELSON GAY.

History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, from the Earliest Times until the Present Day. By S. M. Dubnow, translated from the Russian by I. Friedlaender. Volume III., *From the Accession of Nicholas II. until the Present Day.* With bibliography and index. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1920, pp. 411.) The final volume of this work, the earlier installments of which have received appropriate notice in the *American Historical Review* (XXII. 626-627; XXIV. 726-727), covers only seventeen years, the period 1894-1911. Even more than in the first two volumes, the author concentrates his attention almost exclusively upon the persecutions and sufferings of his people, which indeed reached their height in the period here under consideration. It is a pitiful tale of gross and stupid governmental oppression, ecclesiastical bigotry, ever recurring outbursts of mob-violence, and much heroism on the part of the victims. While much has been written upon the subject, the whole story of the martyrdom of the Russian Jews has never before, perhaps, been presented to the English-speaking public in so comprehensive and compendious a form, or with more thorough knowledge of the facts in the case.

Nevertheless, it is hard to escape the feeling that the author has overshot his mark. The exaggeration is only too apparent in such statements as that "the horrors of the Armenian massacres in Turkey . . . faded into insignificance before the wholesale butchery at Kishinev" (where, after all, the number of Jews killed was only forty-five); or that the horrors of the pogroms during the week of October 18-25, 1905, find "no parallel in the entire history of humanity" (3500-4000 persons are thought to have been killed, of whom a great part were not Jews). The picture is too overcharged and lurid, the tone is too frequently strident and shrieking, to make quite the proper effect.

It is also to be regretted that a writer who is pleading for justice to his own race and religion, should not set a better example of fairness and respect for the opinions of others. He seldom refers to the Orthodox or Catholic churches except to denounce them in terms that he would probably find "excruciating" if applied to the Jewish rabbis; he will refer to the national shrine of Catholic Poland only as "this hotbed of dismal Polish clericalism"; and he seems to have no conception that,

grievous as have been the wrongs inflicted upon the Jews, the Jewish problem in Russia and Poland is not simply a case of "a nation of lambs amidst a horde of wolves": it is a complex question in which there is something to be said on both sides. One would like to see a history of the Russian and Polish Jews in which all points of view were impartially and dispassionately treated; in which one would not be so much surfeited with "unparalleled horrors" and "rivers of blood" and incessant denunciations and vague rhetoric, and in which proper attention would be given to the less-known but not less-important aspects of Jewish life—economic, intellectual, literary, and religious.

The text makes up less than half of the present volume. There follows an extensive bibliography of the whole subject treated in this work—a bibliography whose value for Western readers is considerably diminished by the fact that almost all the works mentioned are in Russian, Polish, Yiddish, or Hebrew, and scarcely any of them reflect any other than the Jewish point of view. The remaining 200 pages are devoted to a very complete index for the three volumes, which is intended to serve as "a synopsis of Jewish history in Russia and Poland".

The translator has done his task well, and for this as for his numerous other contributions to historical studies one must regret the more his tragic death last year, while on a mission to that troubled part of Europe with which this work deals.

R. H. L.

Italy and the World War. By Thomas Nelson Page, American Ambassador to Italy from 1913 to 1919. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, pp. xii, 422, \$5.00.) Mr. Page assumes that his audience is quite ignorant of things Italian, and devotes the first half of this bulky volume to a résumé of Italian political history, and of events leading up to the war. This is evidently in large part a translation, and abounds in Italianisms like "prepotent", "prepotency", "the Piedmont", and "Triplice", and in unidiomatic phrases and sentences; but it is reasonably accurate, and much of the later story will be new and valuable to the general reader. He is especially successful in depicting Italian distrust and hatred of Austria; Germany's economic and financial power in Italy; the sources of Giolitti's strength; and the baleful progress of Austrian diplomacy in the Balkans and in Italy itself. He is at his best in discussing Sonnino's negotiations with Austria and with the Allies, in his tributes to D'Annunzio at Quarto and Rome, to the royal family's participation in the war, and to Cadorna's organizing and strategic genius. In his ambition to relate the Italian war to the struggle elsewhere, he gives too full an account of what happened in France and Flanders; we could well spare several pages of this for, *e.g.*, a summary of the volumes of the parliamentary inquiry into the disaster of Caporetto. He does

ample and at times eloquent justice to the tremendous Italian effort against Austrian superiority in position, artillery, and numbers; especially dramatic is his account of the heroic resistance to Conrad von Hoetzendorff's Asiago drives. Unfortunately it must be admitted that the book disappoints, both in its diffuseness—fully a hundred pages could have been saved by condensing the historical epitome and the story of operations outside of Italy—and in its omissions. The work of the Italian navy and merchant marine should have an entire chapter. The account of American participation in Italy is both inadequate and inaccurate; our only regiment, the 332d, is barely mentioned, and then with a wrong number; and we find not a word about the excellent work of the Y. M. C. A. Furthermore, there are so many mistakes and misprints that one feels distrustful of any statement one cannot check up. For instance: Mr. Page makes the Hohenzollern King Charles of Rumania a "scion of the Imperial family of Austria"—which latter, of course, opposed Charles's accession by every means available; and he assigns the present pope to "a noble family of Bologna" instead of Genoa. On p. 268 he repeats a slur against Rumania of exactly the same source and nature as the anti-Italian ones which he combats; and he quotes approvingly other Austro-Hungarian propaganda on the same general subject. He affects the use of many Italian and French words in the text and maps—calvaria, Sindaco (in several forms), matériel, sparti-acque; but the misprints of Italian proper names, even on the maps, are so flagrant as to be inexcusable—Cortino (several times), the Tofano, and even Cesare Battisto; the maps are otherwise clear and serviceable. There is an index. The style falls much below the expectations of admirers of Mr. Page's plantation stories. It is a pity that this book, with all its excellencies, comes far short of what is sadly needed—an authoritative account of Italy's war, from Italian and Austrian sources, but by some American like Generals Swift or Treat, who followed close at hand the titanic struggle up under the glaciers or over the limestone wastes of the Carso.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

A True Account of the Battle of Jutland, May 31, 1916. By Thomas G. Frothingham, Captain U. S. R. (Cambridge, Bacon and Brown, 1920, pp. vi, 54, \$1.00.) This short account of the battle of Jutland has the advantage of having been written after the story by Admiral Scheer, the German commander-in-chief, has been given to the world, thus supplementing the reports of Admiral Jellicoe and his subordinates. The account, if correct, does not add to the professional reputation of Admiral Jellicoe or Vice-Admiral Beatty, but it especially justifies the complaints that the German fleet possessed many advantages over the British fleet in construction, armament, and

equipment, and especially in night signalling, the German admiral being able to perform his manoeuvres with comparatively few master signals.

As a matter of fact, as the author says, the escape of the German fleet did not have any actual effect upon the situation and command of the seas. It did, as reported, however, cheer the German people, and brought home to the British navy that, in the words of Sir Percy Scott, "The British fleet was not properly equipped for fighting an action at night. The German fleet was." The sea power remained with the British navy, however, and the war went on with that basis.

Great Men and Great Days. By Stéphane Lauzanne, editor of *Le Matin*, member of the French Mission to the United States. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1921, pp. vii, 262, \$3.00.) Of the dozen essays in this volume, the greater part are devoted to sketches of eminent persons—Delcassé, Joffre, Poincaré, Clémenceau, Millebrand, Lloyd George, Wilson, Roosevelt, and Colonel House; the other two or three picture the spirit of America in 1918. It is gratifying to see ourselves thus depicted when at our best, by a friendly but acute observer, and it is salutary to be reminded, in these days of 1921, of the level of idealism we then reached. The sketches of persons also contain penetrating observations, but after all are journalism, with the familiar defects of that sort of writing. A review of a small book is not a fitting place in which to discuss the usefulness to history of the innumerable volumes of collected newspaper pieces on the political aspects of the war and its consequences, which journalists are now putting forth in the interval of several years which must elapse before many books of more solid history will come out; yet a little thought can well be bestowed upon the insufficiency of the whole genus. It is the journalist's trade to speak instantly, positively, with the air of certainty and of superior information, and with exaggerated exhibition of familiarity with great men and of influence upon their conduct, concerning things about which neither the journalist nor any one else can yet be certain. Government by public opinion tends to become government by newspaper men, who are usually clever, but whose knowledge in the great fields of politics and economics is notoriously superficial. This brings one set of evils to the great world; but to the lesser world of historians another set of dangers comes if, while waiting for better opinions, we allow our minds to be much impressed by the cock-sure pronouncements of those whose success in their profession depends upon exaggerating daily the value of what they have to say. However, M. Lauzanne's book is good of its kind. His learned translator refers to a book entitled *My Prison[s]* as by "Silvius Pellicus".

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume XXII. *Plymouth Church Records, 1620-1859.* Part I. (Boston, the Society, 1920, pp. lxx, 470, \$3.50.) The present volume forms part I. of *Plymouth Church Records*, and offers to the public the contents of volume I. and a portion of volume II. of the records as preserved in manuscript. The complete work as published will comprise over seven hundred pages of text and will contain eighteen carefully chosen illustrations. The introduction is by Mr. Arthur Lord.

Professor Fred N. Robinson in his preface makes the following statement concerning the book: "It is believed that no more important contribution to the ecclesiastical history of New England has been made than will be found in these volumes." We concede that an extended and useful work has here been edited by the Colonial Society. Many persons interested in the Pilgrim story will welcome the publication, though its contents may prove disappointing in certain respects to the historian, for the two earliest and best divisions of the book are already well known to those at all familiar with Pilgrim history. The first section was for the most part published years ago in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*. Furthermore, it cannot correctly be styled a portion of the Church Records, nor apparently do any exist for this early period. Section I. is rather an "Ecclesiasticall history" of the congregation down to 1680. The second part has been published in the *Mayflower Descendant*.

Secondly, the Records are singularly lacking in information which might throw new light upon puzzling problems connected with the beginnings of the English dissenting movement, while they do contain facts of little interest which might have been omitted without great loss.

The work of editing has been so carefully done that one can only wish that it had been done still better. In the first place, the three sets of photostat reproductions which have been made of the three original volumes of the Records should have rendered unnecessary the desire of the editor to reproduce faithfully all the peculiarities of the manuscript text. Secondly, one could wish that some additional notes might have been included, and that one or two others might have appeared in altered form, in order to bring them up to date.

However, we have been referring chiefly to minor details. It is good to have all this material brought together at last, and we congratulate the Colonial Society on the successful accomplishment of its undertaking.

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE.

La Intervención de España en la Independencia de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte. By Manuel Conrotte. (Madrid, V. Suarez, 1920, pp. 298.) Spain's part in the American Revolution was a

very wavering and equivocal one. Her financial aid to the colonies was important—Señor Conrotte accounts for nearly eight million *reales* from Spain direct, with well toward a million more from the Spanish colonies—and at least the vigorous offensives of Governor Gálvez of Louisiana against Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola, did something toward dividing British effort; but Spain had no consistent policy with regard to the Revolution, largely because, although she was tied to France by the Family Compact and although she was an enemy of England, she had no real sympathy for the Protestant republicans whom France had pushed her into supporting, nor any desire to set her own colonies a bad example by encouraging other colonies to rebellion. The present study of this, for Spain, puzzled and inglorious period, is admirably impartial and objective, being based for the most part directly on official documents in the National Historical Archives at Madrid. In at least one respect it is a real contribution. Nowhere else, surely, is so firmly documented a presentation to be found of the rôle played in the drama of American independence by the Spanish minister Floridablanca and by the Spanish ambassador at the court of Versailles, the spirited and keen-sighted Conde de Aranda. The cold, shrewd, and patient jurist Floridablanca lacked that generous enthusiasm which might have treated the Spanish colonies with such liberality as to make a Spanish Canada of South America and a Spanish Australia of the Philippines; and Aranda could foresee the dreary future with astonishing clearness, but could not muster the sturdy gifts to avert it. Seventy-five pages of documents as an appendix give the book considerable value for reference, although it unfortunately lacks an index.

ROY TEMPLE HOUSE.

Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania. By Thomas Woody, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Education, University of Pennsylvania. [Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, no. 105.] (New York, Teachers College, 1920, pp. 287, \$3.00.) This book presents a study of the relation of one religious denomination in Pennsylvania to education previous to the year 1800. The first two chapters treat of the origin and organization of the Quakers, the third of their educational ideals, the next five of the origin and development of Quaker schools in Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Chester, and Delaware counties. The remaining chapters are on the internal organization of the schools, and the education of negroes and Indians, ending with a summary of the whole volume.

In particular, attention is given to the views of George Fox, his insistence on moral and religious training, and his desire to extend the benefits of education to negroes, Indians, and the poorer classes of society. There is a discussion of the relations of the various types of meetings for the control and support of the schools. The educational ideals of leading Quakers are set forth, especially those of William Penn,

Anthony Benezet, John Woolman, and Thomas Budd. The history of the origin and development of each school is given in considerable detail. There is much information respecting the control and support of schools, teachers, buildings and grounds, school work, text-books, pupils, subjects in the curriculum, etc. The author estimates that in 1750 there were about fifty particular meetings in the area covered by the study, while forty-one schools were regularly established under Quaker control before or "in the period following 1750" (p. 270), a number "in no way adequate to the school population" (p. 271), *viz.*, the children of Quaker parentage of school age, which he estimates at from six to seven thousand in 1741.

The author seems to have discovered and presented the important facts of Quaker education, using the term educational facts in the narrow sense of the word. He makes little attempt to account for his facts or to show what social, economic, and other factors influenced educational progress or lack of progress; nor does he attempt to show the relation of Quaker education to the larger eighteenth-century movements and forces in American history of a general character or even those specifically educational. On the other hand this book is a good illustration of the change in the content and point of view in the writing of educational history. We are supplied with facts and not merely with the theories of educational reformers. The book also illustrates the fact that many of the most important sources of our educational history are still in manuscript. The foot-notes and bibliography show that the author used the manuscript records of forty-one meetings of various types, besides numerous other manuscript sources. Moreover he has scrupulously given the evidence for every important statement of fact, another innovation, shall we say, in comparison with many previous treatises in educational history. The author has made a real contribution to American educational history and it is safe to say that his book will remain authoritative in its field.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813. By John C. Luttig, Clerk of the Missouri Fur Company. Edited by Stella M. Drumm. (St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society, 1920, pp. 192, \$6.00.) Those who are interested in the fur-trade as a régime, not merely as an economic factor in American history, are indebted once more to the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis for the publication of the hitherto unknown Luttig's journal. Luttig, who accompanied as a clerk the trading expedition of Manuel Lisa on its Missouri voyage of 1812-1813, gives a typical trader's report of conditions in that portion of the West during the early years of the second war with Great Britain. If the journal, as its editor states, "covers a period when the fur trade was at its worst", it certainly shows the fur-trader Manuel Lisa at his heroic best. The efforts of the Northwest Company

traders to incite the Indians of the upper Missouri against the American frontier were bravely parried by the sturdy Americanism of this Spanish-Frenchman, newly become a citizen of our republic. Even in his slow retreat before the aggressions of the British-influenced tribesmen he kept together his men, impressed the Indians, and saved not only his own expedition, but the frontier settlements of Iowa and Missouri.

Apart from the war, the interest of the journal centres in the picturesque characters of both French and Indian, with some of whom the pages of Lewis and Clark made us familiar. Reuben Lewis, brother of the great explorer, Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, the negro who was Chicago's "first white inhabitant", it is interesting to meet again. Most interesting of all, perchance, is Sakakawea, the "Bird Woman", famous guide of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the time and place of whose death this journal for the first time makes known.

The editorial work is the result of long and patient research in the old court records and fur-trade documents which form the treasure of the society. The volume is a mine of information concerning the traders of the first American period, their families, and their several voyages; the notes form almost a compendium of early Missouri traders. The sketches of the Indian tribes are from more obvious sources, but are in the main accurate and helpful. The editor, however, adds the "s" to form the plural of tribal names, which the Bureau of Ethnology requests shall be the same as the singular. The Sioux were first known to French traders in the seventeenth, not in the eighteenth century (p. 54, note). The "pliable nature of the Indian character" (p. 23) is certainly a new interpretation of aboriginal traits.

The usefulness of the volume is enhanced by the very full bibliography which accompanies it. The execution is attractive, and the illustrations really illustrate. The whole volume justifies its dedication to William K. Bixby, and its acknowledgment of the aid and appreciation of Judge Walter Douglas, of whose fostering care the Missouri Historical Society has so recently been bereaved.

L. P. K.

Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason, the Boy Governor of Michigan. By Lawton T. Hemans. (Lansing, Michigan Historical Commission, 1920, pp. 528, \$1.00.) The author, at one time the president of the Michigan Historical Commission and a very able member of the state railroad commission, did not live to complete his book. The last chapter was written by Mr. William L. Jenks, the preface by Mrs. Hemans. The author set for himself a double task: to write a history of Michigan through the first years of statehood, and to refute "the calumnies heaped upon the Boy Governor" of these years, Stevens Thomson Mason. One can readily understand how the author came under the spell of the personality of the descendant of the Virginia Masons, favorite of a circle of national leaders among whom his father passed

as one, of a youth who in his twentieth year was the secretary and acting governor of a great western territory, and who before his thirtieth year had been twice elected governor of Michigan. It is an interesting episode in practical politics of President Jackson's time. But his historical method, of resting his case wholly upon the letters of the sisters and the daughter, and upon the speeches of the person he is vindicating, is not convincing. The book is an eulogy of the Boy Governor, a veritable prodigy according to the author.

The tone and historical method in accomplishing the other task is much better. There is a lack of proper proportions. There is special pleading in the account of the boundary dispute with Ohio, and the relations of the people of Michigan with Canada in the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-1838. But the chapters on banks and banking, internal improvements, the financial difficulties of Michigan during the panic of 1837, and the triumph of the Whigs in 1839, are well worth while. The Michigan Historical Commission published in 1916 *The Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, by George N. Fuller. This volume by Mr. Hemans, with emphasis upon the political events for the same years, is supplementary to the preceding, and the two volumes constitute a creditable beginning of a history of another of the states of the Old Northwest.

Confidential Correspondence of Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 1861-1865. Edited by Robert Means Thompson and Richard Wainwright. Volumes I. and II. [Publications of the Naval History Society, vols. IX. and X.] (New York, De Vinne Press, 1918, 1919, pp. xvi, 440; xx, 492.) The confidential correspondence of Assistant Secretary of the Navy Fox is one of the three principal sources of information for the history of the American navy during the Civil War. The other two sources are official letters of the Navy Department, now largely published in the *Records of the Rebellion*, and the *Diary of Gideon Welles* (1911). These three sources supplement each other. In some respects the Fox correspondence is more valuable than the official letters, since under the protection of privacy the writers wrote with less restraint. Moreover Fox's long service in the navy and his large acquaintance with naval officers were conducive to a free exchange of views. The letters of Admiral Porter, which are of unusual interest, are noteworthy for their candor.

It is understood that the two volumes now published are to be followed by a third. The letters published cover the years 1861-1864 and relate to some of the most important naval operations of the war. They contain much valuable information respecting Fox's attempt to relieve Fort Sumter, Dupont's expedition against Port Royal and Charleston, Goldsborough's expedition against Roanoke Island and his movements in the North Carolina sounds, Farragut's capture of New Orleans and opening of the Mississippi, Foote's services on the

upper Mississippi, and the operations of Porter and S. P. Lee, each of whom commanded the Mississippi squadron and the North Atlantic Blockading squadron. The volumes also contain a large "miscellaneous correspondence" which includes letters to and from officers of the army, other officers of the government, and distinguished private citizens.

The editors have been generous in their inclusion of letters, and one may believe that those excluded possess but little historical value. They have made no annotations, and thereby have passed on to the reader not a few perplexing questions respecting proper names and obscure passages that good editing usually clears up. The books are beautifully printed, and doubtless will be thoroughly indexed in the final volume. Admiral Goodrich contributes an excellent "foreword" to the second volume.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

History of Education in Iowa. By Clarence Ray Aurner. Volume V. (Iowa City, State Historical Society, 1920, pp. x, 370, \$2.00.) In its general characteristics the fifth volume of this notable *History of Education in Iowa* does not differ markedly from the four volumes already reviewed (XX. 897; XXII. 190). The same excellence of make-up and care in citation are evident. This volume is devoted to the more or less unrelated subsidiary institutions of the state educational system. Four chapters are devoted to the College for the Blind, five chapters to the School for the Deaf, four chapters to the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, six to the Reform (Industrial) Schools, and three to the Institution for the Feeble-Minded.

While none of these chapters offers special opportunity for literary or pedagogical discussion, it must be noted that the method of the author in following year by year the official reports of the boards and superintendents of these institutions fails to give a very satisfactory perspective of the worth of the effort of the state in establishing these institutions. An exception to this statement is to be found in chapter XX., which deals with the problems of the Asylum for Feeble-Minded Children.

The volume gives the impression of more or less padding to make it of the same size, if not of the same historical interest, as the preceding volumes. Here again the tendency to write out in full the figures which ought to be tabulated in the text, becomes a weariness to the flesh and an irritation to the spirit; for example, on about a page (pp. 256-257) not less than twenty-four figures of enrollment in the industrial schools constitute the body of the text.

The history of these five schools illustrates very well what has happened in many other states than Iowa, often with pathetic consequences: the shifting centre of gravity of schools as they are moved

from one place to another under the impulse of politics or according to the limitations of ignorant boards; and the variations in the success of these schools, because of inexpert leadership, parsimony of state legislatures, and changes in the purposes of the school, as in the case of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, and the Reform School.

Such a co-ordinated summary as Dr. Aurner has made here of the specialized institutions for the care and education of delinquent children of Iowa will have permanent value both as a record of things to be avoided, and of things to serve as models for other states.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne. By Walter Vaughan. (New York, Century Company, 1920, pp. vii, 388, \$5.00.) An interesting contrast between the Canadian, James J. Hill, developer of the American Northwest, and William Van Horne, born of old native stock, who found his field of operations in Canada, is opened up to detailed study by this biography. The data were assembled at Van Horne's own request, by Miss Katherine Hughes. He died before she finished, but his heirs continued her on the task; and then turned over the result, for reasons not revealed, to the responsible author, Mr. Vaughan, who was an old associate of Van Horne.

William Van Horne had the rare experience of making his career as a railroad man in the United States, and then of being shifted, before his fortieth birthday, to autocratic charge of the Canadian Pacific, then under construction. He built that road, with the patronage, indeed, of Donald A. Smith and George Stephen; and when their services to the empire were recognized by their elevation as Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal and Lord Mountstephen, Van Horne became in time Sir William. After his retirement from the Canadian Pacific, he gained new fame by building the Cuba railroad, in the administration of Leonard Wood.

He dashes through the book as a demigod. With a physique that almost defied indiscretion, he disregarded all the laws of sleep and diet. He drove ahead all day; could paint landscapes or play poker all night with equal facility; and could return fresh to his desk with only an apology for sleep. He was an amateur prestidigitator, a mind-reader, a collector of works of art, and a professional host in his mansion in Montreal and at his island home in the bay of the St. Croix River.

The contribution of the book to our knowledge of the development of the Northwest is real, in spite of its sparing documentation. His understanding of America was bi-national. Long before President Taft wrote incautiously to Colonel Roosevelt that Canadian reciprocity would make the Canadian Northwest an appendage of New York, Van Horne had begun to fight reciprocity for this very reason (1891); and when the 1911 agreement was drawn up he declared himself out "to do all I can

to bust the damn thing". Taft, he asserted, "is an extremely good-natured gentleman who makes promises without much consideration and is too honourable to go back on them". Roosevelt he describes as summoning him to the White House to talk about Cuba: "I was with the President for half an hour or more. During that time he told me many things about Cuba, some of which were not correct. . . . During the whole of my visit he never asked me a single question and never gave me a chance to open my mouth."

It would be fortunate if we knew as much about Gould, Stanford, Huntington, and Tom Scott, the builders of the Southwest railroads, as we now know about Strathcona, Hill, Villard, Cooke, and Van Horne.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation. By Ray Palmer Baker, Ph. D., Professor of English in the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1920, pp. ix, 200, \$2.50.) Within the narrow limits of this study, Dr. Baker has not only compressed an astonishing amount of information on an obscure subject, but he has invested it with unusual interest and suggestion. That Canada has produced anything worthy to be called literature will come to many readers as a surprise; but the evidence submitted admits of no doubt. Dr. Baker's work is based on a minute and exhaustive survey of the whole field in which he is a pioneer. It is very far removed from the conventional catalogue of authors and their works which passes as history of literature. The relations of Canada's literary production to the political, social, and religious currents of thought have been thoroughly studied, and are clearly shown. This history of literature is, in fact, a masterly essay on the development of the nation Canada, as expressed in her literature. Not the least of its merits is the style, which is clear, masculine, and concise. While free from chauvinistic bias, Dr. Baker writes with the sure touch and sympathy natural to a son of the soil. The period he treats of is less rich in national consciousness than that which follows; but it is there in embryo. Among the chief formative influences were the migration of the United Empire Loyalists, the War of 1812, and the rise of democracy. Their reactions upon literary activity are undoubted. The first Canadian college was founded by Loyalists. Howe, who won responsible government for Nova Scotia, was the son of a Loyalist. So was Haliburton, the creator of "Sam Slick", and the father of American humor. Richardson, the novelist, fought as a boy officer in the War of 1812, and his novels are largely based on that experience. The general reader, the special student, and the historian will all "find their account" in this admirable study.

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN.

La Personalidad de Manuel Belgrano. By Emilio Ravignani. (Buenos Aires, 1920, pp. 32.) In the few pages of this monograph, which is no. VI. in the series published by the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the National University of Buenos Aires, Dr. Ravignani, who has recently become director of that faculty's history section, presents a clear picture of Don Manuel Belgrano y González, whose career he divides into two aspects, civil and military. Dr. Ravignani shows no contradiction between these aspects, for the civil employe who as a youth sought to propagate new ideas in economics, and presently to elevate the social and intellectual plane of his compatriots (to accomplish which he founded schools and a pioneer Argentine newspaper), later, as a general commanding revolutionary forces, inspired them with a sense of honor and morality which were, and are, a credit to the national flag of the Argentine Republic, which he, also, was the first to unfurl. An appendix contains six letters, written by Belgrano between 1810 and 1819, printed from originals in the possession of the Academy of Philosophy and Letters of the National University of Buenos Aires.

I. A. WRIGHT.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The managing editor of this journal will be absent from the United States from June 24 until November. Correspondence may continue to be addressed to him at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. He regrets that a strike of printers will delay the issue of this number of the *Review* until a date very much later than the first of July.

It would be a great favor if any persons possessing copies of the number of this journal for October, 1920, which they do not wish to retain, would send them to the office of the managing editor, where they are greatly needed.

At a recent meeting of the Board of Editors of this journal Professor Guy S. Ford was chosen chairman of the Board.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

There has been so great a demand for the *Autobiography of Martin Van Buren*, which constitutes vol. II. of the *Annual Report* for 1918 (the Association's "best seller") that the Government Printing Office has printed a thousand additional copies. They may be purchased at a dollar apiece (money sent with order—checks not receivable) from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL

John W. Platner, professor of ecclesiastical history in Andover Theological Seminary, died March 18, at the age of fifty-five. He had held the chair indicated since 1901.

Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth College has been granted a year's leave of absence which he will spend in Europe. Mr. L. D. Stilwell has been promoted to the grade of assistant professor.

Professor Milledge L. Bonham, jr., will teach during the summer at the University of Vermont, Professor R. V. D. Magoffin will be at Columbia University for the summer session, while Professor George M. Dutcher will teach at the southern session of the University of California in Los Angeles.

In April and May Professor Arthur I. Andrews of Tufts College gave a course of lectures on American Foreign Policy, its Characteristics and its Development from Washington to Harding, in the University of Prague. He returns to America in September. In May Professor J. A. James of Northwestern University, now in Europe

on leave of absence, began a series of lectures in American history in the same Bohemian university.

Professor H. M. Varrell of Simmons College, Boston, will spend the coming year in Europe on leave of absence.

At Wesleyan University Professor George M. Dutcher has been granted leave of absence for the coming academic year, part of which he will spend in Japan, China, and India. Professor H. M. Wriston, who has been on leave engaged in research, will resume his duties at the university, and kindly takes Professor Dutcher's place in assisting this journal in the collection of material for our news section.

Professor Charles D. Hazen, who has been lecturer at the University of Strasbourg during the past year, will return to his post at Columbia University this autumn, as will Professor Robert L. Schuyler, who has been on leave during the spring term as lecturer in the University of London. Professor William R. Shepherd will be on leave during the coming year and will lecture in England and Spain; his place will be supplied during the spring session of next year by Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. The leave of absence of Professor James T. Shotwell, who is director for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace of its monumental social and economic history of the war, will be continued another year. Messrs. Parker T. Moon and Harry J. Carman have been promoted to the grade of assistant professor, while Assistant-Professor Benjamin B. Kendrick has been promoted to be associate professor.

Miss Frances H. Relf, professor of history in Lake Erie College, has been called thence to an appointment for historical research in Cornell University.

At the Johns Hopkins University, this year's series of the James Schouler lectures was given in April by Professor J. Holland Rose of Cambridge, his subject being Sidelights on the World War. The Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History were given in May by Professor Percy A. Martin of Stanford University; his subject was Hispanic America and the War.

At the University of Michigan, Professor Edward R. Turner will be absent on leave during the next academic year; his place will be supplied by Professor A. B. White of Minnesota.

Dr. Samuel B. Harding, formerly professor of history in the University of Indiana, will teach during the coming year in the University of Minnesota.

Professors Frank A. Golder of Washington State College and Edward M. Hulme of the University of Idaho have been appointed associate professors of European history in Stanford University. Professor Golder's period of service in Europe, in the interest of the

Hoover Collection of material on the history of the recent war, has, however, been extended by another year. During six months of that time Dr. H. Barrett Learned will again lecture in Stanford University.

We note appointments and promotions as follows: D. H. Bacot, to be assistant professor in Washington and Lee University; C. J. Brosnan, to be assistant professor of American history in the University of Idaho; S. R. Ganmon, jr., to be professor of history and political science in Austin College, Texas; C. B. Goodykoontz, to be assistant professor of American history in the University of Colorado; Paul V. B. Jones, to be assistant professor in the University of Illinois; R. J. Kerner, to be professor of history in the University of Missouri; Paul Knaplund, to be assistant professor in the University of Wisconsin; J. A. O. Larsen, to be assistant professor of ancient history in the University of Washington; S. R. Packard, to be assistant professor in Smith College; Joseph H. Park, to be assistant professor in New York University; H. W. van Loon, to be professor of history in Antioch College; R. B. Yewdale, to be assistant professor in the University of Wisconsin; T. J. Wertenbaker, to be associate professor in Princeton University; Carl Wittke, to be assistant professor of American history in Ohio State University; W. K. Woolery, to be assistant professor in Bethany College, West Virginia.

GENERAL

The April, May, and June numbers of the *Historical Outlook* sustain its high character: The April number has a general survey of the provisions for Historical Study in English Universities, by Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt; a full account of Research Work in the Historical Branch of the General Staff, by Colonel Oliver L. Spaulding, jr., head of that branch, and a further installment of the report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship, being part III., a syllabus for ninth-grade study of American industries, prepared by Miss Frances M. Morehouse of the University of Minnesota High School. The May number has some very interesting data respecting recent History Teaching in Germany, presented by Professor R. W. Kelsey; a paper on the Rise and Fall of the Independent Treasury, by Professor R. C. McGrane; and part IV. of the committee report already named, being a syllabus for modern history in the tenth grade, prepared by Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton. The June number presents part V., a syllabus for United States history in the eleventh grade, by Miss Morehouse.

The Pulitzer Prize of \$2000 for the best historical work produced by an American during the past year was bestowed in June upon Rear-Admiral William S. Sims and Mr. Burton J. Hendrick, for *The Victory at Sea* (see p. 333).

The April number of the *Catholic Historical Review* opens the first volume of the new series, in which the scope of the journal is radically

changed, as was mentioned in our last issue, from the special pursuit of Catholic history in the United States into the broader field of general church history. The history of the Catholic Church in the United States is so largely a virgin field, in which valuable and welcome contributions may constantly be made, that it will be much more difficult to maintain an equally high standard of value when the journal is put into competition with the learned European journals of ecclesiastical history. The first article is a report of the first annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, and the other articles are papers read on that occasion: Social Catholic Movement in France under the Third Republic, by Professor Parker T. Moon of Columbia University; the Personality and Character of Gregory VII. in Recent Historical Research, a brief but excellent survey, by Rev. Thomas Oestreich, O. S. B.; the Rise of the Papal States up to the Time of Charlemagne's Coronation, by Rev. Joseph N. Woods, S. J.; and Benedict XV. and the Historical Basis for Thomistic Study, by Rev. Dr. Henry I. Smith, O. P. There is also a commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of St. Mary's Cathedral in Halifax, and a list of the Catholic press in the United States, with bibliographical notes respecting the earlier papers.

In the April number of the *Journal of Negro History* appear four articles. The principal one is by A. A. Taylor, Making West Virginia a Free State; the others, by Fred Landon, on Canadian Negroes in the John Brown Raid; by Dr. J. Fred Rippy of the University of Chicago, on the Negro and the Spanish Pioneers in the New World; and by A. G. Lindsay, on the Economic Condition of the Negroes of New York, prior to 1861.

The April number of *History* opens with an interesting paper on the Beginnings of Colleges in the English Universities, by the Master of Jesus College, Cambridge; and there is also a valuable survey of Europe before the War, by Mr. G. P. Gooch, and a historical survey of Serbia and the Jugo-Slav Movement, by Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson.

The *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries have hitherto contained simply a record of the doings of the society, some of the papers read at its meetings, and some of the ensuing discussions. Now however this ancient society begins instead of this record to print the *Antiquaries Journal*, intended to have a broader scope, embracing archaeological progress on the Continent as well as in England, a wider survey of archaeological literature, and articles of various interest. The first number, that for January, 1921, has, among other papers, an account of the Latin Monastic Buildings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, by Mr. A. W. Clapham; an interim report on the explorations at Stonehenge, now the property of the nation, by Lieut.-Col. W. Hawley; and an account of the discovery of silver at Traprain Law, on Mr. Balfour's estate, already mentioned in these pages. The number also contains much interesting news of recent archaeological work. The annual subscription to the new journal is 18s. 6d., including postage.

M. Henri Berr, editor of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, has for some years been planning and organizing a general survey of the world's history, *Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique: l'Évolution de l'Humanité*, in a hundred handy volumes, about equally divided between the four sections of (1) introduction, prehistory, proto-history, and antiquity, (2) the origins of Christianity, and the Middle Ages, (3) modern history, and (4) history of the contemporary period. The scheme is intended "to embrace the earth in its whole extent and humanity in its entire evolution", and the volumes (15 fr. each) are to be prepared by highly competent specialists who can also write. The first volume has already appeared: *La Terre avant l'Histoire: les Origines de la Vie et de l'Homme*, by Professor Edmund Perrier, of the Academy of Sciences, honorary director of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. The next will be *L'Humanité Pré-historique*, by M. Jacques de Morgan. The volumes of ancient history will be written by such scholars as MM. A. Moret, Gustave Glotz, Pierre Jouguet, J. Toutain, Victor Chapot, Clément Huart, and Charles Guignebert; the volumes of medieval history, by such as MM. Charles Diehl, Ferdinand Lot, Louis Halphen, Charles Petit-Dutaillis, and Georges Bourgin. The history of civilization will be emphasized throughout. It is evident that the series will be of high importance. The volumes will have such illustrations as are necessary.

The New Stone Age in Northern Europe (New York, Scribners: London, Bell) by Dr. John M. Tyler, emeritus professor of biology in Amherst College, a work based on the archaeological studies of the last two decades, takes up the story of the evolution of the human race at the point at which it was left by Professor Osborn in his *Men of the Old Stone Age*, and carries it on to the dawn of history.

The Cambridge University Press brings out *Pre-History*, by M. C. Burkitt, a study of early cultures in Europe and the Mediterranean basin, with a preface by the Abbé Breuil, with whom the author has studied the prehistoric caves of France and Spain.

Dr. Charles Singer has edited, and the Oxford University Press has published, a second volume of *Studies in the History and Method of Science*, in which will be found papers by Dr. Singer himself on Greek Biology and its relation to the Rise of Modern Biology, and on the steps leading to the invention of the first optical apparatus; a paper by J. L. E. Dryer on medieval astronomy; one by Robert Steele on Roger Bacon and the state of science in the thirteenth century; by H. Hopstock of Christianity on Leonardo as anatomist; by E. T. Withington on the Asclepiadae and the priests of Asclepius; by J. J. Fahie on the scientific works of Galileo, etc.

Messrs. Bell of London have issued the fourth volume of Sir Guy Laking's *History of European Armour and Arms*. The fifth and concluding volume, which will probably be ready before the end of the year, will finish the seventeenth century, and contain important appendixes.

An Institute of Politics has been founded at Williams College, to hold sessions in its buildings during the summer for the consideration of problems in which history has its share. The subject chosen for this summer's session is that of International Relations. There will be lectures by scholars and statesmen from abroad and round-table conferences conducted by professors in leading American institutions. Among those expected to lecture are Viscount Bryce, Signor Tommaso Tittoni, Baron Sergius A. Korff, Mr. Stephen Panaretoff, Count Paul Teleki, and Professor Achille Viallate. Among those who will conduct round-table conferences, we note the names of Professors A. C. Coolidge, C. H. Haskins, R. H. Lord, and J. S. Reeves.

A revised edition of Professor Frederick A. Ogg's *The Governments of Europe* (Macmillan, 1920, pp. x, 775) differs largely from the original edition of 1913, taking due account of the extraordinary developments of the intervening years, developing more fully, to twice or three times their original extent, the accounts of the government and politics of Great Britain and France, adding chapters respecting the institutions of republican Germany and Russia, but making no attempt to cover the governments of the lesser states established on the wreck of Austria-Hungary. The historical element in the volume is of about the same proportions as in its predecessor.

The Neutralization of States: a Study in Diplomatic History and International Law (Meadville, Pa., the author, pp. 180), a doctoral dissertation in Columbia University, by Clair F. Littell, sets forth the historical development of permanent neutrality in the cases of Switzerland, Belgium, Luxemburg, the Congo Free State, and some minor instances, and discusses the chief problems which have arisen in connection with such states.

Orders, Decorations, and Insignia, Military and Civil, with the History and Romance of their Origin and a Full Description of Each, by Col. Robert E. Wyllie, of the General Staff, U. S. A., published with 367 illustrations, over 200 of which are in color (pp. xxi, 269), embraces both European and American decorations.

A Chronology of Iron and Steel, from prehistoric times to the present day, compiled by Stephen L. Goodale, and edited by J. Ramsey Speer, is published by the Pittsburgh Iron and Steel Foundries Company.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dr. Cabanès, *La Méthode Scientifique appliquée à l'Histoire: Taine, Historien Physiologiste* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, July, 1920); A. Niceforo, *Preliminari ad uno Studio Quantitativo della Civiltà e del Progresso* (Rivista Italiana di Sociologia, January, April); J. W. Thompson, *The Aftermath of the Black Death and the Aftermath of the Great War* (American Journal of Sociology, March).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: L. Deubner, *Griechische und Römische Religion, 1911-1914* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XX. 1).

The useful index volume for E. Cavaignac's *Histoire de l'Antiquité* (Paris, Boccard, 1921, pp. 120) is now available.

A critical biographical study of *Der Jüdische Historiker, Flavius Josephus* (Giessen, Münchow, 1920, pp. viii, 280), has been written by R. Laqueur.

Professor Carl Robert of Halle has written *Archäologische Hermeneutik, Anleitung zur Deutung Klassischen Bildwerke* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1919, pp. 432). The book is enriched with about three hundred illustrations. The same scholar is engaged in the preparation of the fourth edition of L. Preller's *Griechische Mythologie*. While the first volume of this edition appeared in 1894 with the title, *Theogonie und Götter*, the second volume has only now come to hand; it bears the title, *Die Griechische Heldensage* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920, pp. xii, 419). The editor has undertaken to incorporate the results of later researches and has consequently produced a work which is largely new.

The first of four volumes of Herodotus is presented in the *Loeb Classical Library* (London, Heinemann; New York, Putnam) according to the familiar methods of that series, comprising the first two books; the translation is by Mr. A. D. Godley, of Magdalena College, Oxford.

On the basis of all literary and epigraphic material available, Professor Friedrich Bilabel treats *Die Ionische Kolonisation* (Leipzig, Dieterich), investigating the political and religious organization of the Ionic colonies and their relations to their mother cities.

Aus der Geschichte des Bankwesens im Altertum, Tesserae Nummulariae (Giessen, Toepelmann, 1919), by Professor R. Herzog, embodies the results of careful researches.

An important chapter in the history of Roman culture is developed by Dr. Walter J. Sellman in *De Interpretibus Romanorum deque Linguae Latinae cum aliis Nationibus Commercio* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 2 vols.).

In the *Loeb Classical Library*, a volume of Sallust is now presented (London, Heinemann; New York, Putnam), the translation by Professor John C. Rolfe, of the University of Pennsylvania. Besides the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*, the book contains those fragments of the *Histories* which present whole speeches or letters; also the pseudo-Sallustian *suasoriae* and invectives.

Two volumes of military history by G. Veith have been brought

out, dealing with *Der Feldzug von Dyrrhachium zwischen Caesar und Pompeius* (Vienna, Seidel, 1920, pp. xix, 267), and with *Die Feldzüge des C. Julius Cäsar Octavianus in Illyrien in den Jahren 35-33 v. Chr.* (Vienna, Hölder, 1919, pp. viii, 112).

The firm of S. Hirzel, in Leipzig, is issuing a new edition, the ninth, of Friedländer's *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, revised and enlarged by Georg Wissowa. Four volumes have appeared.

Professor R. V. D. Magoffin of the Johns Hopkins University has in preparation a book on the three Flavian Caesars.

In the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études (Paris, Champion), no. 228 (pp. xix, 119) is a workmanlike and almost brilliant dissertation on *La Table Hypothécaire de Veleia*, in which the author, F. G. de Pachtere, killed in the war, studies the history of landed property in the regions of the Apennines above Piacenza with great mastery of the materials and much acuteness of reasoning. No. 229 (pp. xxvii, 52) is *Recherche sur l'Éphébie Attique*, by Mlle. Alice Brenot, who concludes upon the date 335/334 for the origin of the institution.

A. Rostagni has published a critical study of *Giuliano l'Apostata* (Turin, Bocca, 1920), with translations and annotations of Julian's political and satirical writings.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. H. Stevenson, *Ancient Historians and their Sources* (Journal of Philology, XXXV. 70); K. Sethe, *Die Zeitrechnung der alten Aegypter im Verhältnis zu der der andern Völker*, I., II. (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1919, 3, and 1920, 1); A. T. Olmstead, *Babylonia as an Assyrian Dependency* (American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, April); D. D. Luckenbill, *Hittite Treaties and Letters* (*ibid.*); W. A. Heidel, *Anaximander's Book, the Earliest Known Geographical Treatise* (Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, April); M. Pohlenz, *Thukydidesstudien*, I.-III. (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1919, 1, and 1920, 1); C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Pausanias, Hieros Ktistes von Byzanz, mit einer Beigabe: der Sturz des Pausanias, des Themistokles, und des Leotychidas* (Klio, XVII. 1); G. J. Laing, *The Origin of the Cult of the Lares* (Classical Philology, April); G. Sigwart, *König Romulus bei Ennius* (Klio, XVII. 1); M. Cary, *The Early Roman Treaties with Tarentum and Rhodes* (Journal of Philology, XXXV. 70); M. Cary, *The Land Legislation of Julius Caesar's First Consulship* (*ibid.*); E. G. Hardy, *On the Lex Julia Municipalis* (*ibid.*, 69); L. Holzapfel, *Römische Kaiserdaten*, IV. (Klio, XVII. 1); G. Ferrero, *La Ruine de la Civilisation Antique*, IV. *Constantine et le Triomphe du Christianisme* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); W. L. Westermann, *The "Unindated*

Lands" in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, II. (Classical Philology, April).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: E. Jordan, *Histoire Ecclésiastique du Moyen Age* (Revue Historique, January).

Dr. De Lacy O'Leary, lecturer in Aramaic and Syriac in Bristol University, has in preparation, with Messrs. Kegan Paul, *A Study of Arabic Thought and its Place in History*; the Cambridge University Press will soon publish *Arabian Medicine*, by Professor Edward G. Browne, being the Fitzpatrick Lectures delivered at the College of Physicians in 1919 and 1920.

Mr. J. T. Fowler has revised his edition of *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae* (Oxford, Clarendon Press), which originally appeared in 1894, and has brought his notes up to date.

Pedro di Luna, Ultimo Papa de Aviñon, 1387-1430 (Barcelona, 1920, pp. 632), by S. Puig y Puig, is a detailed account of the turbulent career of the anti-pope Benedict XIII.

Miss Helen Josephine Robins has translated into English, from the volume of selections published by Don Nazareno Orlandi, and has printed in an attractive volume (Siena, Tip. Sociale, pp. 248), thirty-two *Sermons of Saint Bernardine of Siena*, of genuine value to the student of the Italian mind of the fifteenth century.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Medieval Conceptions of the Kingdom of God* (Hibbert Journal, April); F. Baethgen, *Der Anspruch des Papsttums auf das Reichsvikariat, Untersuchungen zur Theorie und Praxis der Potestas Indirecta in Temporalibus* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung, XLI.); E. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Staatsrecht des Bas-Empire* (*ibid.*); J. Haller, *Innozenz III. und das Kaisertum Heinrichs VI.* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, November 15); E. Déprez, *La Bataille de Najera, 3 Avril 1367: le Communiqué du Prince Noir* (Revue Historique, January); G. McN. Rushforth, *Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae* (Journal of Roman Studies, IX. 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Macmillan Company has brought out *Macmillan's Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, a selected series of maps illustrative of the recent history of the chief European states and their dependencies, edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw.

The publisher Teubner of Leipzig is continuing the publication of the excellent series of brief manuals under the name *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*. Among the recent issues in the field of history are a second edition of P. Joachimsen's *Vom Deutschen Volk zum Deutschen Staat; Deutsche*

Verfassungsgeschichte vom Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart, by M. Stimming; a third edition of R. Schwener's *Deutsche Geschichte, 1802-1871, vom Bund zum Reich*; and *Die Slawen*, by Diels. In each of these a wealth of facts is presented concisely; the arrangement is clear and simple, and the material is handled in a scholarly manner.

P. Burg has made abundant use of sources in his biographical study of *Die Schöne Gräfin Königsmarck* (Brunswick, Westermann, 1920, pp. xvi, 446).

The committee on the celebration of the centenary of the death of Napoleon has given its patronage to a richly illustrated work on *Napoléon, sa Vie, son Oeuvre, son Temps* (Paris, Hachette, 1920), which is being published in twenty-four weekly parts. The text is by G. Lacour-Gayet. A similarly illustrated work is F. M. Kircheisen's *Napoléon im Lande der Pyramiden und seine Nachfolger, 1798-1801* (Munich, Müller, 1918, pp. xii, 356). H. Morel-Journel utilizes new materials in his study of *La Politique de Bonaparte en Pays Occupés d'après les Documents recueillis à Vicence sur l'Occupation Française de 1797* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. viii, 66). Commandant M. H. Weil also presents new matter in *D'Ulm à Iéna, Correspondance Inédite du Chevalier de Gentz avec Francis James Jackson, Ministre de la Grande-Bretagne à Berlin, 1804-1806* (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 336).

Les Routes des Alpes Occidentales à l'Époque Napoléonienne, 1796-1815 (Grenoble, Imp. Albin, 1921), by Dr. M. Blanchard, presents a wide range of interesting information.

The latest issue in M. Félicien Leuridan's series of the *Oeuvres Posthumes Inédites du Prince de Ligne* is *Ma Napoléonide* (Paris, Champion, pp. ix, 128), a volume of essays on the emperor by one who had many points of contact with him and much experience of the public life of Europe in his time.

Professor Edward R. Turner of Michigan has lately issued a book on *Europe since 1870* (Doubleday, Page, and Company).

Karl Kautsky's *Terrorisme et Communisme* (Paris, Povolozky, 1920) is of interest for its presentation of the author's views of the Paris Commune and of the Russian soviets.

Professor Rudolf Kjellén of the University of Upsala published in 1914 a masterly survey of the organization and conditions of the several great powers at the outbreak of the war, which ran through many editions in Germany during the war under the title *Die Grossmächte der Gegenwart*. These chapters have been revised, and fifty per cent. more material added on the world-crisis and the new order, in *Die Grossmächte und die Weltkrise* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. 249). Even though the author's views may arouse dissent, the clear and convenient presentation of facts commend the work as useful.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Schmitt-Dorotí, *Politische Theorie und Romantik* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIII. 3); E. Pacheco y de Leyva, *Grave Error Político de Carlos I. haciendo la Boda de Felipe II. con Doña María, Reina de Inglaterra* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Muséos, January); J. d'Elbée, *La Politique Bavaroise de Louis XIV.* (Revue Hebdomadaire, March 5); O. Hoijer, *La Diplomatie Suédoise et le Retour de l'Île d'Elbe* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, December 15); C. Pagani, *L'Imperatrice Eugenia e la Questione di Roma, con Documenti Inediti* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); E. von Wertheimer, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges von 1870, nach Neuen Quellen*, I.-IV. (Deutsche Rundschau, October-January); C. Loiseau, *La Politique Sociale de la Papauté* (Revue de Paris, February 1).

THE GREAT WAR

The series of monographs on the battles of the war, *Schlachten des Weltkrieges*, issued by the German Great General Staff, and designed by General Ludendorff when he became First Quartermaster General, ceased appearing in 1920 when the General Staff was abolished. The continuation of it has now been taken over by the Reichsarchiv, which now issues two thin volumes, *Antwerpen, 1914*, and *Baranowitchi, 1916* (Oldenbourg, Stalling).

Der Marnefeldzug, 1914 (Berlin, Mittler), by General H. von Kuhl, chief of the general staffs successively of von Kluck and of Crown Prince Rupprecht, gives the most complete account of the operations in August and September, 1914, that has appeared in any language. The narrative is particularly complete as regards the German First, Sixth, and Seventh Armies.

The personal story of Field-Marshal Hindenburg (see pp. 96-98, above) has been published in this country by Harper and Brothers, in a translation, in two volumes, with the title, *Out of My Life*.

Col. F. Feyler has turned his attention as a military critic to *La Campagne de Macédoine, 1916-1917* (Paris, Crès, 1920). *Uskub ou du Rôle de la Cavalerie d'Afrique dans la Victoire* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. viii, 387) is by General Jouinot-Gambetta.

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton of London have published *The German Air Force in the Great War*, translated from the German of Major Georg Paul Neumann, *Die Deutschen Luftstreitkräfte im Weltkriege* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920, pp. 600). Manfred von Richthofen has written a biographical account of *Der Rote Kampfflieger, ein Heldenleben* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1920, pp. 344).

Government Control and Operation of Industry in Great Britain and the United States during the World War, by Charles W. Baker, is

issued by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as no. 18 of its *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*.

Dr. W. Franknoi has given the Hungarian side of the case in *Die Ungarische Regierung und die Entstehung des Weltkrieges* (Vienna, Seidel, 1919). A. Demblin has discussed the question of Czernin and the Sixtusaffäre (Munich, Drei Masken-Verlag, 1920). J. Hohlfeld has outlined *Der Kampf um den Frieden, 1914-1919* (Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut, 1919, pp. viii, 219). In *Réflexions d'un Diplomate Optimiste, 1915-1919* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, 2 vols., pp. 374, 284), "Jean Francoeur" comments on diplomatic affairs during the war in the first volume, and on the peace negotiations in the second volume, in which he supports the League of Nations and the policies of President Wilson even from the point of view of French interest. The third volume of O. Hoetzsch's *Der Krieg und die Grosse Politik* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1918, pp. vi, 671) carries the discussion of events to the German-Russian armistice.

Dr. Bernhard Schwertfeger concludes his remarkable series of diplomatic documents from the Belgian archives by a general historical review, *Der Fehlspruch von Versailles* (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, pp. 215).

The Truth about the Treaty, by M. André Tardieu, French high commissioner to the United States during the war, is from the press of the Bobbs-Merrill Company. There is a preface by Col. Edward M. House and an introduction by M. Clémenceau.

A very recent but very significant year's progress is recorded in the quarto pamphlet of seventy-seven pages, *What the League of Nations has Accomplished in One Year*, by Dr. Charles H. Levermore, in which a mass of official material is skilfully digested for the use of student and citizen. It can be obtained for fifty cents, from the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. A similar survey, in book form, is *The First Year of the League of Nations*, by Professor George G. Wilson, to which the Covenant is added as an appendix (Boston, Little). Messrs. Macmillan of London will shortly publish *The First Assembly: a Study of the Proceedings of the First Assembly of the League of Nations*, prepared by a committee of the League of Nations Union, including Lord Robert Cecil and Lord Phillimore, and edited by Oliver Brett.

Two well-known French publicists have reviewed events and conditions since the war: Jacques Bainville, under the title, *Les Conséquences Politiques de la Paix* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1920, pp. viii, 200); and René Pinon, under the title, *La Reconstruction de l'Europe Politique* (Paris, Perrin, 1920).

The World at the Cross Roads (Boston, Small, Maynard, and Company, 1921), by Boris Brasol, is a review of international affairs dur-

ing the war and the peace negotiations, which professes to throw new light on the workings of the third Internationale.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Halévy, *Les Origines de la Discorde Anglo-Allemande* (Revue de Paris, February 1); Hans Delbrück, *Did the Kaiser want the War?* [with reply by J. W. Headlam-Morley] (Contemporary Review, March); R. Fester, *Verantwortlichkeiten*, V. *Die Tragödie des Zweibundes* (Deutsche Rundschau, February); H. Delbrück, *Die Strategische Grundfrage des Weltkrieges* (Preussische Jahrbücher, March); General Buat, *Les Principes de Guerre du Maréchal Hindenburg* (Revue Universelle, March); P. Cornard, *Hindenburg d'après Lui-Même* (Revue de Paris, March 1, 15); General Buat, *Une Crise de Commandement dans l'Armée Allemande en 1914-1916* (*ibid.*, January 15, February 1); Capt. F. Lützow, *Der Lusitania-Fall* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, March); F. Ruffini, *Il Caso di Coscienza del Principe Sisto* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); L. Livi, *I Morti in Europa nella Guerra Recente* (Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie, January); "Mermeix", *L'Armistice du 11 Novembre 1918, Fragment d'Histoire* (Revue Universelle, March); Sten de Geer, *Europas Statsgränser och Statsområden efter Världskriget* (Ymer, 1920, 4); "Testis", *L'Oeuvre de la France en Syrie* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 1); P. Szende, *Die Krise der Mitteleuropäischen Revolution, ein Massenpsychologischer Versuch* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, January); Y. Guyot, *Les Résultats de la Conférence de Paris* (Journal des Économistes, February 15); XXX, *L'Aventure de Fiume* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15, March 1, April 1); T. T. C. Gregory, *Stemming the Red Tide: a Narrative of Hoover's Economic Victory in Europe* (World's Work, April, May, June).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In the series of *Helps for Students of History* (S. P. C. K.) Mr. J. E. W. Wallis presents the first (pp. 102) of the three volumes of a handbook of *English Regnal Years and Titles, Handlists, Easter Dates*, etc.

Dr. William Farrer's *An Outline Itinerary of King Henry the First* has been reprinted from vol. XXXIV. of the *English Historical Review* in a volume of 183 pages (Oxford University Press).

As a labor of love, Sir Norman Moore, president of the Royal College of Physicians, has prepared *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital from its Foundation [in 1123] to the Present Day*, now issued in two quarto volumes, at the price of three guineas (London, C. Arthur Pearson). The history, based upon original authorities, largely quoted, illustrates the social history of London as well as the history of medical knowledge, education, and practice in England. The whole of the profits from the sale of the work is to be devoted to the funds of the hospital.

The attention of students of Anglo-Norman history should be drawn to an excellent little monograph by Professor Henri Prentout of the University of Caen, *De l'Origine de la Formule "Dei Gratia" dans les Chartes d'Henri II.* (Caen, Imprimerie Caennaise, 1920, pp. 53).

A History of the Port of London, by Sir Joseph Guinness Broadbank, late chairman of the Dock and Warehouse Committee of the Port of London Authority, has been published by the house of Daniel O'Connor, in two illustrated volumes.

The exceptional position of Dover in the Middle Ages lends special importance and interest to *The Records of Dover* (Dover Express Office, pp. 210), in which Mr. John B. Jones, librarian of the Corporation, classifies and annotates its charters, record books, and papers, together with the Dover Custumal.

A Short History of the Cambridge University Press will be published in the autumn in commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of Cambridge printing.

No. 39 in the series of *Helps for Students of History* (S. P. C. K., Macmillan) is a little treatise on the sources for the history of Roman Catholics in England, Ireland, and Scotland from 1533 to 1795, by Father J. Hungerford Pollen, S. J.

Messrs. Christophers of London published in April a monograph by Sir Almeric FitzRoy, clerk of the Privy Council, on *Henry Duke of Grafton*, founder of the FitzRoy family, illustrated with reproductions of portraits not hitherto published.

Mr. Humphrey Milford announces a *History of the Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London*, by Dr. Charles Duschinsky, showing the history of the Ashkenazi community in London from 1675 to present times.

The Wars of Marlborough, by Frank Taylor, is published at Oxford by Basil Blackwell, and is a work of great value and importance.

Professor Wolfgang Michael has published part I. (Berlin, Rothschild, 1920) of Band II., *Das Zeitalter Walpole's*, of his *Englische Geschichte im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, covering, with his usual thoroughness and competence, the three years from the resignation of Townshend and Walpole in April, 1717, to their readmission and the reunion of the Whig Party in May, 1720.

The Historical Section of the Naval Records and Library Office, Navy Department, has published, as no. 4 of its series of publications, a pamphlet (93 pp.) entitled *Northern Barrage; Taking up Mines*, supplementary to its previous publication on the creation and maintenance of the barrage in the North Sea.

A volume which will, no doubt, possess considerable antiquarian

value in years to come is a privately printed work by E. C. Bentley on the *Peace Year in the City* (London, 1920, pp. 298), which describes, with illustrations, the events in London for about a year, beginning with November 9, 1918.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for April has an important article by Professor R. K. Hannay, On "Parliament" and "General Council"; and others, on the Stuart Papers in Windsor Castle by Walter Seton, on Rev. Ninian Campbell of Kilmacolm by Dr. David Murray, and on Samian Ware and the Chronology of Roman Occupation by S. M. Miller.

Dr. George O'Brien continues his books on Irish economic history by the publication of *The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine* (Longmans).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. B. Adams, *The Origin of the English Courts of Common Law* (Yale Law Journal, June); R. A. Newhall, *The War Finances of Henry V. and the Duke of Bedford* (English Historical Review, April); C. R. Fay, *Corn Prices and the Corn Laws, 1815-1846* (Economic Journal, March); F. Kattenbusch, *Irland in der Kirchengeschichte* (Theologische Studien und Kritiken XCIII. 1).

FRANCE

No small amount of new light is being thrown on the career of Richelieu by such recent works as *Autour de la Plume du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1920, pp. vi, 520), by M. Deloche.

Light is thrown on certain phases of French eighteenth-century history by *L'Affaire de l'Abbé Morellet en 1760* (Lyon, Lardanchet, 1920), by D. Delafarge; by *Nos Chicaneux, Procès Comtois du Dix-Huitième Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. viii, 207), by L. Boudoux; and by *Le Passé du Pyrénéisme, Notes d'un Bibliophile, Ramond de Carbonnières* (Paris, Fontaine, 1920, 2 vols., pp. 345, 341), by H. Beraldi, which deals with Cagliostro, Cardinal Rohan, and the necklace affair.

Les Assemblées Provinciales de 1787 (Paris, Picard, 1921) is the doctoral thesis of P. Renouvin, and is prepared with the care and thoroughness customary in such studies.

Professor A. Aulard has collected several of his recent papers in an eighth volume of *Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française* (Paris, Alcan, 1921). The topics are in most cases suggested by the peace negotiations, several of them relating to the districts on the left bank of the Rhine.

A recent publication of the commission for the economic history of the Revolution is *L'Industrie Sidérurgique en France au Début de la Révolution* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1920, pp. xxv, 557), by H. and G.

Bourgin. The volume is a careful compilation of details and statistics concerning the various foundries and iron-works and their output, with special reference to the year 1788.

The third volume of M. Lavissee's *Histoire de France Contemporaine* (Paris, Hachette) has appeared—*Le Consulat et l'Empire*, by G. Pariset, author of the second volume. The fourth volume is *La Restauration, 1815-1830*, by S. Charléty. The fifth volume, also by S. Charléty, covers in competent narrative the history of the July Monarchy.

Professor L. Lévy-Schneider, of the University of Lyons, in a large volume entitled *L'Application du Concordat par un Prélat de l'Ancien Régime: Mgr. Champion de Cicé, Archevêque d'Aix et d'Arles, 1802-1810* (Paris, F. Rieder, 1921, pp. xvi, 604), presents a very thorough and intelligent exposition of the manner in which an enlightened Gallican bishop managed the conduct of his functions, and his relations with the civil government, under the rule of Napoleon.

L'Élection de l'Assemblée Législative en 1849 (Paris, F. Rieder, 1921, pp. 64), by Professor Gaston Génique, is an interesting attempt, with maps of the departments and of Paris, to show the geographical distribution of party votes at the time indicated.

The Century Company has recently published a volume on *French Foreign Policy, 1898-1914* (pp. 392), by Graham H. Stuart, of the University of Wisconsin.

A volume of former President Poincaré's *Messages, Discours, Allocutions, Lettres, et Télégrammes, Août 1919-Février 1920* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1921) has been published.

In the field of the local history of France, the following works may be noted: *La Peste à Toulouse des Origines au Dix-Huitième Siècle* (Toulouse, Marqueste, 1919, pp. 474), by Dr. J. Roucaud; *Études Historiques sur le Gévaudan* (Paris, Picard, 1919), by C. Porée; and a second volume of *Études Lexoviennes* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 215), by C. Huard, J. Lahaye, and V. Lesquier.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Flach, *L'Origine et l'Avenir de la Propriété Immobilière* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, January); J. Gaillard, *Essai sur quelques Pamphlets contre la Ligue* [conclusion] (*Revue des Études Historiques*, October); L. Batiffol, *Les Faux Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 15); C. Bost, *Les "Prophètes" du Languedoc en 1701 et 1702: le Prédicant-Prophète Jean Astruc, dit Mandagout, I.* (*Revue Historique*, January); C. Saint-André, *L'Initiation de Louis XV. à la Politique* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, January 15); L. R. Gottschalk, *The Radicalism of Jean Paul Marat* (*Sewanee Review*, April); A. Mathiez, *L'Intrigue de Lafayette et des Généraux au Début de la Guerre de 1792* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, March); H. Buffenoir, *Napoléon et J.-J.*

Rousseau (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, September); G. Brunet, *Napoléon et l'Adaptation au Malheur, Étude Psychologique* (Mercure de France, May 1); R. Chevaillier, *La Captivité et la Mort de Napoléon dans les Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* (ibid.); J. Reinach, *La Diplomatie de la Troisième République, 1871-1914*, I. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January); J. W. Pratt, *Clémenceau and Gambetta: a Study in Political Philosophy* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); J. G., *Les Chemins de Fer Français pendant la Guerre* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano, 1815-1920* (Rivista Storica Italiana, October).

B. Pitzorno has provided a study of *Le Leggi Spagnuole nel Regno di Sardegna* (Sassari, Operaia, 1919, pp. 128).

La Cacciata degli Austriaci dalla Sicilia, 1734-1735 (Palermo, 1920, pp. 160), presents investigations by M. Marino.

La Carboneria in Terra di Bari (Bari Pansini, 1920, pp. 417), by S. La Sorsa, contributes much material on the history of secret political organizations in southern Italy in the period of the Risorgimento.

A Congress of Hispanic-American History and Geography took place at Seville, May 1-8, under the honorary presidency of the Infante Don Carlos, representing the king, and the presidency of the Marqués de Laurencin. All South American countries were officially represented. The next such congress will take place at Seville in 1924; the succeeding one is planned for Buenos Aires in 1926. Notable among the papers presented were biographical contributions of Señor Ribas of Colombia concerning the discoverers and conquerors of the kingdom of New Granada; that of Father Constantino Bayle, S. J., on the achievements of the Jesuits in California; that of Father Atanasio López on the first Franciscan missionaries in Mexico; and that of Señor Salvador Massip of Cuba on a pre-Columbian voyage of the Chinese to North America; while the scholarship of the United States in Hispanic-American matters was well represented by the paper by Miss Irene A. Wright, on Don Pedro de Valdes, governor of Cuba, 1601-1608. Next to the graceful hospitality of Seville, the most gratifying feature of the Congress was the evidence its proceedings afforded of the cordial good-will of Spanish-American scholars toward those of the United States and of their sense of the solidarity of America in many aspects of intellectual life.

M. Mañueco and J. Zurita have edited a volume of *Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa Maria la Mayor (hoy Metropolitana) de Valladolid, 1281-1300* (Valladolid, Castellana, 1920, pp. 520).

Señor Gervasio de Artífano y de Galdácano, professor in the Central School of Engineering at Madrid, has issued in a small edition

(Madrid, Maldonado 4) a splendidly illustrated volume on *La Arquitectura Naval Española en Madera*, a volume of 440 pages of text, with eighty plates, some of them colored, describing and illustrating the evolution of Spanish naval architecture from the Middle Ages down to recent times.

Much light is cast on the obscure early history of the republic of Andorra by the third volume of *Privilegis i Ordinacions de les Valls Pirenenques*, III., *Vall d'Andorra*, edited by Señor Ferran Valls Taberner, and published under the auspices of the provincial deputation of Barcelona (Imprenta de la Casa de Caritat, 1920); it is a valuable collection of thirty-eight historical documents, 1083-1497, eleven of them in Catalan and the rest in Latin, preceded by a learned historical introduction in Catalan.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Mary M. Moffat, *Eleonora Fonseca and the Neapolitan Revolution of 1799* (Quarterly Review, April); M. Menghini, *Giuseppe Mazzini sulla Via del Triumvirato*, *Documenti Inediti* (Nuova Antologia, February 1).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: F. Kauffman, *Altgermanische Religion* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XX. 1).

Professor E. Norden in *Die Germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1920, pp. x, 505) presents a comprehensive study of the linguistic, literary, ethnographical, and archaeological evidences for the history of the German peoples and of their geographical distribution down to their irruption into the Roman Empire at the beginning of the fifth century.

Albert von Hoffman has published the first volume of a *Politische Geschichte der Deutschen* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1921), which carries the narrative to the death of Conrad I.

F. Philippi's *Einführung in die Urkundenlehre des Deutschen Mittelalters* (Leipzig, Schroeder, 1920) is a useful manual.

The second volume of Max Lenz's *Kleine Historische Schriften* bears the subtitle *Von Luther zu Bismarck* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1920, pp. vii, 256). A volume of historical essays by the late Reinhold Koser is entitled *Zur Preussischen und Deutschen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1921).

Arno Duch has undertaken the publication of a series of volumes entitled *Der Deutsche Staatsgedanke* (Munich, Drei-Masken Verlag). The several volumes will deal with the leading German political thinkers and the more important parties and contain illustrative selections from their writings and pronouncements. About thirty volumes are announced.

The second volume of the *Erinnerungen* of Ernst von Pleuen (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1921, pp. 462) deals with his parliamentary career from 1873 to 1891. *Vom Bismarck der 70er Jahre* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1920) by A. Wahl, and *Bismarcks Bündnispolitik* (Leipzig, Schroeder, 1920) by W. Platzhoff, may also be cited for the same period.

The last volume of *Bismarck's Reminiscences*, describing the relations between the chancellor and Kaiser Wilhelm II., has up to the present time, been suppressed in Germany. The Stuttgart firm Cotta, however, in whose custody the manuscript has remained for many years, have determined that it shall be made public, and an English translation, *New Chapters of Bismarck's Autobiography* (pp. 343), should be issued in London by Hodder and Stoughton, and in New York by Harper and Brothers.

M. René Brunet's *La Constitution Allemande du 11 Août 1919* (Paris, Payot, 18 fr.) is not only an excellent discussion of the constitution named, but a very intelligent history of the process of its formation.

Among recent contributions to the local history of Germany in the Middle Ages are: Rösser's *Beiträge zur Siedlungskunde der Südlichen Rhön und des Fränkischen Saaleals* (Munich, Verlag Natur und Kultur, 1920); Kehr's *Das Erzbistum Magdeburg und die Erste Organisation der Christlichen Kirche in Polen* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1920); Krusch's *Die Hanoverische Klosterkammer in ihrer Geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Hanover, Schulze, 1919); A. Waas's *Bogtei und Bede in der Deutschen Kaiserzeit* (vol. I., Berlin, Weidmann, 1919, pp. xvi, 173); and Franz Schulze's *Die Handwerkerorganisation in Freiberg in Sachsen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Freiberg, Craz and Gerlach, 1920).

Professor Friedrich von Bezold is the author of a centennial *Geschichte der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1921). The same publishers are also issuing separate histories of the several faculties of the University of Bonn.

Carl Uhlirz has issued the first volume of an *Oesterreichische Geschichte* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1920). *Das Nationalitätenproblem auf dem Reichstag zu Kremsier, 1848-1849* (Munich, Drei-Masken Verlag, 1920, pp. 210), presents the researches of Dr. Paula Geist-Lányi. Of wider value is Redlich's *Das Oesterreichische Staats- und Reichsproblem, Geschichtliche Darstellung der Inneren Politik der Habsburgischen Monarchie von 1848 bis zum Untergang des Reiches* (Leipzig, Der Neue Geist Verlag, 1920, pp. 816, 258).

R. Domenig has gathered much interesting and useful information in the volume *Zur Geschichte der Kommerzialstrasse in Graubünden* (Chur, Sprechen, 1919, pp. x, 215).

Otto Karmin has furnished full documentation for one of the minor sequels of the settlement of Europe by the Congress of Vienna, in *Les Antécédents du Bref "Inter Multiplices", le Transfert de Chambéry à Fribourg de l'Évêché de Genève, 1815-1819* (Geneva, Eggimann, 1920, pp. 278).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Preserved Smith, *A Decade of Luther Study* (Harvard Theological Review, April); F. Vigener, *Ketteler vor dem Jahre 1848* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIII. 3); R. Redslob, *Le Régime Politique de l'Alsace-Lorraine sous la Domination Allemande* (Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique en France et à l'Étranger, January); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Guillaume II. et la Marine Allemande* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, September); F. Thimme, *Der Ehemalige Kronprinz als Politiker* (Preussische Jahrbücher, December); H. P. Hanssen, *Rigskansler von Bethmann-Hollwegs Fald, I.* (Tilskeuren, January); J. and J. Tharaud, *Bolchévistes de Hongrie, II., Michel Karolyi et Bela Kun* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Dr. E. C. G. Brünner's *De Order op de Buittenring van 1531*. (Utrecht, A. Oosthoek, 1918, pp. 241), published in a Utrecht university series, considers the intricate organization of the province of Holland in the early days of Charles V., the economic relations of town and country districts before the edict of 1531 on their trade, and the effects of that decree.

Interesting light on an allied subject is cast by Professor Léon van der Essen, of Louvain, in a pamphlet entitled *Contribution à l'Histoire du Port d'Anvers et du Commerce d'Exportation des Pays-Bas vers l'Espagne et le Portugal à l'Époque de Charles-Quint* (Antwerp, Imp. E. Secelle, 1921, pp. 30).

The Commission Royale d'Histoire attached to the Belgian Academy, recovering from the effects of war with the same astonishing elastic energy which industrial Belgium has shown, has in 1920 published three large quarto volumes of historical documents of the highest interest. M. Napoléon de Pauw, president of the commission, presents the fruit of many years of patient labor in his *Cartulaire Historique et Généalogique des Artevelde* (pp. xviii, 924), giving the full text of some two hundred documents and summaries of some three thousand, and illustrating in the fullest manner the whole episode of the Artevelde and the life of their time in Flanders. M. Georges Espinas and Professor Henri Pirenne present the third volume of their *Recueil de Documents relatifs à l'His-*

toire de l'Industrie Drapière en Flandre (pp. xii, 840), completing the alphabet of towns, from La Gorgue to Ypres. There will be a final volume of indexes. Ypres occupies a half of the present volume (docs. 750-910) and is of course the prime example of a medieval Flemish cloth-making city. Of all the documents from its archives here gathered before the war, not one now remains. Finally, Professor Eugène Hubert, of Liège, prints the first volume (pp. lxxiv, 536) of the *Correspondance des Ministres de France accrédités à Bruxelles de 1780 à 1790*, entirely new material, throwing much light on both Belgian and French conditions and actions in fateful years. The Commission has also lately brought out the second volume (Brussels, M. Weissenbruch) of *Documents concernant la Principauté de Liège, 1517-1532*, derived from the papers of Cardinal Jerome Aleander and edited by Professors Alfred Cauchie and Alphonse Van Hove.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

S. E. Bring has edited G. Adlerfelt's *Karl XII's Krigsföretag, 1700-1706* (Stockholm, Norstedt and Sons, 1920, pp. xxxvii, 414), from the original manuscript.

Marc Slonine, a deputy to the Russian Constituent Assembly, has presented much first-hand information in *Le Bolchévisme vu par un Russe* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. 208).

A Prisoner of Trotsky, by Andrew Kalpushnikov (Doubleday, Page, and Company), is a record of personal experiences by one who served as an official of the American Red Cross in Russia, and was imprisoned in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, Petrograd. The course of Col. Raymond Robins and Col. W. M. Thompson, in connection with the Red Cross and the Russian political situation, is much discussed in the book. Another set of American experiences, extending through a wide range of Russian life under the Bolsheviks, is set forth with much clearness and force in *The Groping Giant; Revolutionary Russia as seen by an American Democrat* (Yale University Press), by William Adams Brown, jr.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre*, III.-V. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 15, March 15, April 1); G. Rakovski, *Les Dernières Heures de Denikine, Transmission de ses Pouvoirs au Général Wrangel* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, February 19).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The "Oesterreichische Verlagsgesellschaft" (E. Hölzel and Company) of Vienna proposes to enter extensively upon the important task of making better known the rich treasures of manuscript material for the history of the Turkish Empire for which the libraries

of Vienna—especially the Nationalbibliothek (formerly Hofbibliothek) and that of the Oriental Academy—have long been famous. This will be done through a series of volumes called *Quellen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, under the general editorship of Professor F. Kraeplitz-Greifenhorst. It will comprise Turkish, Arabic, and Persian texts (original in one volume, translation and elucidations in another) and documents. *E.g.*, of the former, the first to appear will be the histories written by Lutfi Pasha, and by Prince Mustafa, son of Suleiman the Magnificent; of the latter, volumes of the diplomatic correspondence of the porte with the emperor. A serial publication, *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, will report upon the progress of the series and will print minor texts.

Dr. Viktor Novak has published a volume on the *Scriptura Beneventana* (Agram, 1920, pp. 88, and 18 plates), with text in Croatian and with facsimiles drawn from various originals of the tenth and eleventh centuries preserved at Agram (Zagreb).

Some account of the relations between *L'Albanie Indépendante et l'Empire Khalifal Ottoman* (Paris, Perrin, 1920) has been furnished by Dukagjin-Zadeh Basri Bey.

The indefatigable Professor N. Jorga issues, in a single volume, a *Histoire des Roumains et de leur Civilisation* (Paris, Paulin), comprehensive and competent.

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

In *Hellenism in Ancient India* (Calcutta, Butterworth, 1919), Dr. G. N. Banerjea analyzes carefully the evidences of Hellenistic influence, and concludes that while there was some modicum of such direct influence, many things which are sometimes ascribed to it are really due to indigenous developments occurring in similar periods.

After an interruption of six years, Mr. William Foster brings out the tenth volume of *The English Factories in India* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 440), calendaring documents of the period 1655-1660, but in a somewhat more compressed manner than in the preceding volumes.

A Diplomat in Japan (Philadelphia, Lippincott) is an account of the critical years in Japan when the ports were opened and the monarchy restored, by Sir Ernest Satow.

The Working Forces in Japanese Politics: a Brief Account of Political Conflicts, 1867-1920, by Uichi Iwasaki, is a recent number of the *Columbia University Studies*.

Mr. J. O. P. Bland's *China, Japan, and Corea*, based on personal investigations on his part, narrates the developments of the Far East since 1911, the first half of the book being historical.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Sir Aurel Stein, *Central Asian Relics of China's Ancient Silk Trade* (T'Oung Pao, XX. 2); A. Salz, *Die Mohammedaner in China* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, January); H. B. Morse, *The Supercargo in the China Trade about the Year 1700* (English Historical Review, April); Abbé Richenet, *Note sur la Mission des Lazaristes en Chine, spécialement à Pékin* (T'Oung Pao, XX. 2).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

A brief sketch of the history of *Les Jésuites dans les États Barbaresques, Algérie et Maroc* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1920, pp. vi, 136), has been provided by Father Louis Charles. Professor E. Rouard de Card has added to his valuable series of volumes of sources for the diplomatic history of France and of Africa, *Accords Secrets entre la France et l'Italie concernant le Maroc et Lybie* (Paris, Pedone, 1920). Jean Genet has presented for his doctoral thesis an *Étude Comparative du Protectorat Tunisien et du Protectorat Marocain* (Paris, Tenin, 1920, pp. 112).

The *Egyptian Problem* (London, Macmillan, 1920, pp. xii, 331), by Sir Valentine Chirol, contains a valuable survey of affairs from the time of Mehemet Ali to the work of the Milner Commission.

In the series of *Helps for Students of History* (London, S.P.C.K.; New York, Macmillan) Mr. C. Graham Botha, archivist of the Union of South Africa, presents a pamphlet on *Records for the Early History of South Africa*; Dr. H. H. E. Craster, one on the *Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

As has been mentioned in another place, the director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington is absent from this country from June 24 until November, spending the months of July, August, and September in England in various business of the department, but especially in preparations toward a series of volumes of the Correspondence of the British Ministers in Washington, which the department hopes to publish in the future. The first volume of Dr. E. C. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, a volume of 574 pages, extending from the beginning of the first Congress to July 4, 1776, and embracing 762 letters or parts of letters or diaries, carefully annotated, is expected to appear in August. Miss Elizabeth Donnan, assistant professor of economics in Wellesley College, now temporarily rejoining the staff of the department, spends the summer in London, in researches intended to complete her volumes of documents on the African Slave Trade into the North American Colonies and the United States.

The Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress has recently acquired the collection of autographs relating to the French Revolution made by the late John Boyd Thacher, and including some 1600 pieces; the papers of Joseph C. Breckinridge, 1880-1904, Dr. John R. and Gen. Joseph Desha, 1812-1860, and Miss Mary Desha, 1890-1910; a group of 50 letters written by Mrs. Henry Barnes, a Loyalist of Marlborough, Mass., 1768-1784; William Augustine Washington's ledger of accounts, two volumes, 1776-1800; papers of Brig.-Gen. Richard W. Hansen, C. S. A., 1860-1871, and of Blair and Rives, 1830-1871; miscellaneous papers of J. N. Nicollet, 1795-1843, including diaries of exploration of the Minnesota, Missouri, and Mississippi rivers in 1838 and 1839; about 250 additions to the papers of John McLean, 1830-1859; and Henry McCulloh's essay on representations covering colonial and other British trade, 1750 (a volume of 228 pp.).

In the Department of State a recent order of the Secretary has created a Division of Publications, charged with the preparation, custody, and distribution of all the department's publications, and embracing also the Bureau of Rolls and Library, the office of the Historian of the War, and that of the Editor of the Laws. The chief of this division, Dr. Gaillard Hunt, is also charged with the duty of providing facilities for study and research in the archives of the department, and he has prepared regulations which, under entirely suitable restrictions, give access to the archives to persons known to the department or properly accredited to it by responsible persons. A suitable room for such workers will before long be provided. The new arrangements are to be cordially welcomed, as marking a distinct step in advance.

Part II., vol. I. (pp. 241-511), of the *Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library* has been distributed. It continues the *Catalogue* from 1569 to 1599 (not including the year 1600, as we should think it more natural to do). The last ninety-two pages of the text are devoted to a remarkable catalogue of the De Bry and Hulsius collections, all the editions possessed, of whatever date, being here brought together. There is also a good index of volume I.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society in the semi-annual meeting of April, 1920, includes a letter from the Virginia Loyalist John Randolph, written to Thomas Jefferson from London in 1779, with comment by Mr. L. L. Mackall; a paper on William Thornton and Negro Colonization, by Dr. Gaillard Hunt, with documents; and a translated extract of that portion of Father Ribadeneyra's *Vida del P. Francisco de Borja*, III. *General de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid, 1592), which gives a history of the establishment of Jesuit missions in America. Mr. Brigham's *Bibliography of American Newspapers*, 1690-1820, is continued from A to N of the section relating to Pennsylvania.

The pages of the March number of the *Records of the American*

Catholic Historical Society are largely occupied with the Letters of Francis Patrick Kenrick to the Family of George Bernard Allen, 1849-1863. The present installment is of the years 1853-1857. This number contains also the address of the president of the society, Edward J. Galbally, delivered at the annual meeting in December, and a continuation of the History of Catholicity in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, by Rev. John E. McCann.

In the March number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* appear an historical address, delivered by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument at North Point, October 27, 1920, to commemorate the first services of the Presbyterian church held within the bounds of the present presbytery of Baltimore; and the Records of the Middle Association of Congregational Churches of the State of New York, 1806-1810, part III., edited by Rev. Dr. John Quincy Adams.

Sidney A. Reeve is the author of a volume entitled *Modern Economic Tendencies: an Economic History of America*, being a study of economic development in the United States from the early part of the nineteenth century to the entrance of this country into the Great War.

Messrs. Lippincott have published *American History and Government* by Matthew P. Andrews.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Oxford University Press publishes *America's Norse Discoverers: the Wineland Sagas*, translated and discussed by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy.

The Journal of Madam Knight (of her journey from Boston to New York in 1704) has been brought out by Small, Maynard, and Company in a new edition, edited by Sarah Knight.

In *Logan, the Mingo* (Boston, Badger, pp. 110) Dr. Franklin B. Sawvel has related what is known of the life of the noted Indian chieftain and warrior, probably best known for his famous speech recorded by Jefferson in his *Notes on Virginia*.

Professor Dixon R. Fox, of Columbia University, would be greatly obliged if persons possessing letters of De Witt Clinton, or papers or information relating to that statesman, would communicate with him, since he is engaged upon a biography of Clinton.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has brought out part III. (R to Z) of Miss Adelaide R. Hasse's *Index to United States Documents relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861*.

Dr. Claude M. Fuess, of Andover, Mass., is preparing a biography of Caleb Cushing, whose papers have been placed at his disposal for the purpose. He would welcome information concerning any letters

of Cushing, or manuscripts or other materials respecting him. The loan of letters of Cushing will be an especial favor, and such letters will be duly returned.

The Boyhood of Abraham Lincoln: from the Spoken Narratives of Austin Gollaher, by J. Rogers Gore, is from the press of Bobbs-Merrill Company. Austin Gollaher was a playmate of Lincoln.

A varied and notable career is described in the two volumes of the *Life of Whitelaw Reid*, war-correspondent, editor of the New York Tribune, minister to France, and ambassador to Great Britain, by Royal Cortissoz (Scribner).

P. A. Risco has issued a second and enlarged edition of his well-documented account of *La Escuadra del Almirante Cervera* (Madrid, 1920, pp. 285).

The President, by an executive order, has directed the War Department to take over the records of the Council of National Defense, of the War Industries Board, of the Committee of Public Information, and of the War Labor Board.

In its series of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace brings out a volume by Dr. J. Franklin Crowell, of much interest to students of administration, on *Government War Contracts* (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. xiv, 357).

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The Pilgrims of Plymouth, an address delivered by Senator Lodge at Plymouth on the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, is issued by the Government Printing Office (66th Cong., 3d sess., Senate doc. 351).

Mr. Albert H. Plumb's *William Bradford of Plymouth* (Boston, Richard G. Badger, pp. 112) is a pleasing narrative in which history of the Pilgrims is picturesquely grouped around the personal story of their governor and historian.

New Light on the Pilgrim Story (London, Memorial Hall, 1920), by Rev. Thomas W. Mason, contains a considerable amount of anecdotal and antiquarian material with good illustrations of English scenes connected with the Pilgrims.

Professor Waldo S. Pratt, professor of church music in Hartford Theological Seminary, devotes a pamphlet of eighty pages to *The Music of the Pilgrims* (Boston, Oliver Ditson and Co.), in which he describes the psalm-book of Henry Ainsworth which the Pilgrims brought with them to Plymouth in 1620, discusses in excellent fashion

its character and that of the melodies which it contains, gives a facsimile page or two, and presents in modern notation the thirty-nine psalm-tunes of the original.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has returned to the state of Connecticut the papers of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, an extensive collection which a grandson of the governor gave to the society in 1795, when no similar place of safe deposit existed in Connecticut. The papers, however, relate chiefly to Connecticut history, and a committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, composed of Messrs. Lodge, Rhodes, Lord, and Ford, reported lately in favor of returning the papers to that state. This recommendation the society adopted. The transaction is almost unique because of the size of the collection transferred, and the society is to be commended for performing an act of justice and of generosity. It is to be hoped that this striking example of the restoration of state papers to their original and proper location will be followed by other institutions.

Under the title, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860*, Houghton Mifflin Company will soon publish an important work on the ships, shipping, and commerce of Massachusetts, her whaling and fishing industries, her ports, her wars, and her pirates, by Dr. Samuel E. Morison of Harvard University. The volume will be elaborately illustrated, and will be published in a small edition.

The Battle on Lexington Common, April 19, 1775 (pp. 60), by Frank W. Coburn, is published in Lexington, Mass., by the author.

Francis B. C. Bradley's History of the Boston and Maine Railroad is concluded in the April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Division of Archives and History in the State Department of Education at Albany has issued a booklet on the *Records of Ballston Spa*, and has others in the press, on the records of the town of Huntington, and of the county of Suffolk. The director of the department, Dr. James Sullivan, spends a portion of the summer in England and France, with a view to the obtaining of additional material for the history of New York from foreign archives.

The *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* for January contains an account of the meeting of the association at Bear Mountain in October, an historical address entitled *Bear Mountain*, by G. A. Blauvelt, and one upon *Some Historical Aspects of Relief Work in New York State*, by Homer Folks.

The New York Historical Society has received a large collection of Dutch household utensils and relics, collected by Dr. George W. Nash of

Ulster County, who has been many years gathering objects, in various parts of what was once New Netherland. The collection numbers 332 items.

The Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of New York, by Clarence E. Miner, is among the *Columbia University Studies*.

A History of Hauppauge, Long Island, N. Y., by Simeon Wood of that place, is issued in a very small edition (75 copies for sale) by Charles J. Werner, New York.

In the April number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* Hon. Francis J. Swayze presents an Epitome of the Constitutional Convention of 1844, and Cornelius C. Vermeule, Some Revolutionary Incidents in the Raritan Valley. In the same issue are found two Revolutionary letters of Col. Charles Stewart, commissary-general of issues, to Moore Furman, September and October, 1780, and a letter of Abraham Clark to Judge Robert Morris, November 5, 1793, concerning pensions, together with Judge Morris's reply, December 25.

The articles of chief interest in the four numbers of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* from October, 1919, to July, 1920, are the following: the Genesis of the Charter of Pennsylvania, by Hon. Hampton L. Carson (October, 1919); the Political Ideas of John Adams, by Francis N. Thorpe (January, 1920); a Memoir of Colonel William Denny (1709-1765), Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, by Rev. H. L. L. Denny; a Century of Grand Opera in Philadelphia, by John Curtis (April, 1920); and Letters of the Four Beatty Brothers of the Continental Army, 1774-1794, edited by Joseph M. Beatty, jr. A series of letters of Thomas Rodney (begun in January, 1919), contributed by Simon Gratz, continues.

Among the contents of the April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* are an address, by Dr. Samuel B. McCormick, on the Pilgrims in America, and the first installment (1812-1813) of a history, by Capt. John H. Niebaum, of the Pittsburgh Blues.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The contents of the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* include an article on Col. Gerard Fowke of Virginia and Maryland, from 1651, by Gerard Fowke of St. Louis, Missouri; one on the Calvert Family, by J. B. Calvert Nicklin; some letters of Daniel Dulany, 1771, 1783, and 1785; and a so-called "minority report" in the case of the *Good Intent*, dated April 16, 1770.

The Typothetae of Baltimore announce the publication, in a handsome volume of limited edition, of a *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776*, by Lawrence C. Roth, of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, the result of full and careful investigations, casting much fresh

light on the subject. Appended to the narrative will be an elaborate list of Maryland imprints of the period indicated.

Vol. XXIII. of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (1920, pp. vii, 247) has an article by Dr. William Tindall, on the naming of the District of Columbia and the city of Washington, one by Miss Virginia K. Frye, on the history of St. Patrick's Church, one on Joseph Gales, jr., Editor and Mayor, by A. C. Clark, and a history of Anacostia, by Charles R. Burr.

The Department of Archives and History in the Virginia State Library has lately acquired the inventory of the estate of Lord Botetourt, governor of Virginia 1768-1770, with other papers relating to his estate. Under an order of court, as provided by law, the records of Charles City County up to 1700 have been transferred to the State Library.

The January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains a report ("Supplement, no. 1") of the Virginia War History Commission, presenting a list of source-material from Virginia counties collected for the Virginia war archives. The commission hopes that this early publication of the list will, by revealing the gaps in the material, induce a timely effort to fill them. This list will be followed by a similar list of records collected by the cities of Virginia, and that by a register of the military histories of Virginia organizations and of the more important diaries and narratives of Virginians in active service. In the same number is a group of documents relating to early projected Swiss colonies in the Valley of Virginia, 1706-1709.

The April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains an address on William Claiborne of Kent Island, delivered by J. Herbert Claiborne before the Maryland Society of New York in April, 1919. Documentary contents of the number include: a report of Anthony Langston on Towns and Corporations and on the Manufacture of Iron (1657); a letter of John Clayton, written from James City in 1684; some letters of Robert Pleasants of Curles, 1771 and 1774; and notes relative to some students of the college, 1770-1778.

Among the contents of the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are: a brief article on the Judiciary Power, one by Dr. Archibald Henderson concerning the Litchfield Law School, a memorial for an established church (1776), and a petition of William and Mary College to the house of delegates in 1776, relating to the financial condition of the college.

Volume XVII., no. 1, of the *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society, contains two papers: The Free Negro in North Carolina, by R. H. Taylor, and Some Colonial History of Craven County, by Francis H. Cooper.

The contents of the October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* include an interesting Bill of Complaint in Chancery, 1700, contributed by Miss Mabel L. Webber; Inscriptions from the Church-yard at Strawberry Chapel, also contributed by Miss Webber; and two letters from Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to Ralph Izard, 1794.

The March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains two excellent articles: the Nullification Movement in Georgia, by Dr. E. Merton Coulter, and the Freedman's Bureau in Georgia in 1865-1866, by Dr. C. Mildred Thompson. There is also an installment of Howell Cobb Papers, edited by Professor R. P. Brooks. It is announced that other Cobb papers (letters by and to Howell Cobb), to the number of about 150, will follow, drawn chiefly from those in possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin of Athens, Georgia, and comprising letters not included in the *Correspondence* of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb, in the American Historical Association's *Report*, 1913, vol. II.

The recent decision of the Louisiana constitutional convention to publish all future acts of the legislature in English only, brings to an end the bilingual practice which has prevailed since the cession of the territory in 1803.

WESTERN STATES

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Madison, Wis., April 14-16. The presidential address, by Professor Chauncey S. Boucher of the University of Texas, was on "That Aggressive Slavocracy". Other papers were on the Historical Museum, by Professor Edward C. Page; on George Rogers Clark's Service of Supply, by Professor James G. Randall; on the Political Influence of Civil War Pensions, by Professor Donald L. McMurtry; and on Ohio's German Language Press in the Campaign of 1920, by Professor Carl Wittke.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has recently received for its museum at Columbus a valuable collection of relics and papers that belonged to John Brown and his warrior sons, including guns, swords, uniforms, surveying instruments, etc., as well as autograph letters. They have come to the society from a daughter of Capt. John Brown, jr., of Put-in-Bay.

The January-June number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* consists of a single paper, the Ohio Company, a Colonial Corporation, by Herbert T. Leyland, of the University of Cincinnati.

Volume I. of the *History of the Ohio State University*, edited by Dr. Thomas C. Mendenhall, has come from the press. The work will extend to three volumes (Columbus, the University).

It is understood that the Indiana Historical Society has been making special efforts to enlarge the scope of its activities and to secure a membership more representative of all sections of the state, and in consequence has considerably more than doubled its membership during the present year.

The articles of chief interest in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are one on Methodism in Southwestern Indiana, by John E. Inglehart, and a second paper by Elmore Barce on the Savage Allies of the Northwest. Both articles are to be continued.

The Illinois State Historical Library expects to send to press in the near future a volume of the *Illinois Historical Collections*, containing additional documentary material on the British régime in Illinois, and a second volume of the *George Rogers Clark Papers*. The former is edited by Professors Alvord and Carter, the latter by Professor J. A. James. The library has in preparation a history of the Illinois National Guard, by Lieut.-Col. Frederic L. Huidekoper. The work will consist of one volume of text and notes, two volumes of illustrative documents, and a portfolio of maps.

The Illinois Country, 1673-1818, by Clarence W. Alvord, constituting vol. I. of the *Centennial History of Illinois*, has come from the press (McClurg).

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for July, 1919, contains an extended study, by John D. Barnhart, jr., of the Rise of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Illinois from the Beginning to the Year 1832. There is also an address, the Pioneers of Wabash County, by Theodore G. Risley. The principal content of the October, 1919, number is a so-called War Diary of Thaddeus H. Capron, 1861-1865, being in fact extracts from letters written to members of his family during his service in the 55th Illinois Infantry Volunteer Regiment. Some contributions of lesser extent are: the War Work of the Women of Illinois, by Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen; and a Sketch of the Life and Services of Col. Theodore S. Bowers, former adjutant-general on the staff of General Grant, by Theodore G. Risley.

The annual report of the trustees of the Newberry Library notes the acquisition during the year 1921, for the Edward E. Ayer Collection, of transcripts of 518 documents from the Archives of the Indies at Seville and the Mexican archives, consisting of 7489 pages, making the total number of pages of these transcripts now in the collection 57,817.

In the April number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* appear, besides continued studies, a history of the Sisters of Mercy, Chicago's Pioneer Nurses and Teachers, by a sister of the community; and an account, by Joseph J. Thompson, of the First Chicago Church Records, including a baptismal record of the years 1833-1839.

In the July (1920) number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* appear an address, by Col. W. A. Henderson, entitled the Adventures of De Soto; a reprint, from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (December, 1918), of Professor Sioussat's paper on Andrew Johnson and the Early Phases of the Homestead Bill; and an article by Samuel C. Williams on the North Carolina-Tennessee Boundary Line Survey, 1799. Mr. Williams contributes with his article the diary of daily occurrences (April 12 to May 29, 1799) kept by John Strother, one of the surveyors.

The Michigan Historical Commission has issued, as Bulletin no. 13, *Michigan at Shiloh*, being the report of the Michigan Shiloh Soldiers' Monument Commission. There are numerous portraits and illustrations.

The Wisconsin Historical Society has received a valuable source for agricultural history in Wisconsin, in the form of thirteen volumes of the journal of Jacob Baumgartner, running from 1846 to 1916. The first volume describes the travels of the writer, then a young journeyman dyer of Bavaria, covering on foot some 5000 miles in Germany, his emigration to America, and his early life in Wisconsin, where he was from 1853 a farmer at Fennimore.

Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, expects to publish this autumn the first volume of the *Wisconsin Domesday Book*, presenting township charts of farms and farmers of 1860 for at least twenty-five townships, in some twenty counties, with text showing types and origin of settlers, early conditions, and the economic and social development of the communities.

The March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains an informing study, by Col. Arthur L. Conger, of the Military Education of Grant as General; a sketch of Doctor William Beaumont, his Life in Mackinac and Wisconsin, 1820-1834, by Deborah Beaumont Martin; *Chronicles of Early Watertown*, by William F. Whyte; suggestions for a historical museum, by Professor Carl R. Fish; and a series of letters of Chauncey H. Cooke, a Wisconsin soldier in the Civil War, written from Columbus, Kentucky, in the winter and spring of 1863.

The University of Minnesota has inaugurated a Bibliographical Series of publications by printing an elaborate catalogue of the *Sources of English History of the Seventeenth Century, 1603-1689, in the University of Minnesota Library* (pp. 565), compiled by James T. Gerould, formerly librarian of the university. The collection is a rich one; there are more than four thousand entries, including books, pamphlets, and articles in various collected series. Such a catalogue may well be of great use to students anywhere.

Among the recent acquisitions of the State Historical Society of Iowa are: a manuscript journal, by James Sullivan, of a journey from Iowa to Oregon and California in 1850; one, by William Clark, of a journey across the plains of Utah in 1857; a file of original Confederate general orders of the headquarters of the district of Western Louisiana in 1864; and a collection of some 2000 pamphlets, dealing largely with the Civil War and reconstruction, gathered by James W. Grimes, governor of Iowa, 1854-1858, and United States senator, 1859-1871. By act of the general assembly of Iowa, \$20,500 has been added to the permanent annual appropriation of the society.

The principal contents of the January number of the *Annals of Iowa* are: a reprint of *Galland's Iowa Emigrant* (1840); a sketch of Maj.-Gen. Lewis A. Grant (1829-1918), by Charles Keyes; and two letters from Gen. Joseph M. Street, Indian agent, written from Prairie du Chien in December, 1827.

A History of the People of Iowa, by Cyrenus Cole, is published in Cedar Rapids by the Torch Press.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has brought out, as a Missouri Centennial Publication, a volume containing the *Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*, with an historical introduction on constitutions and constitutional conventions in Missouri, by Dr. Isidor Loeb, and a biographical account of the personnel of the convention, by Floyd C. Shoemaker.

The Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis has recently come into possession of an extensive theatrical collection, consisting of diaries of local managers, letters, programmes, several hundred prompter's play-books, etc., of the period of 1848-1895.

Memoirs, Life, and Influence of Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Cowgill Maple: a Résumé of Baptist Activities in Missouri during the Sixty Years 1857-1917, is by Richard P. Rider (Jefferson City, Missouri, Hugh Stephens Printing Company).

In the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* appears an extended study, by Annie Middleton, of Donelson's Mission to Texas in Behalf of Annexation, and a paper by J. Fred Rippey entitled *Some Precedents of the Pershing Expedition into Mexico*. A. K. Christian presents the sixth chapter in his study of M. B. Lamar, relating to Lamar's closing years.

The University of Texas has just acquired by purchase the library of the late Señor Genaro García, comprising some eighteen thousand volumes, in addition to a large collection of manuscripts from the private archives of various statesmen of the nineteenth century. If not the most complete library of Mexicana in existence, it

is at least the most complete that is not already in the possession of an institution, and thus unobtainable.

Publications, vol. II., of the Kansas State Historical Society embraces the *Recollections of Early Days in Kansas*, by Shalor W. Eldridge, a participant in the territorial struggles. There is a preface by Robert G. Elliott, written in 1898, who appears to have had a hand in the preparation of the narrative.

Pacific Northwest Americana, compiled by Charles W. Smith of the library of the University of Washington, on the basis of an earlier attempt published by that library in 1909, is a check-list of books and pamphlets relating to the history of the Pacific Northwest to be found in any of the fifteen largest and most important libraries of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and British Columbia. It contains some 4510 numbered items, with many bibliographical notes.

Besides continued articles hitherto mentioned, the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains a brief paper by Victor J. Farrar concerning Joseph Lane McDonald and the Purchase of Alaska, and a Bibliography of Railroads in the Pacific Northwest, by Marian Cordz.

The University of Washington library has received, by gift of Mr. Clarence B. Bagley, the records (39 volumes) of the Washington Mill Company, one of the large pioneer lumbering mills of Washington Territory, dating from 1856. The library has also received from the estate of Thomas W. Prosch a valuable body of materials pertaining to the history of Puget Sound.

The three articles in the December number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are all concerned to an extent with the name Oregon. They are, Oregon: its Meaning, Origin, and Application, by John E. Rees; the Early Explorations and the Origin of the Name of the Oregon Country, by William H. Galvani; and the Strange Case of Jonathan Carver and the Name Oregon, by T. C. Elliott.

The California Historical Survey Commission has issued a report on *The Battle of San Pasqual* (pp. 17), with special reference to its location, by Dr. Owen C. Coy, director.

CANADA

The June number of the *Canadian Historical Review* has three main articles, all of much interest: on the Nature of Canadian Federalism, by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy; the New Provincial Archives of Quebec, by Col. William Wood; and the Literature of the Peace Conference, by Professor R. H. Williams. Professor W. B. Munro contributes a document hitherto unpublished, containing an official account of the Brandy Parliament of 1678.

The United States of Canada: a Political Study, by Professor George M. Wrong, of Toronto, is the George Slocum Bennet Foundation lectures of Wesleyan University, second series (1919-1920). Among the subjects treated are the growth of federalism in North America, and the place of Canada in the British Commonwealth (Abingdon Press).

Volume VI. of *Canada in the Great World War*, by J. S. P. Macpherson and others (Toronto, United Publishers of Canada, pp. viii, 393), has lately appeared. It is devoted to chapters on special services, on heroic deeds especially demanding notice, etc.

A new era for the Archives of the Province of Quebec began with the creation in 1920 of the Provincial Archives Branch, under Mr. Pierre G. Roy as archivist. Under the general title of *Archives de la Province de Québec*, he will continue his series of inventories, of which nine volumes have already been published. The first two, *Inventaire d'une Collection de Pièces Judiciaires* (1917), were noticed by us at the time of publication. In 1919 Mr. Roy published four volumes called *Inventaire des Ordonnances des Intendants de la Nouvelle France conservées aux Archives Provinciales de Québec*; in 1920, two volumes of *Lettres de Noblesse, Généalogies, etc., insinuées par le Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France*; in 1921, a single volume, *Inventaire des Insinuations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France*. The volumes are in some degree summarized by Colonel Wood, in the article mentioned above.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

In the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* for February the most important matter is an excellent article by Professor Percy A. Martin on the Causes of the Collapse of the Brazilian Empire. There is also a paper by Mr. Webster E. Browning on James Lancaster and the Lancasterian System of Mutual Instruction, with special reference to the propagation of that system in the Spanish-American republics during their early years. Mr. C. R. Jones continues his list of Hispanic-American bibliographies (nos. 465-752). Señor Tomás Thayer Ojeda describes the manuscripts section of the Biblioteca Nacional of Chile. The May number contains the papers read before the American Historical Association by Professors Manoel de Oliveira Lima and Julius Klein, respectively, on Pan-Americanism and the League of Nations, and on the Monroe Doctrine as a Regional Understanding; also an article by Professor I. J. Cox, on "Yankee Imperialism" and Spanish-American Solidarity, as seen by Colombian publicists. There is also a ministerial order of José de Gálvez respecting import duties on negro slaves, 1784, and a convention between Spain and the Netherlands respecting deserters and fugitives, 1791.

The Hispanic Society of America publishes in a handy volume of handsome typography (pp. xviii, 451) a *List of Works for the Study of Hispanic-American History*, by Dr. Hayward Keniston, listing in excellent form two or three thousand of the most important primary and

secondary books relative to the history of Spanish and Portuguese America in general (up to 1830), and on the individual countries and states. The result is a highly useful manual.

Among the more recent Spanish publications in American history we note *El Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes* (Madrid, Rivadeneyra), by Fathers Pablo Pastells, S. J., and Constantino Bayle; in the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, vol. I. of *El Teniente General Don Pablo Morillo, Primer Conde de Cartagena, Marqués de la Puerta, 1778-1783* (Madrid, J. Pueyo, 1920), by Señor Antonio Rodríguez Villa; and a volume by Señor Jerónimo Bécker on *La Política Española en las Indias, Rectificaciones Históricas* (Madrid, Ratés, 1920, pp. 454).

Modern Mexican History (pp. 36), by Professor Herbert I. Priestley, is brought out by the Institute of International Education.

The July-December number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (of Cuba) contains two documents pertaining to the case of John S. Thrasher, an American citizen resident in Havana and publisher (1849-1851) of the newspaper *Faro Industrial de la Habana*. Thrasher was accused of conspiracy and imprisoned, but was later released. One of the documents printed in the *Boletín* is a long letter from Thrasher to the captain-general of Cuba, dated at Madrid, March 22, 1852, the other an address delivered by him at a banquet given by his friends in New Orleans in celebration of his release. Both documents are in Spanish translations.

No. 2 of the first volume of the *Anales de la Academia de la Historia* (Havana) contains continuations of the bibliography of Enrique Piñeyro, and of the correspondence of Domingo del Monte.

J. M. P. Sarmiento has published the records of the *Proceso de Nariño* (Cadiz, Alvarez, 1920, pp. xxxii, 238). Nariño translated and published the Declaration of the Rights of Man at Bogotá in 1794, and from that time forward was involved in various plots and in the final struggle for independence. He became vice-president of the Colombian republic and died in 1823.

A sketch of the life and work of Bolívar, *Simón Bolívar, el Libertador, Patriot, Warrior, Statesman, Father of Five Nations* (Washington, the author, pp. 233), has been prepared from Venezuelan and American sources by Professor Guillermo A. Sherwell of Georgetown University, and presents an interesting and appreciative narrative on the occasion of the recent centennial observances.

The latest volume issued by the Hakluyt Society is the *Memorias Antiguas Historiales del Perú*, by Fernando Montesinos, a Spanish Jesuit, credulous but using important sources now lost, who was in Peru probably from 1628 to 1642. The memoirs are translated and edited by Mr. Philip A. Means, and there is an introduction by the late Sir Clements R. Markham.

The *Epistolario de Don Bernardo O'Higgins, Capitán General y Director Supremo de Chile* (Madrid, Editorial-América, 1920, 2 vols.), has been edited by E. de la Cruz.

Throughout the war the Argentine government has not ceased its work of publishing, through the historical section of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, the volumes of its remarkable series of *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*. Vols. V., VI., and VII. (1915-1916) were composed of documents illustrating the history of commerce, 1713-1809; vols. X., XI., and XII., of census materials, 1726-1810. Vol. XIII. (1920, pp. 369) contains a body of 280 official communications of the government of Buenos Aires relating to internal affairs in the period of the supreme magistracy of Martín Rodríguez, 1820-1823, edited with admirable care by Dr. Emilio Ravignani. The next volume will contain documents of foreign policy relating to the same period; later volumes, documents of the constitution of 1831 and the period of Rosas.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. H. Babcock, *Recent History and Present Status of the Vinland Problem* (Geographical Review, April); C. E. Chapman, *Drake and New Albion*, cont. (Grizzly Bear, April); P. B. Potter, *The Nature of American Territorial Expansion* (American Journal of International Law, April); E. Peterffy, *Die Entwicklung der Amerikanischen Industrie* (Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, January, February); W. Trimble, *The Social Philosophy of the Loco-Foco Democracy* (American Journal of Sociology, May); C. C. Pearson, *William Henry Ruffner: Reconstruction Statesman of Virginia*, II. (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); W. H. Garrett, *True Story of the Capture of John Wilkes Booth* (Confederate Veteran, April); F. B. Simkins, *Race Legislation in South Carolina since 1865*, II. (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); R. H. Post, *How Theodore Roosevelt made the Government Efficient* (World's Work, April); Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt*, cont. (Scribner's Magazine, April, May, June); Count Sergius Witte, *Memoirs: America and the Portsmouth Peace Conference; Meetings with Roosevelt and Morgan* (World's Work, March, April); J. L. Laughlin, *Some Recollections of Henry Adams* (Scribner's Magazine, May); L. Dupriez, *La Législation contre les Partis aux États Unis* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, 1920, no. 9); E. A. Oritz, *El Padre Las Casas y los Conquistadores Españoles en América* (Cuba Contemporánea, March, April); C. S. S. Higham, *The Early Days of the Church in the West Indies* (Church Quarterly Review, April); I. J. Cox, *The Colombian Treaty: Retrospect and Prospect* (Journal of International Relations, April); R. A. Orgaz, *A Synopsis of the History of Argentine Social Ideas* (Inter-America, English, April).

GENEALOGY
973.006
AM39292A
1920-1921

3 1833 01741 7079



ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY

EXHIBIT COLLECTION

